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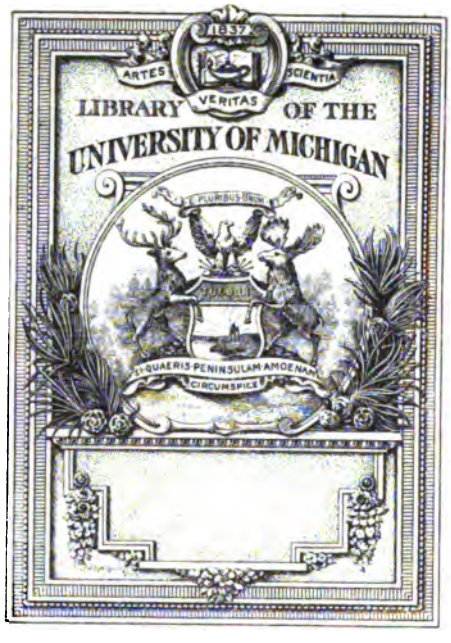

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CALENDARS.

Instructions to Editors.

The Master of the Rolls desires to call the attention of the Editors of Calendars to the following considerations, with a view to secure uniformity of plan in the important works on which they are engaged :—

He is anxious to extend, as far as is consistent with proper economy and despatch, the utility of the Calendars of State Papers now publishing under his control : 1st. As the most efficient means of making the national archives accessible to all who are interested in historical inquiries ; 2nd. As the best justification of the liberality and munificence of the Government in throwing open these papers to the public, and providing proper catalogues of their contents at the national expense.

The greater number of the readers who will consult and value these works can have little or no opportunity of visiting the Public Record Office, in which these papers are deposited. The means for consulting the originals must necessarily be limited when readers live at a distance from the metropolis ; still more if they are residents of Scotland, Ireland, distant colonies, or foreign states. Even when such an opportunity does exist, the difficulty of mastering the original hands in which these papers are written will deter many readers from consulting them. Above all, their great variety and number must present formidable obstacles to literary inquirers, however able, sanguine, and energetic, when the information contained in them is not made accessible by satisfactory Calendars.

The Master of the Rolls considers that, without superseding the necessity of consulting the originals, every Editor ought to frame his Calendar in such a manner that it shall present, in as condensed a form as possible, a correct index of the contents of the papers described in it. He considers that the entries should be so minute as to enable the reader to discover not only the general contents of the originals, but also what *they do not* contain. If the information be not sufficiently precise, if facts and names be omitted or concealed under a vague and general description, the reader will be often misled, he will assume that where the abstracts are silent as to information to be found in the documents, such information does not exist ; or he will have to examine every original in detail, and thus one great purpose will have been lost for which these Calendars have been compiled.

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As the documents are various, the Master of the Rolls considers that they will demand a corresponding mode of treatment. The following rules are to be observed :—

1st. All formal and official documents, such as letters of credence, warrants, grants, and the like, should be described as briefly as possible.

2nd. Letters and documents referring to one subject only should be catalogued as briefly as is consistent with correctness. But when they contain miscellaneous news, such a description should be given as will enable a reader to form an adequate notion of the variety of their contents.

3rd. Wherever a letter or paper is especially difficult to decipher, or the allusions more than ordinarily obscure, it will be advisable for the Editor to adhere, as closely as is consistent with brevity, to the text of the document. He is to do the same when it contains secret or very rare information.

4th. Where the Editor has deciphered letters in cipher, the decipher may be printed at full length. But when a contemporary or authorised decipher exists it will be sufficient to treat the cipher as an ordinary document.

5th. Striking peculiarities of expression, proverbs, manners, &c. are to be noticed.

6th. Original dates are to be given at the close of each entry, that the reader may know the exact evidence by which the marginal dates are determined.

7th. Where letters are endorsed by the receivers and the date of their delivery specified, these endorsements are to be recorded.

8th. The number of written pages of each document is to be specified, as a security for its integrity, and that readers may know what proportion the abstract bears to the original.

9th. The language of every document is to be specified. If, however, the greater part of the collection be in English, it will be sufficient to denote those only which are in a different tongue.

10th. Where documents have been printed, a reference should be given to the publication.

11th. Each series is to be chronological.

12th. The Prefaces of Editors, in explanation of documents in the volume, are not to exceed fifty pages, unless the written permission of the Master of the Rolls to the contrary be obtained.

*** Editors employed in foreign archives are to transcribe at full length important and secret papers.

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CALENDAR

OF

STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS,

EXISTING IN THE ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS OF

VENICE.

1592—1603.

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CALENDAR

OF

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STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS,

RELATING TO ENGLISH AFFAIRS,

EXISTING IN THE ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS OF

VENICE,

AND IN OTHER LIBRARIES OF

NORTHERN ITALY.

VOL. IX.

1592—1603.

EDITED BY

HORATIO F. BROWN.

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PREFACE.

THIS volume covers the period between January 1592 and April 1603, and closes with the death of Elizabeth. During the last months of the Queen's reign diplomatic relations with Venice, which had been suspended since July 1557, were once more renewed, and were continued virtually without interruption down to the fall of the Republic. It is to be hoped that this fact will facilitate the labour of research in the succeeding volumes, for hitherto, from the year 1557 to the year 1603, it has been necessary to gather information about England from the despatches sent by Venetian Ambassadors at the five courts of Madrid, Paris, Prague, Rome, and Constantinople, from the Minutes of the Senate and from despatches forwarded by the governors of Zante and other islands.

Two main topics are illustrated by the documents here collected, English relations with Spain, France and the Dutch, and Elizabeth's policy at Constantinople.

Although the destruction of the great Armada in 1588 had virtually freed England from the dangers of conquest, Spain did not at once abandon all idea of renewing the attempt, nor did England fully realize how complete was her deliverance. During our period we meet with two unsuccessful expeditions, one in 1596 the other in 1597, led by the Adelantado of Castile, and another partially successful landing of the Spanish at Kinsale, under Don Juan d'Aquila, while, in retaliation, from the English side, we have the expedition to the West Indies under Drake and Hawkins, and the capture and sack of Cadiz by Essex.

As regards France, Elizabeth was annoyed and alarmed by the conversion of Henry IV. and the peace of Vervins. She had spent men and money in assisting Henry and she

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considered it almost a breach of faith that he should come to terms with Spain. Whatever her inner intentions may have been her outward policy wavered, on the one hand she coquetted with the idea of peace with Spain and the archduke Albert, and sanctioned the farce of the Boulogne conference; on the other she fed the Dutch, renewed the treaty of 1585, in August of 1598, and kept Sir Francis Vere in Ostend throughout that memorable seige. These two policies were represented at her council board, the one by Cecil, the other by Essex, both died before the Queen, and she herself bequeathed her unsettled attitude to her successor.

At the end of the preceding volume of the Calendar, Henry IV. with the help of the Swiss and English was vigorously pushing the siege of Rouen, while the Duke of Parma was manœuvring to the north and attempting to force Henry to raise the siege. But Parma was dilatory and slow in his movements, and the French nobles of the League gave vent to their spleen by declaring that "the "Spanish owed their reputation to the fact that they had "never been matched with anyone of consideration" (No. 39). Parma's retreat began in March 1592, and was excused on the score that Count Maurice had threatened to lay siege to Dunquerque. The Duke was wounded in one of the many engagements which marked his retreat and by June he had retired to Spa, where he presently died.

The retreat of Parma left Henry free to concentrate his attention on Paris. By October (No. 107) the idea of abjuring his religion had begun to take shape, and in January 1593 (No. 130) the Pope had already declared his scepticism as to Henry's sincerity. "How can we trust "Navarre? One of his own party told us that even if "Saint Peter himself declared that the King would "become a Catholic we had better not believe it . . .

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" This is a ruse suggested to him by the Queen of " England."

Philip meanwhile was endeavouring to secure the election of a King of France by the Three Estates; and he sent the Duke of Feria to Paris to influence that assembly. The Duke delivered a speech on the 2nd of April (No. 195) to which the Archbishop of Rheims, Cardinal de Pellevé, replied. But in August (No. 208) Henry made his recantation and received the sacrament in St. Denis, and the Pope became so far reconciled to the inevitable as to say to Paruta, the Venetian ambassador, " If it please God to make Navarre " king of France, it is not for us to oppose His will" (No. 207). When Elizabeth heard of the recantation she was indignant. Her envoy in Paris told the Venetian ambassador that it was not so much the King's conversion that angered her Majesty as that the King had taken this step without informing her; and she had no confidence that he would not do the same about a peace with Spain (No. 230). In which suspicion she was justified as the peace of Vervins proved.

But before that peace was reached three series of events call for attention and are illustrated in the documents before us, the naval expeditions of Drake, Hawkins, and Essex, the counter expeditions of the Adelantado and the progress of Spanish arms in the north-west of France.

As early as April 1593 rumour that a large fleet was being mustered in England threw Spain into great alarm (No. 153) and on the first of May Drake is reported to have sailed from England on the Friday before Palm Sunday. Alarms of this description were chronic in Spain. It was not till July of 1595, however, that Drake and Hawkins really sailed on their last disastrous voyage.

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Their fleet numbered eighty ships in all and the flagship measured seven hundred tons burden and carried sixty pieces of artillery. There were about sixteen thousand men on board (No. 360). The destination was the West Indies. Drake insisted upon this in opposition to Don Antonio of Portugal and Antonio Perez, both of whom desired to direct the attack upon Portugal itself (No. 364). Don Antonio, however, died on the second of August just about the time that Drake sailed (No. 365). He had been living in Paris in great poverty, supported by charity. Drake sailed for the Indies, while apparently the Earl of Cumberland was cruising about in the seas between Portugal and the Azores. We hear of Drake at the Grand Canary on October 6th (No. 378), where he did not effect much.* By January, 1596, the report that Drake had landed at Havana reached Spain (No. 395) but there is no word of the death of Sir John Hawkins and Sir Nicholas Clifford, which had taken place in November of 1595. The Spanish Admiral in those waters was Don Bernardino de Viglianeda, and in a private letter to his nephew (No. 438) he very minutely describes how, after the death of Drake at Nombre de Dios, he fell in with the English fleet which was making its way home, and pursued it far beyond the Channel of Bahama, an operation which appears in Captain Troughton's "Journal" as "met a Spanish fleet but escaped."

Drake's expedition was a complete failure; how complete from the financial point of view may be gathered from Lady Margaret Hawkins's pathetic letter to the Queen.† Essex's expedition to Cadiz though more glorious was

* *See* the Journal of Captain Troughton where the attack on the Canaries is dated September 26th, Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1595–1597, p. 209.

† Calendar of Manuscripts preserved at Hatfield House. "Cecil Papers." Part VI., p. 214.

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hardly of greater service. By April 1596 the Spanish were aware that a large armament was being mustered in Plymouth. French politicians thought that the appointment of Essex to the command was a ruse on the part of Cecil to remove the favourite from the Council board (No. 419). But the Spanish, though warned, "could not "believe that, after the death of Drake, the scattering of his "squadron, and the loss of Calais, the English fleet would "think of moving to any great distance" (No 463), and so when the English appeared off Cadiz, on the 2nd of July, they encountered a poor resistance and were speedily masters of the city. The shipping was either burned or sunk. Twelve thousand men under the Earl of Essex were landed. Outrage and pillage were prohibited. "Two "soldiers who broke the prohibition by attempting to take "a woman's necklace, were punished by instant death." The churches were exempt from plunder. Two hundred and fifty thousand crowns were demanded as ransom for the prisoners.* The news was brought to Court, but as the King was asleep Don Christoforo de Mora, his chamberlain, would not awake him, and kept it back for three hours after the courier's arrival (No. 469). When his Majesty learned what had occurred he was indignant, but, says the Venetian Ambassador, "he showed a Christian fortitude in "bearing the blow. The news seemed to lend him vigour "for he rose from his chair and walked a few paces, a "thing which the weakness of his legs and the remains "of the gout had not hitherto allowed him to do."

Although the intention of the English was to have established themselves in Cadiz, yet by July 10th, the commanders came to the conclusion that from lack of provisions the place was untenable and they determined to abandon it. Sir George Carew, who was

* Cecil Papers" *ut sup.* p. 226.

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present, complains that the loot was very small; "that "the town was rich may not be denied," he says, "but "rich towns taken in fury and not by composition run "all to spoil." The English had intended to pump the wells of Cadiz dry in search of booty supposed to have been hidden in them (No. 473), but their hasty departure left them no time to put their plan into execution. They sailed south; landed at Algarve and plundered the town of Faro (Nos. 476, 481), and then "as "soon as fair weather set in the whole fleet sailed away."

Philip was incensed at this harrying of his shores, and the humiliations to which he was exposed. In conversation with the Nuncio he "seized a candelabrum and with energy "declared that he would pawn even that in order to be "avenged on the Queen. . . These words," says the Ambassador, "in the mouth of a King who has never shown "any passion in fortune, good or evil, prove that his mind "is fully set upon undertaking war again" (No. 473). But on the whole, the result of the English landing was not altogether disastrous for the King. The damage no doubt was serious; but the King declined to help the people of Cadiz to pay their ransoms (No. 471), and the Cortes of Castile "under the excitement of the English attack voted "special subsidies to his Majesty provided they were to be "spent on the defence of the kingdom and not on foreign "wars" (No. 478). This suited Philip perfectly. He had sworn to be avenged on the Queen of England, and an attack on her kingdom might fairly be called a defence of his own, after the experience of Cadiz. And hence sprang the two counter expeditions of 1596 and 1597. By October 10th we learn (No. 497) that the Adelantado is making great preparations in Lisbon; four hundred horse, arms for ten thousand men, clothing for four thousand, some vestments for the Mass. Carpenters, smiths, masons, were

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pressed when they would not serve willingly. He had brought together nondescript craft to the number of ninety sail, but only a third of this number was fit to fight. Twelve thousand men manned this armada, but ships and munitions are reported "very poor; and there is a great lack of biscuits." Great secrecy was observed as to the destination of this force, and all orders came direct from the King's own hand to the Adelantado. The King commanded Masses for the success of his arms, and the psalm "Contra paganos" went up from all the churches in Spain. An Irish bishop and other Irish embarked at Lisbon, and by the 12th October the fleet had begun to drop down the river (No. 502). People conjectured that Ireland rather than England was the point aimed at; others supposed that the Adelantado had orders to co-operate with the Cardinal Archduke in Holland; but the Venetian ambassador remarks that the Channel, if the Armada gets as far in safety, will prove a danger. By November Philip began to show his impatience. "The "King has sent orders that the Armada is to sail at once, "even though the provisions are not ready. The "Adelantado summoned all the captains and pilots to "give their opinion on oath. Their answer was that if "they sailed at this season they ran an obvious risk of "shipwreck. On this the Adelantado drew up a memorial "to the King which was signed by every one. His "Majesty merely repeated his orders in a more imperative "form. This obstinacy on his part . . . makes people "believe that the fleet is to be directed against the Queen "of England in revenge for the insult she put upon him at "the very heart of Spain." After three or four attempts to clear the harbour, at last the Adelantado reached Vigo, where he learned that some English ships were waiting for him off the coast of Galicia (No. 506). Then comes

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the disaster . . . On the night of the 27th of October the Adelantado with the whole of his fleet, except the Biscay squadron, was off Cape Finisterre. He was caught in a violent storm and many of his ships went ashore. He took shelter in Ferrol, where he found that thirty of his vessels were missing, twelve were undoubtedly sunk and eighteen could not be heard of. It was useless to think of an expedition against England for that winter, and the Admiral resolved to lay up in Ferrol (No. 507).

During the winter desertion and sickness did their usual work. Out of the twelve thousand originally on board not more than two thousand five hundred were left by January of 1597 (No. 539). But Philip would not abandon his project for revenge. By the autumn of 1597 a force considerably larger than that of the preceding year was ready in Ferrol. It sailed on the 19th of September and reached Corunna. Leaving Corunna on the 18th of October with a fair wind, they were thirty leagues off the Lizard by the 22nd. Their intention was to seize the Castles of Pendennis and St. Mawes at the entrance to Falmouth Harbour, to garrison them and then to retire to the Scillies to wait reinforcements with which they might challenge Drake's fleet on its way home. But at the mouth of the Channel they encountered strong head winds. The "San Marco" of Don Diego Brochiero began to leak under stress of weather and was ordered to put about and make for Spain. The Adelantado held on some hours longer; then seeing that the violence of the storm increased, he too gave up the attempt to enter the Channel, and turned back to Spain. He reached Corunna on the 30th of October. (No. 629, 630.)

All the English and Spanish naval expeditions had proved failures; but in the north-west provinces of France, there was a remarkable advance of the Spanish

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arms, which largely contributed to the conclusion of the Peace of Vervins. At the close of the preceding volume we left the Duke of Mercoeur holding out in Brittany, and supported to a certain extent by the Spanish troops under Don Juan d'Aquila, who had occupied and fortified the port of Blavet. Elizabeth was furnishing Henry with a similar amount of assistance, though rather grudgingly. By April 1596, the Spanish advance on Montreuil began to cause serious alarm in England. The Queen's Secretary in Paris had gone over on purpose to point out and insist upon the danger (No. 419). The French were in hopes that the large forces collected at Plymouth for Essex's expedition might still be diverted to the succour of the threatened sea-side places; and M. de Sanci was sent immediately afterwards to secure that result, but without success. The movement on Montreuil, however, proved to be merely a feint. The Spanish threw themselves on Calais, and captured it on Thursday April 25th (No. 429). "It is a loss," says the Venetian Ambassador "of immense importance to all "Christendom, and the consequences will be most grave."

The news did, in fact, cause a great sensation. When the Pope heard it, he said to the Venetian Ambassador, "God's holy service be done. But were we to speak "freely to your Lordship, we should say as the Duke of "Ferrara said at the battle of Ravenna, 'Fire! They are "all enemies.' The French are so careless, the Spanish so "insolent, we don't know which we prefer." Elizabeth was now prepared to send a large force to the King's assistance, but she asked for Calais as security for her expenditure (No. 431), and aroused considerable suspicion and annoyance in the mind of Henry. Meanwhile the Spanish were pushing on. Ardres fell, chiefly owing to the pusillanimity of the Marshal de Belin, which caused Henry to exclaim, "My cowards do me more harm than my foes." This

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took place on May 31st. Henry continued to urge Elizabeth to assist him more vigorously. His agents were M. de Sanci and the Duke de Bouillon. He apparently used as a pressing argument the consideration that if he were not helped by the Queen, he would find himself forced to make peace with Spain. This gave the Queen the opportunity to observe to de Bouillon, that she too, as well as the King of France, was receiving overtures from Spain, but that it would never do for either of them to make peace separately. "For," she said, "apart from the "fact that we could not secure such good terms separately "as if united, should one made peace without the other, the "party that was excluded would be ruined at once, which "would eventually prove a misfortume for the contract-"ing party . . . I am convinced that we shall never "have a trustworthy peace with the King of Spain as "long as he is on the flood of success, and does not realize "that his career may be checked, his power overthrown, "his greatness humbled. To accomplish this a solid "union is necessary, in order that we may be able to face "our common danger with adequate forces" (No. 483). From this it will be gathered that de Bouillon's mission was bearing fruit.

The Earl of Northumberland had been named as Ambassador to France on July 8th, but declined to serve on the plea of deafness, and "the absurdities it must beget ". . . when I shall not understand distinctly by reason "of the quickness of their pronunciation and the unac-"quaintedness of their accent . . . which defect how "much it troubles me, even in my own usual tongue with "strangers, none but myself and my grief can best make "witness of.*" Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, was named in his place, and, with Sir Anthony Mildmay and a large suite, crossed over to France in September, bearing

* Northumberland to Sir Robert Cecil. "Cecil Papers," p. 260.

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the Garter for the King. The Duke of Montpensier was ordered to entertain the Embassy at Rouen until the King's arrival, and an amusing account of the *cherie entiere*, which Montpensier made them, is sent home by both Lord Rich and the Ambassador himself, nor was the King himself less liberal on his arrival at Rouen on October 6th–16th.* On Saturday the 9th–19th October, the King swore the treaty with England (No. 503), and on the following day he was solemnly invested with the order of the Garter. Before Lord Shrewsbury left Rouen, "he had many secret conferences with the King, and it "seems that the sole subject discussed was the way to "recover Calais" (No. 504).

Nothing very practical in the way of help came from England however. The Queen was absorbed in the Cadiz expedition, in attempting to suppress the Irish rebellion, and in assisting the States of Holland. She had neither men nor money for France, except upon such conditions as suited her. The English Ambassador at the beginning of 1597 was urging the King to take vigorous steps for the recovery of Calais. His Majesty declared that the moment was not favourable. "Well, then," said the Ambassador, "will your Majesty allow my mistress to "capture the place for herself?" "Certainly not," said the King, "and if she goes there, I will call out my troops "to stop her." "Then," said the Ambassador, "your "Majesty is content to see Calais in the hands of Spain, "rather than of my mistress?" "Not at all," replied the King, "but I desire to recover it at my own time." (No. 549). In fact, the allies seem to have been very suspicious of one another. Elizabeth doubted that Henry would make peace with Spain whenever it suited him, and leave her in the lurch; while Henry, though anxious to obtain English assistance, by no means desired to see

* Cecil papers, pp. 415, 416, 417.

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Calais in the Queen's hands. He pithily summed up his views when he said "I would rather be skinned by my "foes than scratched by my friends."

While matters were in this unsatisfactory state the news came that on March 11th the Spanish had captured Amiens. Portocarrero, the Spanish governor at Doulens, their furthest outpost, succeeded in entering the town by a clever and brilliant ruse (No. 558). The blow was a very serious one and seemed to indicate that the Spanish advance had by no means reached its climax. The King sent express to England demanding that the English troops should be made up at once to their treaty number (No. 569). But the Queen after the rejection of her proposals about Calais was in no ready mood of compliance. Henry was in very grave straits. He burst out to de Sanci: "Sanci, Sanci, you and de Bouillon advised "this war, and your pernicious counsels are like to be the "ruin of France. For myself, I know I shall fall in "battle, and my successor will punish you as you "deserve" (No. 571). He made an appeal to the Republic for pecuniary aid. "I am on the road to ruin," he declared to the Venetian Ambassador, "and I can see "no remedy. If my dearest friends and allies do not "help me, who will? What I am doing now is my last "effort. God grant that the issue be successful; other-"wise I shall be forced to conclude a peace." The last effort was destined, however, to be successful. The siege of the Spanish in Amiens began. Conducted by the Marshal de Biron, the siege-works are described as the most "remarkable operations of war which had been witnessed "since the siege of Antwerp" (Nos. 602, 604). The English who took part in the siege are noted as "fine troops."*

* The despatch describing the siege encloses an interesting woodcut showing the positions of the various commanders of the English and French contingents.

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By the middle of September the town was recovered. The terms granted by the King were extremely lenient (No. 616). The reason for this was that Henry was anxious to make peace. As early as July 1597 there had been rumours on the subject. The Pope, partly alarmed at Turkish successes against the Imperial arms, partly with a view to detaching Henry from England and the States of Holland, was exceedingly desirous to bring about a peace between France and Spain. The agent he employed was Bonaventura Calatagirona, General of the Franciscans and Patriarch of Jerusalem. Henry declared over and over again that he would never entertain any proposals for peace as long as the Spanish were in Amiens; he felt that Philip on the tide of success would probably offer terms which France could not accept. But when the recovery of Amiens took place in September, the King announced that he was ready to treat. Spain still held Calais, Ardres, and several other places in the north-west, but the onward movement of her arms had been checked, and she had just suffered a severe blow by the failure of the Adelantado to capture and hold Falmouth. The moment was growing ripe for the completion of the Pope's intentions. The Cardinal Legate, Alessandro de' Medici, was now entrusted by His Holiness with the chief conduct of the negotiations, and was commissioned, though somewhat reluctantly by Philip, to represent him in the coming Congress (No. 620). The representatives met at Vervins, but they proceeded with such secrecy that neither the English, Dutch, nor Venetian envoys in Paris could learn what was taking place (No. 650). In December Thomas Edmondes, the English Agent, had assured Francesco Contarini that Henry would not "make peace without the consent of the Queen, who is "not really averse from it" (No. 641), or if he did he

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would find himself embarked on a fresh struggle with her, more serious than the Spanish war, as it would be partly civil, for the Queen could rely on the support of the Huguenots. Meanwhile at Vervins, after some slight difficulties as to precedence, the congress got to work. By February 28th the terms as regarded Spain had been fixed; but when the King of France raised the question of his ally, England, the Spanish commissioners declared that their powers were insufficient to deal with this point. A delay took place until a courier had time to go and come back from Spain. During the interval Elizabeth despatched an Embassy to France, Sir Robert Cecil was the head of it, and his mission was to offer the King support if he would continue the war (No. 656), and to dissuade him from peace. The Ambassadors entered Paris on March 11th (No. 671). Their suite is described as being very brilliant, but they met with no formal reception on his Majesty's behalf; though they were honourably lodged in the house of the Duke of Montpensier, with a guard of royal archers at the gates. Cecil explained to the Venetian Ambassador the scope of his mission; the Queen, he said, was indifferent as to peace or war, but as the King had invited her co-operation she had sent an Embassy, not as suitor for favours but in compliance with a formal request. "But," says Contarini, "I am of opinion that "this ostentatious readiness to accept peace is intended to "upset peace." Henry was in Brittany, and as the Ambassadors refused to deal with any but the King, they presently set out to join him, relying on the assistance which the Duke de Bouillon's presence at Court promised to their mission. At Vervins, the Cardinal Legate, who was aware of this English Embassy and suspected its objects, was in a state of impatience for the return of the courier with powers which would allow him to conclude

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the treaty of peace before the English could succeed in upsetting it. About April 8th the courier passed through Paris on his way to Vervins (No. 677), and immediately afterwards the Legate began to urge the King to a conclusion, on the ground that by this time he must have heard all that the English had to say. On May 2nd the treaty was virtually concluded (No. 687). The Spanish agreed to evacuate Calais, Ardres, Châtlet la Chapelle, and Doulens, and to dismantle Blavet. The Queen of England and the Dutch might enter the treaty provided they did so before July the 2nd. But by May 13th the Envoys of the States of Holland were in Paris loudly declaring that nothing would induce them to come to terms with the King of Spain (No. 688), and by May 28th Edmondes had returned in haste from England. The Queen was in alarm and perplexity; her people were anxious for peace; their trade was suffering; Spain and the Imperial ports were closed; if the Dutch ports were also shut, the loss would be enormous. On the other hand, if peace were made, the Dutch, being deprived of the support both of France and England, and that simultaneously, might succumb to Spain to the serious danger of England (No. 695). Henry was very anxious that both England and the States should come in; when the Queen went the length of threatening war, he said: "If I am once free of the lion's paws, I'll "easily save myself from the cat's claws." It appears that Elizabeth might really have been induced to enter the treaty of Vervins, had it not been for the resolute refusal of the Dutch. She could not and would not abandon her allies, and the consequence was a long period of undetermined policy, of help rendered to Holland in Ostend and negotiations with Spain conducted at Boulogne, which we will have presently to consider. The conclusion of the treaty, as far as France is concerned, was largely attributed to the influence of Gabrielle d'Estrées,

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Duchesse de Beaufort, and of M. de Villeroy (No. 688), who overrode the Duke de Bouillon.

The peace was far from popular in Spain, where the restoration of the cities already captured was considered humiliating to Spanish pride (No. 693). Philip was really sickening towards his last illness. He had been seriously unwell in May, and while in that condition he resolved to carry out his scheme for the renunciation of Flanders in favour of his daughter, and her marriage to the Cardinal Archduke Albert. After the marriage contract had been signed "the King in honour of the occasion "allowed the ladies of the Court to appear in his chamber "masked. There was a great festival, and Don Juan "d'Idiaquez told me," says the Venetian Ambassador, "that the King, though in bed, gave his orders and "directed the ball with as quick and lively a spirit as if "he had been at the head of his army. He insisted "that the Prince should dance; but with the Infanta "only, not with any of the ladies as His Highness "showed a modest wish to do" (No. 690). That was in May. By August the King was suffering from daily paroxysms of gout and fever. A swelling settled in the knees and caused excruciating pain. It was opened, but the operation afforded no relief. On August the 7th his Majesty received the *viaticum* and his physicians told him quite frankly that he should ask for extreme unction whenever he thought the moment come. On the 13th and 14th he rallied slightly; and begged the Nuncio to entone a Pontifical Mass. This rally was attributed to a miracle wrought by a relic brought from Toledo. But a relapse soon followed and the physicians expected the crisis from hour to hour. His sufferings were appalling, gout, sores, vermin, anticipations of decomposition before the sentient centres had ceased to feel. Yet he "dis-"played incredible patience. His courage never deserted

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" him. He made himself familiar not only with the " thought of death but with every material detail and " circumstance thereof. He arranged the ceremony " of his funeral and purchased a large amount of black " cloth. He ordered them to bring to his room the " leaden shroud in which he will be wrapped, and the " leaden coffin in which he is to lie; and gave orders " for some needful alterations." Still he lingered on. All business was at a standstill, but when Don Christoforo de Mora ventured to inquire whether the Prince should despatch affairs the dying man shook his head (No. 732). His sick-room became awful, unendurable to his medical assistants (No. 731). Still he lingered on through twenty-nine days, almost a month of incredible torture, till on the morning of the 13th September the release was granted and Elizabeth's great rival quitted for ever the scene of his triumphs and his failures, of his grandeur and his solitude.

The admirable summing up by Francesco Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, gives us a concise portrait of the sovereign's character and a just estimate of the import of his reign (No. 737). " He was a Prince " who fought with gold, not with steel, by brains not by " arms. He has acquired more by sitting still, by nego- " tiation, by diplomacy, than his father did by armaments " and by war. He was one of the richest sovereigns the " world has ever seen; yet he left the revenues of his " kingdom and of the Crown burdened with about a " million of debts. To his good fortune rather than to " the terror of his name he owed the acquisition of " Portugal with all its territories and treasure; on the " other hand, he lost Flanders. In Africa he had won " Pigno, but lost Goletta.

" Profoundly religious he loved peace and quiet. He displayed great calmness and professed to be unmoved in

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fair and evil fortune alike. Vast schemes occupied his mind, witness his simultaneous attack on England and on France while assisting his son-in-law to acquire Saluzzo, while attempting to expel the French from Italy, while facing the revolution in Flanders.

"On great occasions, in the conduct of wars, in feeding civil discords in France, in the magnificence of his buildings, he never counted the cost, he was no close reckoner, but lavished his gold without a thought. In small matters, however, in the government of his household, in his presents and rewards, he was more parsimonious than became his station. He sought aggrandisement for his kingdom at the expense of others, yet he did not hesitate to dismember his kingdom by ceding Siena to the Grand Duke, Piacenza to the Duke of Parma, Flanders and Burgundy to his daughter.

"He held his desires in absolute control and showed an immutable and unalterable spirit. He feigned to be injured and feigned not to feel injuries, yet he never lost the opportunity to avenge them. He hated ostentation, and would never allow his life to be written. No one ever saw him in a passion; he was always patient, phlegmatic, temperate, melancholy. In short, he has left a glorious memory of his royal name to serve as an example not merely to his own posterity but to strangers as well."

We have already remarked that after the peace of Vervins the policy of England was engaged in supporting Holland, while coquetting with Spain and the Archduke Albert. "The Queen will not attempt anything against "Spain this year, so as to render a reconciliation possible," says a despatch of September 19th. The next despatch, September 26th, conveys the terms of a treaty between England and Holland, which are given *in extenso* in

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No. 773. Some of the Spanish ministers, the Adelantado for example, hoped and declared that the accession of a young prince would inaugurate an era of more vigorous and more successful operations against England. Desultory and inconclusive operations were in progress. The Earl of Cumberland had seized, but was unable to hold, Porto Rico; the young King who had not realised fully how exhausted a treasury he had inherited from his father ordered out the fleet at once, but a short time after we learn that it is countermanded.

Philip the Third's chief point of attack upon Elizabeth was Ireland. His object was at the first to alarm the Queen and thereby compel her to come to terms of agreement with himself, leaving the Netherlands without support; but as time went on and the Queen's life became obviously frailer, a second object was added; Philip wished to establish a footing in Ireland whence he could influence the succession to the English throne. Almost contemporaneously with the disclosure of Philip's policy as regards Ireland, we find the Queen entertaining, or rather trifling with peace proposals made to her on behalf of the Archduke Albert, through the agency of Jerome de Coemans. The first rumours of a Spanish landing in Ireland reached Paris in January 1599 (No. 772); by March the Archduke had sent his Envoy to England to negotiate a peace, though the Queen intimated that she must move carefully as she was not fully persuaded that the Archduke was authorised to act for Spain (Nos. 778, 793). The rumour of the Spanish landing was merely a rumour, however; nor did it actually occur for some time later. By the summer Essex was in Ireland, making some progress against Tyrone, while the Spanish were slowly massing forces at Ferrol, under the Adelantado (Nos. 805, 812). In the autumn Essex had his famous and fatal interview with

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Tyrone, returned to England, and was placed under arrest. M. de Bethune, Henry's ambassador to Scotland, brought the news to Paris (No. 827), and reports some rumours as to the cause, the Earl's Catholic sympathies and his advocacy of war with Spain, both of which laid him open to suspicion.

The result of Coemans's negotiation may be seen in the fact that the Queen at length consented to a Congress in which the terms of a peace should be arranged. A number of preliminary and informal discussions seemed to have removed many difficulties. The place chosen was Boulogne, and the date fixed for the 16th of May. But the serious points to be discussed—the retention of the surety cities, Flushing, Brill, Ostend, by the Queen, free trade, the navigation of the Channel—were all as far from settlement as ever, and they never really came up for discussion. When the Envoys met, the Spanish representatives began at once to quarrel over precedence among themselves. Doctor Carriglio sent direct from Madrid, insisted as ranking above Don Balthazar de Zuniga, Philip's Ambassador at the Archducal Court. Then the Archduke's representatives objected to their master being styled "Most Illustrious" in place of "Most Serene" in the English powers. The Queen assented to the change. Then the English claimed precedence on a variety of historical grounds, Papal decisions, and so forth, and the audientiary Verreiken was sent to receive instructions from the Archduke. He ought to have returned by July 28th, but he was still absent on August 8th (No. 905). The great battle of Nieuport, fought on July 2nd, was the cause of the delay. The Archduke had been thoroughly beaten by Maurice of Nassau. Sir Francis Vere, who had played so conspicuous a part in that victory was now enabled to garrison and hold Ostend through all its memorable siege. Other reasons, too, were contributing to render the Congress at Boulogne abortive. The question

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of the Marquisate of Saluzzo was coming to a head. It seemed inevitable that war should break out again between France and Spain; in these circumstances Henry had no desire to see England and Spain at peace; the whole of his influence was directed to keeping those two crowns apart. By August the 26th Philip had given orders to his Envoys to break off negotiations unless the Queen would assent to three conditions: the restitution of the towns held in Flanders, the abandonment of the States, and the precedence of his Catholic Majesty (No. 910). These demands brought the Congress to a close (No. 915).

The Irish projects of the King of Spain had been in abeyance all this time, from January 1599 to May 1601 (No. 991). Philip was occupied more immediately by the question of Saluzzo, and by the alarm aroused by the threat of a Turkish naval expedition which the English and French Ambassadors at Constantinople had been labouring to secure. The peace of January 17th, 1601, however, left his hands comparatively free. Meantime in Flanders the Archduke was straining every nerve to recover his prestige after the defeat of Nieuport. He had set his heart on capturing Ostend. That town was held by English under Sir Francis Vere. Philip wished to create a diversion and to draw English attention away from Ostend. The failure of Essex in Ireland, his subsequent execution, and the temporary successes of Tyrone, called the King's attention once more to that quarter. By May an expeditionary force was gathered at Lisbon. Don Juan d'Aquila, the officer who had held Blavet for the Spanish before the peace of Vervins, was placed in supreme command. The chief naval command was entrusted to Don Diego Brodicero. But it is not till October 29th that we hear that "four or "five thousand Spanish have landed in Ireland." Kinsale was the point chosen, much to Tyrone's disgust, who, later

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on blamed the Spanish leaders for not landing at some spot which would have permitted a junction with his forces. As it was, all Lord Mountjoy's troops lay between the Spanish and the Irish rebels. The landing was effected on the fifth of October, and Kinsale immediately surrendered. The Bishop of Cork, who was said to be with the expedition, is reported to have made large promises to the Irish (No. 1025). The Venetian Ambassador announces from Paris, that "The Queen, although warned of this contemplated landing in Ireland, either did not believe it or her troops failed to find the enemy. The Deputy, as the Governor is called, on receiving notice drew six thousand of the sixteen thousand infantry which he has in the north against the Earl of Tyrone, and set out towards the Spanish shortly after their landing. The Queen, moreover, sent him some small reinforcements, and has given orders for a levy of six thousand men for this service. . . . The opinion here is that all these troops sent from Spain will be thrown away to no purpose, on account of the change of climate and the lack of provisions; also, because they will not be able to effect a junction with the Earl of Tyrone, who is at the opposite extremity of the island, while the Deputy holds all the country between them, with well provisioned forts."

A second expedition of reinforcements was despatched from Spain and landed in Ireland. They chose their point more skilfully, and succeeded in effecting a junction with Tyrone. Lord Mountjoy gave them battle and utterly routed them. Don Juan and his troops found themselves blockaded in Kinsale. No fresh supports were forwarded from Spain, and presently Don Juan was forced to make such terms as he could. These were extraordinarily favourable. He was allowed to march out with the

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honours of war, ships were provided to convey him, his men and his guns, back to Spain, the only pledge exacted was that he should land nowhere else save at Corunna.

Meantime, Sir Francis Vere was holding out in Ostend for the relief of which Don Juan's Irish expedition had been chiefly and immediately devised. The siege of that city was the crucial point of the war in Flanders. "The "Archduke declares that he will die rather than retire; "the States, assisted by the Queen of England, omit "nothing for the defence of the place." Henry was hardly less interested than Elizabeth, he sent the Marshal de Biron to England (No. 1014) on a mission to remove a disagreeable impression created in Elizabeth's mind by some misunderstanding as to proposals for a joint succour to Ostend (No. 1019). De Biron made a brave figure with his splendid suite of one hundred gentlemen. He was nobly lodged at The Vine, while the Queen lay at Basing House. The Queen petted him, took him to the chase, invited him to dinner (No. 1020). Essex may have been recalled to her mind by the handsome person of de Biron, whose future held in store a more dastardly treachery and more ignoble end than that which quenched the life of Elizabeth's brilliant favourite. It is possible that Ostend was discussed by them. Anyway, Henry moved to Calais; Elizabeth came down to Dover. De Vere's heroic defence, his struggle with the Archduke, his struggle with the tides and turbulent seas, are fully illustrated by the despatches of the Venetian Ambassador in Paris (No. 1020–1080, etc.) Motley has suggested that on the night of the famous ruse which saved the town there was no real attack by the Spanish before the Spanish hostage-commissioners met de Vere, and that all the noise of an escalade which threw de Vere into such a towering passion had been carefully ordered by de Vere himself, to give him an excuse for prolonging

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negotiations till succour arrived.* It is clear, however, from the despatch of January 7th, 1602 (No. 1042), that the diplomatic world at least believed the story as told by the English commander.

II.

To turn now to English affairs in Turkey as far as they are illustrated by the documents here published. It may, perhaps, be of some service, and may help to avoid confusion, if I first give the names of the Sultans, Grand Vizirs, Capudans Pashas, and Muftis during the period which this volume embraces; they are to be found in the Appendix to Book Forty-five of von Hammer's history, though I am able to add a little to the completeness of that list.

Sultans :

Murad III., d. Monday Jan. 16, 1595 (No. 324).
Mohamed III.

Grand Vizirs :

Ferrad Pasha, deposed March 23, 1592 (Nos. 40, 53).
Sciavus Pasha, deposed Jan. 29, 1593 (No. 56).
Sinan Pasha, deposed Feb. 16, 1595 (No. 332).
Ferrad Pasha, killed, July 7, 1595.
Sinan Pasha, deposed Nov. 19, 1595.
Lala Mohamed Pasha, died Nov. 22, 1595.
Sinan Pasha, died April 3, 1596.
Ibraim Pasha, deposed Oct. 27, 1596.
Cicala Sinan Pasha, deposed Nov. 1596.
Ibraim Pasha, deposed Oct. 23, 1597.
Hadim Hasan, killed April 8, 1598 (Nos. 678, 680).
Gerrah Mohamed, Dec. 8, 1598.
Ibraim Pasha, July 10, 1601.
Jemisgi Hasan Pasha.

* Motley "United Netherlands," Chap. XXXIX.

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Capudans :

Cicala Sinan Pasha, 1594 (No. 264).

Halil Pasha, 1597.

Cicala Sinan Pasha.

Muftis :

Bostanzade Mohamed, 1592.

Seheria Effendi, 1593.

Bostanzade, 1598.

Seadeddin, 1599.

Ssanollah Effendi, 1601.

Mohamed Effendi, 1603.

I have had the advantage of consulting the despatches from Barton and Lello, the English Ambassadors at Constantinople, which are preserved in the Public Record Office. Without knowledge of these it would have been difficult to unravel the complicated skein of diplomatic intrigue in which both were involved while endeavouring to secure the enlargement of the English capitulations. It is remarkable that Barton rarely, and Lello never, is mentioned in the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, in spite of the eminent services which both were rendering to their country.

In the year 1592 the English Ambassador at the Porte was Edward Barton. He represented the Queen, but was the paid servant of the Levant Company, and badly paid he considered himself.* He therefore had a double function to fulfil; as agent for the Company of Turkey merchants he was expected to encourage trade and protect merchants

* Cf. "Cecil Papers," VI., p. 385. Writing to the Lord Treasurer, July 11, 1593, Barton says: "I had not in all my household sixpence of money to pass the water. So miserably am I treated by the Company as not to have had a penny allowance from them this twelvemonth." The pay of the various ambassadors at the Porte may be gathered from the following extracts from despatches :—

22nd March 1593–4. Edward Barton to the Lord Treasurer.

"Whereas other Ambassadors here resident have most honourable allowance, viz., the French 8,000 or 10,000 crowns, and this particular

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from extortion; as representative of the Queen he was charged with a political mission as well, to hamper Spain and help Henry IV. Both Elizabeth and Henry were unwearying in their efforts to induce the Turks to take the sea with such a force as would alarm the King of Spain for the safety of his Italian possessions; at least that was the old pre-Armada policy of England. Spain on the other hand was equally anxious to obtain a truce with the Turks which would guarantee her immunity, and leave her hands free. But Philip was hampered. He was proud, and would not condescend to be the first to send an Ambassador, a point upon which the Turks insisted, and he was his Catholic Majesty, and could hardly enter into open relations with the Infidel. For many years two faithful agents Giovanni and Ruggiero Marigliani, father and son, had been at work to secure the King's object, but without effect. At the period when this volume opens Giovanni was dead and Ruggiero Marigliani was at Ragusa negotiating with the Grand Vizir through an agent in Constantinople for the reception of a Spanish Ambassador; and it was Barton's business to baulk him. He did so chiefly through his interest with two powerful ministers, Bostanzade, the Mufti, or Sheik-ul-Islam, and the still weightier Hoggia or Tutor, Seadeddin (No. 40). His efforts were crowned with success when the Grand Vizir wrote to Marigliani informing him that the Sultan declined to discuss any further the subject of his mission (No. 45).

In the interval between the murder of Henry III. and Navarre's accession to the throne of France as Henry IV.,

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Ambassador free grant of two per cent. on all French goods brought into this country for the betterance of his provision, and the Baylo of Venice 8,000 ducats of gold besides so much more by Cotimo, or one per cent. on all Venice goods brought into these parts, I am allowed only 3,000 ducats, and yet as much required at my hands as at theirs."

November 17, 1592. "The Emperor's Ambassador has from the Emperor, and the Grand Signor, 16,000 dollars a year."

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M. de Lancosme,* the French ambassador, continued to reside as accredited agent for the League, and openly hostile to Henry. De Lancosme's nephew, on the other hand, M. de Breves, was desirous of filling his uncle's place, and strongly espoused the cause of Navarre. Barton, in fulfilment of his mission, was called on to oppose de Lancosme and support de Breves. It was not a very difficult task. De Lancosme by his own headstrong impetuosity had already seriously damaged his position. On July 30th, 1590, he had received a formal dismissal from the Porte, chiefly the result of Barton's diplomacy; but he had not left the city, and continued to call himself the French Ambassador (No. 67). A trick played by Barton and a series of exciting episodes contributed to complete his ruin. De Lancosme received from a Venetian merchant a remittance which was sent in the Venetian Embassy bags. The news of this remittance soon reached the ears of Barton and de Breves, and they saw and seized the opportunity to do de Lancosme an evil turn. Barton went to the Capudan Pasha, reported the arrival of the remittance, declared that it came from Rome, from the Pope, was Spanish money, in short, and that de Lancosme was probably acting as spy for Philip. He told the Capudan that proof would be found among de Lancosme's papers in the shape of a letter from Cardinal Santa Severina which Barton himself had forged and sent to de Lancosme.†

* The name is often spelt "Lancomo" and "Lancosmo" by the Venetian Ambassador and by Barton.

† This is how Barton himself describes his share in these proceedings:—
17th November 1592. Edward Barton to—

"The Baron de la Saye, or more truly, Anthony Lane, converted to Moslemism, introducing two renegade Turks to the Pope, and obtaining privileges for all those who would return, which being obtained he departed to the Grand Seigneur, and there wrought so cunningly that he was alike princely rewarded and credited with the letters, which lastly by Poland I sent you, and which, together with those of the Pope's, he presented to the French Ambassador in Venis, and he, after good consideration sent them

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The Capudan flew into a rage and sent a cavass to summon de Lancosme to the Arsenal, and commanding him to bring the bill of exchange with him. De Lancosme refused point-blank, and with his usual impetuosity he added that he had only one superior at Stamboul, and that was the Sultan. The Capudan had no intention of swallowing such an affront. After a second fruitless invitation to de Lancosme he went to Seadeddin and the Grand Vizir, Sciavus, both of them friends of the English Ambassador. All three obtained the Sultan's leave to use force. The day before Divan, the dragoman of the French Embassy was arrested, and after Divan, Sciavus and the Capudan withdrew to the Sultan's kiosk and sent a cavass to summon de Lancosme. He excused himself on the ground that his suite was not ready. The Pashas sent more cavasses with orders to bring him by force; the Ambassador, however, hid himself, and the Turks only arrested a friar, the Embassy chaplain. After a while de Lancosme, thinking that the wrath of the vizirs was overpassed, crept out of his hiding, though he deemed it prudent to remain indoors. But as he was looking out of the window, he suddenly saw a great crowd making for the Embassy; in a panic he and his secretary fled. By the help of a ladder they climbed

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to me, with order to the said Anthony to be governed by me. You may perceive there is nothing meant in all this practice for the furtherance of Christianity, so that the papers would have come to no good use, which I well pondering and taking the occasion to do some good service against those who wish Her Majesty's country and friends ill, I counterfeited a letter in Italian from Cardinal Sancta Severina, who has charge of all the affairs of the Levant for the Pope, having one of his seals with me, and directed the same to Lancosmo, by which I recommended the Pope's letters to him, as if, indeed, they had been sent to him from the Pope, and I made Anthony Lane to affirm that he had commission to deliver the same to Lancosmo, which device was not only the cause of his future troubles but also matter against the Spanish Ambassador, who was then at Ragusa, the King of Spain and Pope being to these as I therein affirmed, a father and a son by which I hope I have done no harm, but rather, in my opinion, good service to Her Majesty and to the furtherance of the Christian religion."

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into an unoccupied house and pulled up the ladder after them. The Turks, unable to get at the Ambassador, set a guard over the house where he lay, but they made a clean sweep of the Embassy; the Ambassador's mistress, child, nephew, servants, all were arrested; furniture, on pretext of making an inventory, all broken; four thousand ducats' worth of jewels and silver in the hands of the Turks; the Embassy archives carried off to the Grand Vizir, where a number of dragomans were set to work on the translation. De Breves and Barton, acting through a French renegade, were the real authors of the whole proceeding.

When night fell de Lancosme stole out of hiding in the unoccupied house and went to his nephew de Breves, who gave him shelter. But presently, on the arrival of the French renegade, the unfortunate Ambassador took fresh alarm, and slipped secretly away and hid himself in a vineyard belonging to a dragoman of the Venetian Embassy. Here, late at night, he was joined by de Breves, and after some consultation they resolved to appeal to Seadeddin, the most powerful person in Stamboul; but Seadeddin refused to interfere, and sent de Lancosme on to the Capudan, who, speechless with passion, was unable to answer a word to the Frenchman's appeals. He was placed under provisional arrest. But when the translation of the papers seized at the French Embassy was completed, the remittance proved clearly to have come from Naples, and thereupon the unhappy Ambassador was committed to the common prison, where only the vilest malefactors were kept. There he lay a whole day and night, convinced, as he himself says, that his minutes on earth were numbered; and was only removed to the custody of a cavass on the intercession of Barton and de Breves. After a few days de Lancosme was handed over to the care of Barton and de Breves, on their parole. Both of these now began to

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discuss the most suitable way to dispose of their charge, and both agreed that it would be best to put him on board ship and send him to Italy. But while this discussion was in progress Seadeddin sent to Barton to say that the Mufti was trying to damage Seadeddin's position by declaring that de Lancosme had purchased his freedom from the Sultan's Tutor, and that therefore Seadeddin objected to the release of de Lancosme from custody, lest he should confirm this libel. The French Ambassador, seeing that his life was no longer in danger, soon recovered his spirits and his hauteur. He told the Venetian Ambassador that nothing but force would expel him from Constantinople; and he openly and rashly announced himself a devoted servant of the King of Spain. The consequences were inevitable. On June 10th he was consigned to prison in the Tower of the Black Sea. Seadeddin was the author of this fresh blow. "De "Lancosme bears his fate with great constancy," says the Venetian, "and hopes that all will turn out well for him. "He has taken to writing, to pass the time."

De Breves and Barton had been successful in crushing de Lancosme, the Ambassador for the Guises, and the situation now was this, that de Breves practically represented France on behalf of Navarre, though nominally French interests were in the hands of Barton till de Breves's powers should arrive (No. 92). M. de Lancosme continued to be a close prisoner in the Tower of the Black Sea till November, when he was removed to a less rigorous durance. By November 29th letters had arrived from Henry, addressed to the Sultan, thanking him for having imprisoned de Lancosme who was acting for the Guises and Spain, and begging that he might be consigned to the English Ambassador (No. 114), and to de Breves. There was still some delay to the close of the de Lancosme episode, but on December 31st he was placed on board a

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ship bound for Marseilles whose captain had orders to land the late Ambassador at Toulon. His departure was so rapid that the Venetian Ambassador had no time to make him a formal adieu. De Lancosme after lying for many months at the island of Marmora, finally made his way to Italy and Rome.

Barton's position in Stamboul was undoubtedly very strong. He had succeeded in expelling de Lancosme, and French interests were placed under his protection till de Breves was fully accredited. The Grand Duke of Tuscany was endeavouring to obtain independent trading rights for his subjects in Constantinople, and it was to the English Ambassador that he chiefly addressed himself for help. But Barton had been instructed by Sir Thomas Heneage "to proceed slowly in such a weighty matter, lest it might "be prejudicial to our merchants' traffic,"* and as protector of the French interests he was equally bound to move cautiously in a negotiation which would remove the Tuscans from under the French flag (No. 134). The result was that "the Florentine league and traffic here "remains as yet unestablished, and out of hope to be "obtained," as Barton reports.

By April 1593, de Breves' instructions, credentials, and present for the Sultan had arrived, and he proceeded to kiss hands and assume rank as an Ambassador. But events were in preparation which were destined to bring the action of Barton into collision with the aims of de Breves. Part of Elizabeth's Eastern policy had been to obtain as much influence as possible in the smaller States of Poland, Transylvania, Walachia, Moldavia. Her Ambassador had interfered successfully in the affairs of Poland, and more recently had made Prince Aaron Vaivode of Moldavia; in

* Public Record Office, State Papers, Turkey, November 21st, 1593.

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the Hungarian war Sigismund Bathori appealed to Barton to save him from the consequences of refusing to help the Sultan, his suzerain, against the Emperor. In May 1593, matters were coming to a crisis between the Emperor and the Porte. The Imperial Ambassador or Internuncio von Khrekwitz, gave an answer about the tribute which did not please Sinan Pasha, the Grand Vizir, the Embassy was surrounded by troops, the dragoman arrested and accused of treachery in making false translations and ordered off to the common prison "reeking with a thousand diseases," where says the Venetian Ambassador, "the poor devil still lies. "The knowledge of his fate has terrified the other drago- "mans of Embassies and prevents them from the proper "discharge of their duties" (No. 159). The butler of the Imperial Embassy, a renegade Croat, suggested to the Grand Vizir that he should seize the Archives in the Chancery of the Embassy. The Imperial Ambassador offered eighteen thousand thalers for the liberty of the dragoman and promised the tribute by July (No. 165). But it was too late, war was declared. Sinan Pasha assumed the command and established himself in camp outside the great walls of Stamboul; and there presently the Imperial Ambassador was brought (No. 190). He came in a carriage and was lodged in a small tent. He was in a shocking state of health, and his two servants who followed the carriage on foot were loaded with chains. The Imperial Embassy was closed and the rest of the household, secretary, chaplain, doctor, and others, to the number of twenty-six, were clapped into prison. At the camp Sinan was raging against the Ambassador, threatening to impale him and his dragoman for having deceived the Sultan, and declaring "that a man who "cannot speak the truth does not deserve to live." The meaning of all this fury was that the Turks had received

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news of the battle of Sissek, and the utter defeat of Hassan Pasha. On July 29th (No. 198), Sinan Pasha left for the front. He was at the head of twenty-eight or thirty thousand men. Ferrad Pasha was left at Kaimakam, or lieutenant Grand Vizir. It was no part of the English policy that the Turk should fight the Emperor in Hungary. What Elizabeth really wanted was the appearance of the Turkish fleet in the Mediterranean at least as far west as Italy. She accordingly instructed her Ambassador to use all his influence in favour of peace* between the Emperor and the Sultan. That influence was considerable. Barton himself reports that,† "the Grand Seigneur has done me "new honour, presenting me with six pieces of plate, six "pieces of cloth of gold, and six of silk. This is more than "has formerly been given to any Christian Ambassador." Upon this policy of peace Barton found himself in direct opposition to de Breves, who was doing all he could to foster the war in the interests of his master Henry. What precisely those interests were may perhaps be gathered from Henry's remark, that "The League made me King, who knows but the Turk may make me Emperor." Henry was a candidate for election as King of the Romans. The weakness of the Austrian house and the loss of Hungary, would certainly have paved the way for the choice of so powerful a prince as the King of France.

The division between French and English Ambassadors, the result of their opposing policies, was deepened by questions of jurisdiction or the "consulage of forestiers" as it was called, the question really of the covering flag, which assumed an almost personal character (No. 201). De Breves was jealous in guarding the prestige of the

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* State Papers, Turkey, August 4th, and September 8th, 1593, March 20th, 1594.

† State Papers, Turkey, November 21, 1593.

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French covering flag, Barton on the other hand claimed that the Flemish, as being under the Queen's protection, should fly the English flag. We shall see what this led to in the sequel. But in the meanwhile, in August 1593, an episode which caused considerable annoyance to Barton took place (No. 211). Some prisoners in the Tower of the Black Sea escaped by cutting away the floor of their cell. They were political prisoners, and the Sultan flew into a fury. The governor was put to death, and a sanjakate offered to anyone who gave information. A search of all Frankish houses was ordered. Barton was summoned to the presence of the Lieutenant Grand Vizir, who used such violent language that the dragoman fled and the Ambassador himself was in expectation of arrest (No. 213). In these circumstances he resolved to appeal to the Sultan in person. This was by no means an easy matter. But Barton hired a boat and rowed under the windows of the Kiosk; there, by the help of a negro of the Sultan's inner family, he managed to pass his petition into the Grand Signor's hands, and received a promise that he should not be molested. Meantime Ferrad Pasha, the Lieutenant Vizir, had also approached the Sultan, demanding the revocation of the promise of immunity, and complaining of the Ambassador because he refused to surrender his barber, who had been in the habit of frequenting the Tower of the Black Sea, and was suspected of complicity in the flight of the prisoners. Barton, who knew nothing of Ferrad's action, went to call on the Pasha with explanations, but to his amazement he found himself arrested in the Pasha's house and told to surrender the barber or he would be sent to prison. There was no help for it and the barber had to be sent for and handed to Ferrad. It was near the Feast of Bairam, so the barber was not put to the torture at once, and Barton lost no time in appealing to the Chief Eunuch, but with what immediate success we do not learn.

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It is curious that Barton himself makes no mention of this episode in his despatches home.

Luckily for the Ambassador the long-looked-for ship from England, bringing the presents for the Sultan, arrived at the beginning of October. The Sultan went over to his Kiosk to see her come in. She was hung with scarlet cloth round the quarter deck and bulwarks and was dressed with flags and pennants. She passed the Serraglio Point with fanfares of trumpets and salvoes of artillery arranged in the hold which produced a more brilliant effect than the usual salute from the batteries. His Majesty liked it so much that he wished for a repetition of the show two days later (No. 221). One immediate result of the arrival of the ship was the liberation of the Ambassador's barber. On Sunday, October 17th, 1593, Barton kissed hands and made his presents consisting of broad cloth, cloth of gold, silk, silver goblets (No. 224). He handed in a memorandum containing four requests, dealing with the despatch of a Turkish fleet, the question of Don Antonio's son, prisoner at Fez, the renewal of the Capitulations and details of trade.

The Ambassador immediately made use of his improved position to open and press negotiations for peace with the Emperor (Nos. 237, 240, 242). Nothing came of it, however, except that Barton's interest in the policy of the Danubian States, Transylvania, Moldavia, and Walachia led him into a long and troublesome law suit in the Venetian Ambassador's Court. He had gone surety for the Vaivode of Moldavia to the firm of Ellman, and was endeavouring to escape the consequences. The details, which are both interesting in themselves and valuable as illustrating the jurisdiction and procedure of Ambassadorial Courts in Constantinople, can be read in Nos. 262, 272, 276, 289–296.

De Breves, who, of course, had not been taken into Barton's confidence in the matter of the peace negotiation,

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had nevertheless discovered what the English Ambassador was about and reported it to his master. The result was that Barton received mortifying instructions from home, and writes to Sir Thomas Heneage: "I will in "future be obedient to the new order sent me not "to meddle with the Emperor's affairs as well because of "his ingratitude as also because the French King, "acquainted thereof by the French Ambassador, is "offended therewith."

Sultan Murad III. died on the 16th January 1595. He was succeeded by Mohamed III., and the Venetian gives a most pathetic account of the strangling of the new Sultan's sixteen brothers (No. 328).* The war in Hungary had been far from favourable to the Turks. The Sultan Murad, alarmed at the ill-success of Sinan Pasha and by the revolt of Transylvania, Moldavia, and Walachia, had sent to Damascus for the Holy Standard, just before his death. But Sinan's reverses were not retrieved. The Imperialists under Count Mansfeldt continued to recover such important places as Gran, Wissegrad, and Waitzen. Sinan's death on March 21th† threw the Turkish forces into still greater confusion and the new Sultan who, to use Barton's phrase, was no less a "Cupid's Knight" than his father, was forced to take the field in person. Barton was pressingly invited to accompany Mohamed‡ (No. 404). The Sultan left in June, Barton on July 4th. By October the Turks and Christians had met in the plains of

* State Paper. Turkey. October 23, 1595.

† State Paper. Turkey. March 31, 1596.

‡ State Papers. Turkey. January 5, 1595–6. "Two days since "being advised to get ready I answered I would govern myself as the "other Ambassadors did, who hitherto have made no preparation. I know "not how to be supplied, for I cannot make provision of horse, coach, "tents, &c., with less than four or five thousand ducats so that though with "the Grand Seigneur's allowance and the company's pension I could "come by 3,000 ducats, yet it will scarce defray all the charges necessary "to set forth from Constantinople."

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Keresztes, under Erlau, (called Agria in the despatches) and the Sultan, thanks to his officers Cicala, Hassan, and the great Seadeddin, won a complete victory. Barton was present at the fight, and was even reproached with having drawn his sword against Christains. Whether that was true or not, it is certain that he resumed his efforts in the interests of peace, and undertook some tentative negotiations in that direction (Nos. 515, 516). But neither side was really disposed to come to terms. The war dragged on for many years.

Mohamed returned to Constantinople and entered the city in triumph. With him came Barton. He found trouble waiting him at the hands of de Breves who began to display a growing hostility to his English colleague. Paulo Mariani, acting Consul for England and France, at Cairo, but really Barton's right hand man, was hung through de Breves's instrumentality, on a charge of having furnished the Spanish with information (No. 524). The old question of jurisdiction also was coming to a head once more. In May 1597,* Barton writes to Sir Robert Cecil reporting "the unfriendly behaviour of the French "Ambassador towards me." The peace policy of the English (Nos. 622,647) was highly distasteful to the French Ambassador; and the depredations of the English privateers in the Levant, of which we begin to hear in October 1597 (No. 622), gave him an ever growing justification for his unsympathetic attitude. This question of the privateers was a legacy which Barton bequeathed to his successor. He died in the thirty-fifth year of his age, on the first of January 1597,† and was buried on the island of Halki, where his tomb may still be seen.

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* State Papers. Turkey.

† English Historical Review. No. 25, p. 116.

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Henry Lello, who had been secretary to Barton, took over the management of English affairs, at first with the title of agent. His earliest extant despatch to Sir Robert Cecil is dated March 1, 1597. "I will continue to write," says he, "as formerly being ordinarily performed by the "Ambassador lately deceased." Lello continued the policy of his predecessor, and was able to thwart the Spanish efforts for a truce (No. 776). But it was not till August that the ship "The Hector," bringing the Sultan's present and Lello's full credentials as ambassador, passed the Dardanelles (No. 806). She carried a large cargo of woollen goods which the Venetian Ambassador reports to be so excellent as to constitute a serious danger to Venetian trade in that commodity. The Sultan and all his court came down to the Kiosk to see the "Hector" sail in; and Lello reports that "the sound of our English trumpets "gave him so much pleasure as those about him say they "have not seen him so delight in any Christian prince's "strength and defence."* The present consisted of Master Thomas Dallam's famous organ "very cunningly "designed" says the Venetian Ambassador "which serves "as a clock and can play several airs by itself" (No. 814), while Lello remarks that "the instrument it is thought "will give the Grand Seigneur great content if any of his "people can maintain the use thereof." There was also a coach for the Sultana Mother, plate for the sultan, and cloth which had become mildewed, "most base" says Lello "and not beseeming so mighty an Emperor and to "come from as famous a Prince"† "The Sultana is very

* State Papers. Turkey. September 8, 1599.

† What sort of a present the Venetians were in the habit of offering may be gathered from the following despatch. State Papers. Turkey, 23rd October 1595. "The Venetian Ambassador went to kiss the Grand "Seigneur's hands on 22nd inst. The present he brought from Venice was "first a ship made of silver gilt with masts, sails, and artillery so weighty as

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" pleased with her present and has promised to be my " friend " Lello writes " I have recommended to her care " the Consulate of Cairo . . . yet the French Ambassador " uses all the means he can to hinder me, and grieves to see " our credit so great here." The Venetian Ambassador's despatches display no less a jealousy of English influence, and while he admits that the " Hector " was a fine ship he complains of the vanity of the English in showing it, its artillery and ammunition to the Turks (No. 814). In fact, a combination of the French and Venetian Ambassadors against the English was already tacitly if not explicitly established. Lello kissed hands on October 4th. Here is his own account of the ceremony.

" I omitted to send by the last courier because I could not then and yet cannot advise you of the good success of my employment here with the Grand Seigneur, as the French Ambassador with his great bribes, receiving now the Pope's pay, spares nothing to hinder all my designs, and chiefly for the Consulage of Forestiers which the Grand Seigneur after the arrival of her Majesty's ship granted should come under her banner.

" The manner of my presenting the present to the Grand Seigneur was as follows. I appointed to attend upon me twelve gentlemen on horseback vested in cloth of gold and silver, a gentleman usher, two pages in white damask,

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" two men might carry, three basins and ewers of silver gilt of divers work-
" manship, three great basins or cauldrons of silver to keep wine or water
" fresh, three flagons of silver gilt and 10 great standing cups, 20 pieces of
" rich cloth-of-gold, 20 pieces of pure velvet, 20 pieces of taffeta and damask
" wrought with gold, 20 pieces of satin and damask, and divers coloured
" cloths and, which disgraced so rich a present, there were brought therewith
" four great Parmesan cheeses, certain white wax candles and certain baskets
" of sugar loaves. It was greatly commended by the Turks and esteemed at
" a great price by the Christians. In which respect it greatly imports the
" Queen's credit with the Grand Seigneur that like diligence and carefulness
" be used by the Company."

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twenty men in livery gowns, twelve merchants decently apparelled merchant-like in black, and myself attired as richly as I might. The captain of the Chouses and Spahis was sent to accompany and entertain me to the Grand Seigneur's palace where first in open court before the Grand Seigneur, his Pashas, and Councillors I declared her Majesty's pleasure, salutations, and requests conferring about divers late accidents, especially of her Majesty's forces against Spain and of the peace made between him and the French King, which they all seemed to dislike. We spent a small time until the banquet for me was provided, which being furnished, only I, Halill Pasha, Chief Vizir, and Afitht (Hafiz) Pasha, late General of Scelestia, sat at one table; the other Pashas sat apart by themselves at another. At a little distance from us sat the two Cadiliskers or Chief Judges of all this Empire, and apart from them, two of the High Treasurers; by them sat alone the High Chancellor. Everyone was served according to his degree, but our table was furnished with the allowance and dainties usually served to the Grand Seigneur in great variety and abundance. Which finished, order was sent by the Grand Seigneur that before our entrance to him, both I and my gentlemen should be clothed in vestments out of his treasury, which were there scarcely found; yet I had two and ten for my gentlemen; and so in company of the Vizirs I entered into the presence chamber where the Grand Seigneur sat upon a cushion of red satin most richly embroidered with pearls, and all his chamber flowered with red satin richly embroidered with gold. Omitting the sumptuousness of the sight, I first saluted him in her Highness' name; secondly, delivered the good intelligence between her Highness and his father; thirdly, informed him of the Queen's pleasure for my confirmation as Ambassador; and

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lastly, recommended to him the affairs of her merchants trafficking in these parts. Whereto he answered, as before, saying he much rejoiced at the Queen's friendship, and prayed God that she might always have the victory over her enemies as hitherto, and, lastly, told me I should receive satisfaction of all I desired. Leave being given to depart, I was accompanied by chouses and other officers to my house, having been saluted outward and homeward with divers tiers of artillery from the ship. And thus, while thinking myself sure of all things, the French Ambassador, with his bribe of six thousand chequins, not only overthrew our former grant of Consulage of Forestiers but all other demands I made, besides the Confirmation of our old Capitulations, the Viceroy denying me audience to show reason for my just demands. He denied that he had formerly granted to her Majesty the Consulage of Forestiers, or that he sold her friendship which was worth more to his master than his head. I have since made divers petitions to the King to be heard, but they are put back by the Viceroy. So that finding no remedy, I caused the ship to depart whereat the Grand Seigneur marvelled and said he had given order that I should be contented and that he would cause me and his Vizir to be friends, who rules him as he lists, and seeing no other remedy I called for an answer to the Queen's letters which within few days was sent me, but nothing answered according to the same except only he would confirm the old Capitulations, which letters I returned requiring him to make perfect answer to the same, the chief point being for the Forestiers which gravelled him, having, as I understand, order from the Grand Seigneur to give good regard to her Majesty's letters. He answered that he would advise the Grand Seigneur thereof, and that all my other demands would be

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granted, the chief being to have the Flemings capitulated to come under the Queen's banner. The day after the ship departed the Queen Mother sent for me lamenting that the ship had departed without her letter, saying: 'What an ungrateful woman I have shown myself to be 'in not writing to the sole princess of the world'; she also said she did not eat or drink that day for sorrow."

But besides the question of the covering flag, and the jurisdiction over "forestiers," the Venetian Ambassador reports (No. 817), that Lello "goes working away at "various chimerical schemes, principally the idea of ask- "ing the Grand Seigneur to give him one of the churches "in Galata, for the use of a minister he has brought with "him. Both the French Ambassador and I consider this "design as affecting the honour of the Holy Church, and "we accordingly approached the Mufti on the matter. "He promised us every support." But the Mufti died suddenly; he was supposed to have been poisoned by the Sultana, who was his enemy. The present of the coach may have had something to do with this opportune demise. But the hostility of de Breves and the Venetians was not to be pacified. De Breves hearing from Halil Pasha that at his first audience Lello had laid great stress on the conversation of Henry IV., as leaving the Queen the only true friend of the Turk, and foe to Spain and Rome (No. 821), fastened upon certain phrases Lello was reported to have used. A battle royal followed. The French Ambassador refused Lello's invitation to supper on board the "Hector." The Venetian Ambassador endeavoured to reconcile both parties, but without effect. Feeling ran high between members of the two Embassies. It was winter and there had been a heavy fall of snow. Capello, the Venetian, reports the following incident which took place on January 23rd, 1600: "Yesterday evening, as the result of a snowballing

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" match, a violent quarrel arose between the households of " the French and English Ambassadors. Several were " badly wounded, and had not night fallen, worse would " have happened, for the Ambassadors themselves began " to take part." Venetian mediation induced both Ambassadors to send three gentlemen of their suite to the Venetian Embassy to declare solemnly that their chiefs had no share in the scandal, and would punish the offenders when discovered by the Venetian Embassy; the Ambassadors were formally reconciled. But while the quarrel had been at its height, de Breves had sent a note to Halil Pasha to complain of the English, of which note he gave no information to the Venetians.

" Accordingly," says the Venetian Ambassador, " just when we were beginning, as agreed upon, our inquiry into the causes of the first quarrel, the English Ambassador sent his dragoman to Halil to obtain an order for an English merchant; the Pasha, who was already dissatisfied with the Ambassador, not only refused the request, but told the dragoman that his master was a lunatic, and that he had heard of the scandal which had arisen with the Ambassador of France. Halil also bade the dragoman warn his master to behave himself, and to keep within bounds and in order, and added other expressions of annoyance. The dragoman, who is a Jew, but lately taken into the English Ambassador's service, went back to the Embassy and reported all that had happened, and without exercising any circumspection, he very likely represented the language of Halil as more violent than had really been employed.

" The English Ambassador came straight to me, told me what had taken place, and begged me to excuse him if he withdrew from the promise he had given me, for the French Ambassador, after placing everything in my hands, had still presented to Halil a note in which he not merely

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exaggerated the episode, but accused the English Ambassador of wishing to attack the French Embassy, and, therefore, as the French Ambassador had broken his word and promise, the English Ambassador claimed to be released from his, and to be free to act in defence of his interests and his honour.

"I endeavoured to quiet him, and begged him to wait till I heard the account from the French Ambassador. From him I learned how the matter stood; it seems that the note was sent to Halil before I had intervened between the Ambassadors. The French Ambassador offered to send anyone I might name to Halil to inform him of the arrangement which had been reached, to assure him that he and the English Ambassador were friends, and to explain to him all that I had done for the satisfaction of the English Ambassador. But for all that this offer was courteous and prudent, the English Ambassador only grew the more bitter, and next morning went straight away to the Capudan Pasha, who is a deadly enemy of the French, to lodge a complaint not only against the Ambassador of France, but against Halil as well, on account of the message he had sent through the dragoman; and he let it be understood that he would not appear before Halil, as he was an enemy and partial to France. Cicala (the Capudan) willingly espoused the English Ambassador's cause, and promised to support him, and, if necessary, to present a petition to the Sultan. But it seems that Cicala subsequently spoke to Halil, and resolved to entrust me with the solution of the difficulty. Accordingly Halil sent one of the chief cavasses to me, and Cicala sent another; they, in the name of their masters, informed me, with every expression of esteem and regard for the Republic, that the quarrel between the two Ambassadors caused great annoyance, and that, as it did not seem to

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them desirable to interfere between the Ambassadors of Christian powers, they could take no better course than to place the whole affair in the hands of the representatives of your Serenity, for among the allies of the Porte, the Republic was the most ancient, the most worthy, and the most prudent; and they most urgently begged me as your minister to undertake this task, as the illustrious Gradenigo, owing to his serious illness, could not support any new trouble.

"I returned thanks to the Pashas, and made a suitable reply to the confidence reposed in your Serenity and the honour done to me, which, to say the truth, was expressed in terms not merited by my poor worth. I said that since their lordships so desired, I would do my best to carry out their wishes. When the dragomans had been dismissed, I informed both Ambassadors of the proposals made by the Pashas, and, re-opening the negotiations, by the grace of God they were brought to make peace, though the difficulties were numerous, and the rehearsal of them would be tedious to your Serenity. In truth I have found in the French Ambassador, albeit he had more grounds for resentment than the English Ambassador, on account of various injuries received in the course of this affair, a most excellent disposition and pliability.

"I immediately reported this new reconciliation to the Pasha, who was highly pleased, and made use of expressions of great regard for the Republic. He tendered me his thanks, as have also the Ambassadors.

"In the course of these transactions I have had a most favourable occasion to speak to the English Ambassador about the audacity of the English ships, which, in the waters and harbours of your Serenity, molest all other shipping, including that of the Republic. I pointed out to him the difficulties that might arise, quite against the

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wishes of the Queen. I begged him to report the matter home, so that steps might be taken to prevent the mischief going further. The Ambassador promised to make vigorous representations, and he assured me that if these pirates go to England they will be most severely punished. He added that when the Queen hears of these complaints, and sees that there is no other way of preventing them, she will revoke the charter of the Levant Company rather than allow others, under its shelter, to molest the Republic and her allies. I seem to have gathered from the Ambassador's remarks, that the English trade will not last long here, for in the course of his complaints against the French Ambassador for his hostile attitude on the old question of jurisdiction between them, in the heat of his conversation, he said that the French Ambassador ought to leave the English in peace for this one year that they have to trade here, for the English have countries far richer than this to traffic in, and seas where they can expand themselves at pleasure (alluding to the Indies), and that they might quite well cease their commerce here, where they are lightly esteemed and constantly insulted. If that really took place it would be of vast service to the navigation of these waters, for the more the English frequent these seas and become familiar with them, the more complaints of damage by them and injuries inflicted shall we hear of; to say nothing of other dangerous results which must arise from the number of ships which they possess, and from the magnitude of their plans, which are directed to the capture of booty, and are accompanied by barbarous cruelty which knows no fear and recognises neither God nor law.

"However, I am not without hope that their Ambassador and Consuls may leave this place and other places in the Levant, for almost all the claims and pretensions of the

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English have been decided in favour of France. They maintained that all foreigners who desired to place themselves under the protection of the English flag should be free to do so. The English representatives lack a strong support on which they counted to maintain the Ambassador in Constantinople, and the Consuls elsewhere; for they cannot draw their salaries except from the dues levied, and their payments can be exacted from the English subjects only, who are few in number, and so their fees will not nearly cover their current expenses. The whole charges, therefore, fall on the company of the Levant merchants (for the Queen will not listen to any other party), and as they cannot support such a strain, they will be forced to abandon the enterprise; besides, it seems that they do not pay a dividend owing to the small profits they make on their business."

That is how the Venetian Ambassador describes the Lello-de Breves incident. Lello himself reports as follows, in a despatch to Sir Robert Cecil:

"15th January 1599–1600. I think it expedient to advise you of an affray between the French Ambassador's servants and mine, which manifests his great fury and malice against our nation, and that the same could not be without his consent and setting forward. Some of my people being in the streets with their Greek neighbours throwing snow, it happened that the master of the French Ambassador's house passed by and one of the balls, which was thrown by one Greek at another, hit him. He, supposing it to be done by one of my servants, fell into great choler, went home and within two hours there were assembled 30 or 40 French people, he having sent to a ship here in port to call all the mariners, who, with daggers, staves, and swords, stood privily in a house in the streets where my servants were to return home. Being advised

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thereof I sent them command not to meddle with the French, but to come some other way because I knew they had no weapons; but before the advice three were come as far as the place where the French issued out and hurt them all, and as the others came by they were also attacked. The Venetian Baglio and other neighbours were eyewitnesses of this butcherly fight, and cried out shame upon them. When my people were got together the French fled in haste to their master's house. Heretofore our endeavours were to defend the merchants and nation against the Turk, but now, since the peace between Spain and France, all that we can do is to defend ourselves from such injuries as he makes and devises against us. The new and old Baglios, yet here resident, are great mediators between us to examine and end the cause.

"The French Ambassador and I promised to the Venetian Ambassador not to complain to these barbarous people of the late affray between our servants, but meanwhile the French Ambassador has complained to the Viceroy that I, with my servants, had assaulted his house and hurt four of his men. I therefore thought it well to discharge myself before the Pasha, desiring the Baglio to make certificates how we had proceeded. The Venetian Ambassador implored me for the honour of our two princes to take some satisfaction of the French Ambassador and not to communicate our differences to these barbarous people, to which I again agreed if the French Ambassador in writing and by his messenger to the Pasha declare his complaint false, which he has done."

As a matter of fact the question of the "consulage of forestiers," was becoming concrete in the case of the Flemish traders. Lello reports on March 13th to Sir Robert Cecil: "The Flemish merchants begin to trade

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" into these countries which will subvert ours, although " it is now of little worth: yet seeing no means to prohibit " them I thought it better to take their protection than " suffer them to go under the French."

This was the question to be fought out between Lello and de Breves. The whole matter turned upon the nature and quality of the Capitulations. No doubt existed but that originally the Flemish, like all other foreigners except the Venetians, must have sailed under the French flag. De Breves maintained that they were Spanish subjects, and therefore under his jurisdiction, as French Ambassador. Lello advanced a double argument, first that the Flemish were under English protection, and therefore included in the English Capitulations (No. 887), and that those Capitulations distinctly gave the English Ambassador "consulage of forestiers." Against him he had the Grand Vizir; in his favour Cicala, the powerful Capudan Pasha, and the Chief Gardener, the Bostangi Pasha. But the position was not as clear as the English Ambassador represented it. On the 23rd November 1600, the Venetian Ambassador reports (No. 931), "I have just learned some- " thing which seems to me of great moment, namely, that " the Capitulations between the Grand Signor and the " Queen have never been ratified though it is five years " since the Sultan has been on the throne. This matter " has been kept most jealously concealed, but I will " manage to penetrate the secret." The Venetian Ambassador is a hostile witness in the case, for on September the 2nd, he had been instructed that if he saw the French Ambassador's policy succeeding, and if he saw that he could further its object, he was to do so, but cautiously and secretly (No. 923). Nevertheless it is probable that his report of the actual state of the case is correct. He says (No. 936):

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"It is well known to your Excellencies that there has never been but one Capitulation between the English and the Turks. This was ratified about eighteen years ago, in the reign of the present Sultan's father, and it was only then that the Queen of England began to send her Ambassador to reside there.* When the present Sultan came to the throne, the late English Ambassador, called Edward Barton, wished to renew the Capitulation at once, without waiting till the Queen sent another Ambassador. But the Turks, who are not at all ignorant of their own interests, always persisted in refusing to confirm the Capitulation, unless the Queen sent to the Sultan the usual present on his assumption of the throne, though they waived the question of a special Ambassador. Up to eighteen months ago they have gone on with the original Capitulation, as all other powers do until the new one is ratified. But then, when the gifts arrived, Mr. Henry Lello, who was here in the capacity of simple agent in the place of his master, the former Ambassador, was declared by the Queen as her Ambassador and received here as such. As soon as the present had been given to his Majesty, Lello immediately followed up the negotiation for the ratification of another Capitulation far more extensive than the former; he came to terms with the Porte and the Capitulation was even read in Divan, in the presence of all the Pashas, highly approved, and sent in to the Sultan, who countersigned it in these terms, which were shown to me, "We "have seen it, let it be written and given to the Am- "bassador."† While it was being written out the revolt of the Spahis and the death of Chirà the Jewess took place,

* William Harborne, *cf.* Cal. State Papers, Venetian, Vol. viii., neither Harborne, Barton, nor Lello appear in the List of Diplomatic Agents. Venetian Calendar, Vol. i., p. cxliii.

† That is the Sultan issued a Hattisheriff.

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followed by the fall of Halil Pasha who was the ultimate support of the new English Capitulations, and so the matter remained suspended.

"When Hafiz was appointed Lieutenant Grand Vizir, he would not ratify the Capitulation except in its original form, and in spite of the Sultan's signature he told the Ambassador that what Halil had done Hafiz could undo.

"The substance of the additions to the Capitulation is this, that English merchants trading in Constantinople shall only pay three per cent. on their goods, whereas they formerly paid five and even six per cent. But no arrangement was made about other ports where the dues amount to twenty per cent.

"That all orders the Ambassador can obtain from the Porte shall have the same value as the Capitulation itself.

"The English are to enjoy all privileges enjoyed by the French and the Venetians.

"All suits between English merchants which may arise elsewhere than in Constantinople are to be decided in Constantinople, if the sum at stake exceeds four thousand aspers.

"The Queen even demanded that Flemish merchants under her protection should be allowed to trade if they flew the English flag.

"The English Ambassador was waiting instructions from his mistress, to whom he had reported all that has happened.

"But a few days ago, when it seemed that the Queen of England would make peace with Spain, and while news from Hungary was far from good, Hafiz sent for the Dragoman of the English Embassy, and inquired why the English Ambassador did not continue to seek the ratification. To which the Ambassador replied that he had

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already written to the Queen, and was waiting an answer, which would soon be here. It was not for him to say another word on the subject, because there was an attempt to alter what had already received the signature of the Grand Signor, who had actually, in replying to the Queen's letters, announced that he had granted to her Ambassador his request as to the renewal of the Capitulations."

On April 8th, 1601, Lello complains to Sir Robert Cecil that "the suit between me and the French Ambassador "continues without aid, for want of her Majesty's letters, "and as they have not come, I am forced to seek friendship "according to the custom of this country which must be "by bribes. The Admiral stands very firm in my behalf, "especially for the Flemings."

The controversy, however, was drawing to a close. De Breves's influence began to decline. "A new Ambassador," Lello had written in September of 1600, "is "expected from France, who God grant may be of "Christianlike mind, for it is expected that the present "one will surely turn Turk, being already married accord-"ing to the Turkish law. He secretly instructs the Turks "how to manage their wars against the Christians." Henry IV. had in fact, recalled de Breves who, either through inability, or disinclination, still delayed to take his leave.

The peace between France and Savoy, which meant peace with Spain, gave Lello an opportunity of placing de Breves in an unfavourable light, for the French Ambassador had promised the Turks that French arms would be directed against Spain (No. 969). Cicala's influence too, steadily exerted in favour of the English, was paramount, and he interfered decisively in the question of the "consulage of Flemings" (No. 969), by requesting the French Ambassador to desist from his opposition to Lello.

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The Ambassador said that to please the Capudan he would write again to his master for instructions. Cicala, however, replied that letters took too long, and that the Ambassador must make up his mind at once. De Breves appealed to the Grand Vizir, but in vain (No. 976), and on May 23rd, 1601, Lello is able to acquaint Cecil that the question is finally settled in favour of the English.

"I told you that the suit between the French Ambassador and me for the protection of the Flemings and forestiers was to be ended by the Grand Seigneur's whole council. It is now ordered that the Flemings come under her Majesty's banner and be included in our Capitulations."

And the Venetian Ambassador writes: "Your Serenity "will see how things change their aspect here, passing "from one extreme to another; only last year it was the "desire not of the Sultan only, but of all his ministers, "and almost, I might say, of Cicala himself, to prohibit "the English from trading; now, in spite of excellent "reasons based upon capitulations, decrees, and Imperial "rescripts in favour of France, the very reverse has been "adopted. This is chiefly due to the immense influence "of Cicala, who formerly had little weight, but now, "having ingratiated himself with the Sultan during the "recent tumults, he aspires by means of frequent interviews and cunning counsels, to overtop the supreme "influence of the Chief Eunuch, who by supporting Cicala "in the past has been the sole cause of his present "exaltation. It is not merely Cicala's greedy hopes to "wring much profit out of the English Ambassador "which induce him to take up this attitude, but also his "ancient hatred of the French. The Grand Vizir has "recounted to the other Pashas, and to the Cadileskier, "the pretensions of the two Ambassadors, each of whom

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" had a decision in his own favour under sign manual of " the Sultan. The Grant Vizir explained that Cicala was " of opinion that the English, who were better friends " to the Porte than any other power, ought to be " favoured; all the others adhered to the weighty advice " of Cicala, and the Grand Vizir reported the consultation " to the Sultan, and informed him of the two contra- " dictory orders under his sign manual. The Sultan gave " orders that the Flemish, as not specified in the French " Capitulation, are now to sail under the jurisdiction of " the Queen of England."

That was the close of the long quarrel between Lello and de Breves. The Englishman was victorious. But besides the question of "consulage of forestiers" there was another constant source of friction between the French and Venetians on the one side and the English on the other. After the defeat of the Spanish Armada, English privateering developed rapidly. The booty brought home from the West Indies inflamed the imagination, and tempted buccaneers to try the Mediterranean as well. The fact of the war with Spain gave them an excuse for passing the Straits of Gibraltar and soon that sea was swarming with ships, which, under pretext of trading, were armed to the teeth and levied indiscriminate war on Spanish, French, Venetian, Turkish vessels alike (Nos. 878, 887, 896, 901, 903, 923, 1117). On July 8th 1600, the Senate addressed a letter to the Queen complaining of the conduct of the English (No. 895); and the Venetian Ambassador at the Porte vigorously seconded de Breves' expostulation made in the interests of French shipping. Lello indeed himself did not deny the facts of the piracy (No. 931), and frequently asked for powers to arrest privateers, sailing without the Lord High Admiral's patent. The Venetian ambassasador reports " the English

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" Ambassador admitted that in truth very few English " ships did sail to trade. But he urged that the kingdom " of England, though a rich feeding ground, was not able " to support the whole nation, and therefore they were " forced to take to the sea, and to go fully armed on " account of Spain; besides, these ships were the bul- " warks of the country. Sometimes they did not find " booty on the open sea and so pushed further. He " has written to the Queen to put down this fili- " bustering." Lello actually made some arrests on February 7th, 1601; and he received a report from Matthew Stoke (not Stocker, as the Venetian Ambassador calls him), the English Consul at Patras (No. 987), declaring that the Consul cannot obtain convictions from the Turkish Cadi, who is open to bribes. The mischief showed no signs of abatement and Lello's despatches are full of indications that the French and Venetian Ambassadors are growing loud-voiced in their just complaints.

Finally, in January of 1603, the Venetian government, in reply to a petition addressed to them on December 5th 1602 (No. 1,105) resolved to send a secretary to England to demand satisfaction for the damage.

Carlo Giovanni Scaramelli was chosen, and this leads us to the consideration of the last section of our documents, Scaramelli's despatches from England, and the action of the English privateers.

III.

Elizabeth had always resented the absence of a Venetian Ambassador from her Court, and on every occasion, by messages to the Venetian Ambassador in France, and by plain speech to distinguished Venetians who visited her, she let her opinion be known. Francesco Gradenigo gives a lively and enthusiastic account of his visit to England (No. 505) in 1596, and of his presentation to the

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Queen. He crossed from Dieppe to Dover, and found the country "the most lovely you can imagine; so opulent, " fat, and abounding in all things, it may truly be said " poverty hath no place there." He did not meet a single beggar on the road to London. He dined twice with the Earl of Essex, and describes him as fair-skinned, tall, and wiry; just growing a beard. The Earl presented him at Court, where the Queen was gracious and witty; and in the purest Italian "set springes to catch" compliments, which the courtly Italian did not fail to furnish. "Our brother of France," she said, "tells us that we are to show you " the most beautiful things in our kingdom, and you " have begun by seeing the ugliest, ourselves." Of course he answered that one glimpse of her Majesty eclipsed all else that her kingdom might contain. But at the close of the audience the Queen let fall these words: "Once on a " time when I was princess, I was more esteemed by the " Signory of Venice than now that I am Queen; but you " are afraid of that old fellow;" by "quel vecchio," she meant the Pope, and she was right, for it was Clement's expostulations, coupled with a dred of displeasing Spain, (Nos. 103, 109) which caused the Republic to defer a step it would naturally have taken, the maintenance of an Ambassador in England.

At last, however, the excesses of the English privateers procured the despatch of a fully accredited Envoy, though not an Ambassador, from Venice to St. James' (Nos. 1113, 1114).

The chief scene of English depredations was the seas round Greece, from Zante to Crete; and the principal actors were Thomas Sherley, William Piers, and his lieutenant Lancaster (No 1162). Patras, Coron, Modon and the islands such as Milo, offered both harbour and market to the buccaneers, and the Venetian Provveditore

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in Zante insists that the seas will never be rid of the robbers till the Grand Signor issues orders forbidding shelter in Turkish ports (No. 1147).

Thomas Sherley, one of that famous "leash of brethren," whose history will be found in Fuller's *Worthies* and in the publications of the Roxburghe Club ("*The Sherley Brothers*"), had fitted out in the port of Southampton, two ships, the "Dragon" and the "George." When he reached the Mediterranean he put in at Leghorn, and offered his services to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, promising to harry Turks and Jews, but to leave all Christians alone. The Grand Duke gave him between twenty-five and thirty men, possibly to replace the fifty men he had already lost in an engagement with a Flemish ship off the coast of Spain (Nos. 1150, 1151, 1153). On leaving Leghorn, Thomas Sherley, on board the "Dragon," parted company with his consort the "George," commanded by William Piers of Plymouth. On December 14th, 1602, when off Cape Malea, Piers fell in with the Venetian ship "Veniera," having on board the Venetian Consul da Mosto, returning from his duties in Alexandria. He captured the "Veniera" without a fight and took her into Porto Vasso on the island of Sapienza, where he plundered her at his leisure. Piers himself told da Mosto that his crew wished to kill the Venetians, but that he had prevented them by force, and showed a bloody dagger in proof of his assertion. The "George" seems to have been a "rotten old hulk," and Piers accordingly kept the "Veniera," which he re-christened the "Fox," and transferred the Venetians to the "George." In her they came to Zante, but were instantly despatched again by the Governor to endeavour to recover the cargo of the "Veniera," which was reported to be at Modon. Francesco

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Mondino, who was in charge of the mission, was given an escort of two English ships, the "Sacra" (?) and the "Darling," but they parted company, and Piers' discarded "George" with the crew of the "Veniera," was subsequently captured again by another pirate in a leaky brigantine, to which they were transferred, and left to shift for themselves with only one small anchor and a cheap cable. A gale sprang up; their foresail was split, and they gave themselves over for lost, but eventually ran under Coron and sold the ship for one hundred sequins, with which they made their way back to Zante.

Meantime Signor Giorgio Sumachi had been sent from Zante to Modon, by land, on a similar mission, to recover the cargo of the "Veniera." He was instructed to take the Turkish official at Gastuni with him. His report to his superiors (No. 1124), gives a full and vivid account of the difficulties he encountered in his unsuccessful efforts to fulfil his mission. The truth was as the Provveditore at Zante reported to his Government, that the Turkish officials gave ready shelter to the English pirates in return for presents, and the merchants and inhabitants of the various Turkish ports were perfectly willing to buy plundered cargoes at the cheap rates demanded by the English buccaneers. The master of the ship "Caldiera" reports (No. 1156), that "In Milo the English have "houses; are settled there and popular, enjoying full "liberty of traffic with the inhabitants of the place."

Meantime Thomas Sherley, on board the "Dragon," had penetrated further into the Archipelago. He and his men landed at Zea and demanded bread. When this was refused a riot took place and two natives were killed, while three of the English, including Sherley himself, were made prisoners. The Englishmen sent to summon their

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consul at Zante to their aid; but meanwhile they were transferred to Negropont and handed over to the Pasha's lieutenant. This information was furnished by two Greeks of Zea, who offered to secure Sherley's ransom for a reasonable sum (Nos. 1148, 1153).*

The "Dragon" appears to have left Zea in command of another officer, and continued her piratical career. In February Giorgio Sumachi was despatched again on board the "Gigante" to purchase corn in the Archipelago for the Governor of Zante and for the Venetian fleet lying at Corfu. He had a large sum of money on board, and was given as escort an English ship called the "Blessing of God," master, Stephen Infold of Plymouth. When off Modon Sumachi fell in with the "Dragon," and making up to his consort, the "Blessing of God," he asked whether she meant to fight. The answer was "You had better fly, if you can." Thus abandoned by her consort the "Gigante" looked to herself. After an exciting chase she managed to escape, under cover of night, and, though sighted again next day by the "Dragon" and pursued, she eventually reached the harbour of Milo. But as she sailed in she saw two English ships lying there. These turned out to be the "Fox" alias "Veniera," captain, William Piers, and Sumachi's consort, the "Blessing of God," which had reached Milo before him. Sumachi saw the trap into which he had fallen, and, taking his money with him, he slipped ashore just in time to escape into the town. Piers, who had been fully informed by the "Blessing of God," sent his boats at once to board the "Gigante," and finding his prize already fled, he threatened to burn the ship after plundering her. Sumachi, however, soon won over Piers by means of presents, and, as he

* *See* "The Sherley Brothers" pp. 42, 43. Thomas Sherley was captured on 15th January, O.S., 1603.

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himself says, "the Captain became my good friend, "though his crew were devils" (No. 1150).

While the "Fox," the "Gigante," and the "Blessing of God" were lying in Milo harbour, the "Dragon" sailed in with another prize, the "Caldiera," captured on her way from the Archipelago with a cargo of grain. No sooner did the "Dragon" sight Sumachi's "Gigante" than she sent on board demanding "the money and the merchant" and threatening to sink her. But Sumachi appealed to his friend Piers, who declared that if the "Dragon" did not desist he would fight her. The attention of both was presently diverted by the arrival of the "Bersatona" and they forgot their quarrels in the joint plunder of the new comer. When that was completed, the "Dragon" sailed away to Zea to pick up her commander, Thomas Sherley, and the Venetian ships, the "Caldiera," "Bersatona," and the "Gigante" were left in peace.

Although Scaramelli had left Venice before these details had reached the city, the information was forwarded to him in London and it was for these and similar acts of piracy that he was to seek redress from the Court of St. James.

Scaramelli crossed the channel on the 5th of February; and on the 7th reached London. The Queen was at Richmond, and it was only after some delays, caused no doubt on purpose, that he obtained an audience of the Queen on Sunday the 10th February. The Queen was dressed in silver and white taffety, embroidered with gold; her robe was rather open in front and showed her throat with strings of pearls and rubies down to the middle of her breast. Her skirts, Scaramelli remarks, were ample, and stood out more than was the fashion in France. Her hair was of a light colour such as nature never gave her, and she had a row of pear-shaped pearls across her forehead; she wore a puffed

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coif and imperial crown on her head. Her dress and stomacher were all studded with jewels. For bracelets she had double rows of large pearls. She looked younger than her seventy years. Scaramelli gives a minute account of the whole interview at which the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Lord High Admiral, and the Secretary (Sir Robert Cecil) were present, as also the ladies and gentlemen of the Court who had been dancing. Towards the close, just before he was dismissed there was a slight passage of arms between the Venetian Envoy and the Queen. After reading the Doge's letter her manner, which had been bright and smiling, suddenly changed. I cannot "fail to feel hurt," she said, "that during all the forty-"four years of my reign the Republic has never let me "hear her voice save in making requests, nor has ever "shown that regard for me and my kingdom that I have "received from other Sovereigns. Nor am I aware that "my sex has brought me this demerit, for my sex can be "no offence to any who treat me as other Sovereigns "are treated. But I am well aware, and therefore I "partly pardon, that the Republic has never been able to "obtain leave from certain Princes in this matter. Yet I "would not be discourteous to her, though in the question "of the privateers I would have you know that this "kingdom is not so scant of men, but what there "may be found a scamp and rogue or two among them; "seeing, however, that these be my subjects I will "appoint a commission to handle this affair with you." Scaramelli took up the challenge as to the indifference of Venice, and replied: "Madam, I am rejoiced to know "that your Majesty has reigned fourty-four years so "nobly, over this your ample dominion, for that is a "pledge that you are not unversed in knowledge of the

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" world, and must, therefore, be aware that all Sovereigns " are guided by circumstances in their conduct, I shall, " therefore, say no more on the subject save that the " Republic of Venice, a Sovereign Prince, great and by " God's grace independent, though she ever treats with " respect those who deserve respect, has never yet asked " leave of any Prince in the world, and never will." The Queen was far from displeased by this spirited reply, and retained a smiling countenance till the end of the interview, which, of course, could not close without a demand for compliments upon her Italian.

Scaramelli never saw the Queen again. She was rapidly drawing to the end of her life. Essex's treason, Tyrone's rebellion, Arabella Stuart's secret marriage,* and feigned madness, the death of the Countess of Nottingham, were all weighing upon her mind. Scaramelli reports on March 27th that the state of the Queen is desperate; that vexation of spirit, anger, old age, rather than any specific malady, are hastening her end. He records the lethargy—idiotcy he calls it—into which she had fallen, and represents her as deploring Essex's death as some unpardonable sin. Just before the Queen's death, however, the Envoy was received in audience by the Council (No. 1171). He describes My Lords as more like Kings than subjects, but admits that he was graciously received and made to sit at the head of the table in a brocaded chair. He obtained, on the whole, a favourable answer on the subject of his mission, and was able to write a reassuring despatch to Venice.

But the Queen's demise, which seems to have taken place either late on the night of April the 2nd (March 23rd O.S.), or at two o'clock on the morning of April

* *See* "Edinburgh Review," October, 1896 (No. 378).

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the 3rd* (March 24th O.S.) (No. 1166) interrupted all negotiations for a time; and Scaramelli had to await the arrival of the new King before resuming his pursuit of William Piers and his brother pirates.

HORATIO F. BROWN,
December, 1897. Ca'Torresella, Venice.

* Scaramelli's despatches raise a doubt as to the exact date of the Queen's death. He may, of course, be completely in error, though he is, as a rule, very well informed; but, taking him for what he is worth, and as the authority we are here discussing, it is uncertain whether Scaramelli means that the Queen died late on the evening of the 2nd April, or at 2 a.m. on the 3rd. In a postscript to his despatch of April 3rd, Scaramelli says: "*Last night* Baron Cree (Carey) left for "Scotland to give news of the Queen's death, which took place *yesterday* "evening"; there he clearly thinks that the Queen died on the 2nd. In his first despatch of April 7th, he writes: "Non fù così tosto fatta "palese questa morte, il che fù l' hora istessa che la Regina rese l'anima "*à, 2, venendo' 3, del corrente.*" Do these last words mean "on the "2nd, as the 3rd was approaching"?—in that case Scaramelli reaffirms his statement in his despatch of the 3rd and gives us a new date for Elizabeth's death; or do they mean "at 2 o'clock on the morning of the "3rd"?—in that case we get the exact hour of the Queen's demise. Scaramelli is in the habit of writing "à" with an accent, and of using the sign (') to indicate an "il" following a vowel, we therefore get "à, 2, "venendo 'l, 3,"; if "2" is taken as referring to the day of the month and not to the hour of the day we should expect to find "à', 2": on the other hand, "à, 2," meaning "at two," is certainly contrary to ordinary usage, which would require "alle 2." If it is argued that the words "del corrente" refer to both "2" and "3," it may be rejoined that "2" refers to "l' hora" which precedes it. Historians are unanimous in giving the 3rd April (N.S.) as the date of the Queen's death, and it is unlikely that this passage from Scaramelli will alter the accepted opinion; but either Scaramelli meant to affirm that the Queen died on the 2nd, and repeated his error (if error it be) twice, once on the 3rd and again four days later, which is surprising in so accurate an observer reporting so important an event; or else the despatch of April 7th corrects the despatch of April 3rd, and gives us the exact hour of the Queen's death, namely, 2 a.m. on April 3rd, which would tally with the information conveyed by the anonymous Petyt MS., which says that the Lords were up at Whitehall from Richmond by six o'clock in the morning. For this and other details *see* Disraeli, "Curiosities of Literature." London, 1867, p. 497.

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VENETIAN AND OTHER PAPERS.

A.D. 1592.

Jan. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is again under Rouen, having received two thousand English and twenty ships which the Queen of England has sent him for the purposes of this siege. They have passed Havre, and with the first tide they will take up a position between the two fortresses, so as to prevent any succour from reaching the beleaguered.

Chartres, 1st January 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

2. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The necessity of providing horses in Sophia, and the conviction that the intense cold would put an end to the plague, induced me to stop there, and I was thus enabled to pass Christmas in the way I wished.

I visited the Beglierbey of Greece (*i.e.* Roumelia), whose residence is in Sophia. He lives in great splendour. I was conducted to the audience by a number of chavasses, and was received in a grave though gracious manner.

This visit to the Beglierbey is not usually made by your Serenity's representatives, nor is it customary for them to receive the present of a horse as I did. But I believe that his Magnificence acted thus in order not to make any difference between me and an Ambassador Extraordinary from the Emperor who passed through some days ago.

By the middle of this month I hope, please God, to be in Constantinople.

Mustafa Pasha, 3rd January 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

3. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Alonzo de Bazan, Captain General of the Ocean, has been summoned to Court to consult upon the combination of a sufficient

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number of ships to keep the sea clear of pirates and to protect the Indiamen from the attacks of the English. The delays which attend the sailing of the Indian fleet cause notable disturbance in the financial world; and the Genoese have let it be known that unless that fleet comes safe to hand, they will not be able to negotiate any loan with his Majesty. Ambrogio Spinola, who is usually charged with such negotiations, answered that no promises would be kept unless the Indian silver arrived.

In Sicily they are very much afraid of the Turkish fleet, which is expected to take the sea in force when spring comes. The people of Sicily are so discontented on account of the famine, and the nobles because their privileges are violated, that a revolution is not impossible, should a hostile fleet approach the island.

The Grand Master of the Knights of Malta, in alarm at the prospect of a Turkish attack, has written to implore assistance.

Madrid, 4th January 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

4. LORENZO BERNARDO, retiring Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have received three sets of despatches, two forwarded from Adrianople by my successor. The third reached me by the ordinary post from Cattaro.

My successor is quite close, and has so arranged his journey that he will be at Sweet Waters on Tuesday, and will make his entry on Wednesday, the 15th.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 11th January 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

5. LORENZO BERNARDO, retiring Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Turks are expecting trouble in Persia, and have abandoned all idea of operations, either by sea or land, until the upshot is clear. I know that the Grand Vizir, speaking to some one who, on behalf of the English Ambassador, was urging him to send out a number of galleys to support the Queen of England and to annoy Spain, said that this was not the moment to think of fresh undertakings, but rather to observe the action of the Persians. There is nothing going on in the Arsenal.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 11th January 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

6. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish fleet cruising off Cape St. Vincent sighted some fifteen or twenty sail, which were taken to be the Indian fleet;

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but, on sending two ships to reconoitre, they turned out to be English. The English sank the galleon and captured the other Spaniard.

In Brittany, too, the Spanish ships have been forced to retire before the English.

Madrid, 12th January 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 14. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

7. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The news from Flanders is that the Duke of Parma is detained at Landrecies (*Landresi*) by the gout.

A Flemish merchant has news from Brussels that the King of Navarre went to England on the eleventh of last month, with a suite of twenty persons, and came back to Dieppe on the twenty-fourth.

Prague, 14th January 1592.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

8. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Seeing that the siege of Rouen was making small progress by bombardment and that the King was not employing all his troops, some people have been induced to believe that he did not intend to persevere in it. But after having carefully reconnoitred the ground more than once, he one night ordered three hundred French, three hundred English, and three hundred Germans to scale the walls. They easily made themselves masters of the out works. The English were the first to scale the walls, and at the point of the sword they penetrated the guard-house of the enemy. His Majesty, in recognition of this act of valour, bestowed upon the English the custody of that position. The following night the position was recaptured, in spite of the courage shown by the English, who did all that became brave and experienced soldiers. The misfortune was attributed to the faulty construction of the defences, which, being made of barrels, were easily fired and burned. While the Earl of Essex (*Conte Unes*)* and the English, in great distress for their honour's sake, were hoping that they might be charged to recover the position, the King sent the Baron de Biron with two regiments, who succeeded in recapturing the place, and the Baron is in it now, very strongly protected by gabbions covered with earth. It is now hoped that the King will be able to take possession of a manchette which used to allow succours to be carried into the old fort.

The King is massing his troops.

Chartres, 15th January 1592 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

* *See* Martin, *Histoire de France*, x., 274.

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Jan. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

9. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The earnestness with which the Spanish devote themselves to the war is such, that they leave no stone unturned to frustrate his Majesty's plans. He rests all his hopes upon the siege of Rouen. In order to hamper him the King of Spain has commanded the Duke of Parma to enter France, even if that should expose Flanders to some danger. In like manner, the Duke of Mercœur has abandoned his campaign in Brittany, and with two thousand Spanish and the same number of French, he has marched into Anjou, with the intention of laying siege to Pont de Cé, a stronghold on the Loire, and important for the passage into Poitu. His Majesty, accordingly, has ordered the Prince de Condé to effect a junction with the Prince d'Umbes, (? Amboise),and to oppose the foreign troops in those ports The Duke of Parma has effected a junction with the Princes of the League, and has probably twenty-five thousand men under him. It is supposed that his Majesty, at least with his cavalry, will move towards them in order to keep the enemy as far away from Rouen as possible.

There has been some difference between the Duke of Nevers and his Majesty, but all has been easily accommodated when the King, with that gracious manner of his, came to treat with Nevers face to face.

Chartres, 17th January 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

10. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As soon as his Majesty heard that the Duke of Parma was in France, he resolved not to raise the siege of Rouen. He left the English, Swiss, and Germans under the command of the Duke of Monpensier who is assisting the Marshal de Biron and the Baron, his son. The King himself with seven thousand cavalry and some picked regiments of infantry marched to meet the Duke of Parma. His Majesty will be still further reinforced; and there are many speculations as to the plan of campaign which his Majesty will adopt; the common opinion is that the King, who will have a flying squadron of cavalry far superior to that of the enemy, will do all that in him lies to attack the Duke of Parma should that commander threaten a move upon Rouen; or should the Duke attempt to form a permanent camp and thus to wear out the King, his Majesty will be able to break it up by cutting off the Duke's supplies and fodder. Commissioners are here gathering provisions,and as the whole country is devastated by the soldiery, this will probably increase the ordinary scarcity of provisions. I feel my share of these troubles which I have suffered for so long in this wretched country, and this induces me to humbly beg that you will take into consideration the question of my recall, in order that in addition to my other misfortunes I may not also be deprived of my native land, and of that natural

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pleasure which every one feels by the sacred hearth of his own house, the most precious boon a man may enjoy in this world.

Chartres, 18th January 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 21. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

11. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Fuggers write to the Emperor that the Duke of Parma was stationary in Guise, and was negotiating with the Duke of Mayenue for the cession to him of Guise, Peronne, la Fère and Laon. He gives it to be understood that he has orders from Spain to advance no further till these are conceded to him. The Duke intends to lay siege to St. Quintin, being afraid to leave it unoccupied in his rear.

Prague, 21st January 1592.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

12. LORENZO BERNARDO and MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassadors in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador Zane made his entry on the 15th. We have paid the usual visits. The Sultan's secretary, a prudent and estimable man, with whom the English Ambassador takes council in all his affairs, spoke long about the Pope, Spain, and France.

It is clear, from general conversation, that the English Ambassador has roused such suspicion of Spain that the Ministers will oppose the truce. He goes about saying that Marigliani will arrive with great sums of gold and jewels in order to bribe the Sultan and his Ministers; in this way he lowers the credit of the King of Spain, and at the same time he fills the minds of these Ministers with expectations of Spanish gold which, if not fulfilled, will damage Marigliani's position.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 24th January 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

13. MEMORIAL presented by the ENGLISH AMBASSADOR to the SULTANA, wife of the GRAND SIGNOR.

Most puissant Empress! in all humility I inform your Highness that my Queen and I are well aware of your benignity, for which I render infinite thanks to your Majesty, and I promise, in the Queen's name and my own, all gratitude which shall be made manifest on the first occasion, God willing.

I would now inform you of this which, seeing that it represents my Queen's intentions, is of the highest moment. I waited on the Mufti and the Capudan Pasha, and after setting everything before them they advised me to draft a memorial and bring it to them, and they would present it to the Sultan, and use all their influence in support of it. I did so, but up to the present moment I have received no answer from them. I pray your Highness to deign to intercede with the Sultan that he may ask for my memorial from those Ministers, or at least their opinion thereon.

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Furthermore, most puissant Lady, I have recently learned that certain galleys of Spain have touched at Rhodes and have seized a galley belonging to the Sultan, which was bringing back from Egypt the wife of Oweis Pasha, and all that Pasha's belongings, and some chavasses of the Grand Signor. The whole of this has been carried off to Spain. This was an act verily worthy of Spanish peace and alliance, to effect which a Spanish Ambassador is on his way, but whether he comes in friendship or in fear I know not. However, in face of this act of friendship I trust that your Highness will warmly support the interests of my Queen. She is a woman, and yet has fought and harassed for a long time this mighty Sovereign. Worthy therefore is she that his Majesty's power should be displayed in her favour. I implore your Highness to show your benignity towards my Queen, and now is the time to do it; and I would pray you, as you please, to make use of Mehemet Aga to lay the matter before the Sultan.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

14. MEMORIAL presented by the ENGLISH AMBASSADOR to the SULTAN.

I have explained to your Majesty all the events relating to Spain; how my Queen made war on that mighty enemy of the blessed Porte, mighty by sea and by land, but most mighty in the possession of Flanders, a rich and fertile kingdom lying hard by England. The King of Spain saw that the Queen would very likely take that kingdom from him, and thus prevent him making war on France; accordingly he has resolved to marry his daughter to the Emperor and to give her Flanders as dowry on condition that the Emperor, at his own charges, shall recover and hold that kingdom, and drive out the Queen. His object is to relieve himself of the burden of the war in Flanders so as to have his hands free for the war in France; and if he is free of Flanders very likely he will make himself master of France. Moveover, he has arranged that the Emperor shall give his daughter to the King of Poland.

All the Princes of Spain and Italy are in conspiracy against my Queen. God grant their designs succeed not. The only power they fear is your Majesty. Therefore a Spanish Ambassador is on his way to beg peace from the Porte, and thus, when that fear is removed, the King of Spain will be able to proceed to the conquest of France and will add it to his empire.

He acted in a similar way some years ago, when he obtained a three years' peace from you and seized Portugal and the Indies.

Your Majesty has frequently given your promise of help, let your Majesty now fulfil those promises in a manner so resolute that I may be justified in reporting to my Queen. It does not become your Majesty to see your allies conquered and overcome by your enemies. The kingdom of France has ever been a close ally of the Porte, do not allow it to be crushed, nor give such encouragement to your foe.

[*Italian.*]

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Jan. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

15. LORENZO BERNARDO and MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassadors in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is some movement in the Arsenal, but it is thought that its object is to alarm the Spanish and to hasten the arrival of Marigliani. The Grand Vizir desires that not merely for the profit which will accrue to him from the arrival of an Ambassador but in order to thwart the Capudan Pasha, who wishes to take the sea, a thing he cannot do if truce with Spain is concluded.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 25th January 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 28. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

16. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Parma is still in Guise. The States have sent by sea two thousand men and two shiploads of ammunition to the King of Navarre.

Prague, 28th January 1592.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

17. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has taken up a position opposite Beauvais, and intends to wait the Duke of Parma. The Duke has reviewed all his troops and those belonging to the Princes of the League. The troops have all been paid, and this removes any doubt that this war is kept alive by the will of Spain. Much gold comes from that country into France.

Chartres, 30th January 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

18. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King having learned that the Duke of Parma had crossed the Somme with some of his troops, instantly left Gournay, with a view to attacking him; but the Duke withdrew all his troops.

The siege of Rouen continues, but with little progress, owing to the absence of the King.

Chartres, 4th February 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

19. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

From the copy of the Sultan's letter to the Queen of England here enclosed, your Serenity will see what are the policy and intentions of the English Ambassador.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 7th February 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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1592. Jan. 30. Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

20. COPY of a LETTER sent by the GRAND SIGNOR to the QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Queen Elizabeth thrice glorious and thrice resplendent, first among the first followers of Jesus, and reconciler of the differences between the Nazarenes; heir of the everlasting blessedness and glory of the kingdom of England.

After wishing all success to your operations by these presents, we inform you that your letters have been handed to the happy and blessed Porte, the home of Princes, the seat of justice. They tell us that for the affection and loyalty which you bear to our happy and blessed person, you have continued the war against the King of Spain; and that, with the consent of Don Antonio, King of Portugal, you have subdued many of the Spanish possessions after various feats of arms, and the spilling of your subjects' blood, and your own treasure for the benefit solely of this our happy Porte.

And, further, you inform us that the said Don Antonio asked assistance from the Prince of Fez, and, as a hostage, left his son in the hands of that sovereign. To please the King of Spain the Prince of Fez has not only refused to help Don Antonio, but has actually kept his son, and refuses to give him up. Don Antonio applied for assistance to us, and the Prince of Fez, to gratify the King of Spain, has arrested all your subjects who were trading in his country. All this our profound and prudent intelligence has grasped, and to meet your wishes we have sent express orders to the Prince of Fez that he is to consign Don Antonio's son to our sublime Porte, and to set your subjects at liberty, giving them freedom to trade. You may rest assured that the Prince of Fez, on receipt of those orders, will obey. As soon as Don Antonio's son reaches the Porte, we will, with your knowledge, come to a fitting resolution about him.

Further, the King of Poland having violated the treaties between us, war was declared on him. His country was put to fire and sword, and ruined. He sent Ambassadors to sue for peace, which was refused. But your Ambassador here resident has, in your name, expressed your great desire that peace should be granted to the King of Poland; therefore to satisfy you, we have yielded to your Ambassador's request. You must, accordingly, write and urge him to a full, faithful, and sincere observance of this treaty.

Further, as you have requested permission for the export of corn into France, we have given orders to the Beglierbeys of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli in Barbary, to take the necessary steps, although by Imperial decree the export of corn is forbidden.

Be assured that as long as you observe the peace with us, each day will give new proofs of our affection; your ships and their merchandise shall come and go freely, and be treated with friendship.

Inform us of all your designs, thoughts, desires; for your friends shall be treated by us as you may wish. Your ships and merchandise shall never be molested.

Constantinople, 30th January 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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1592.
Feb. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

21. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A Sicilian, a Capuchin, has written to the King offering to make certain engines of war, which shall destroy the enemy's fleet and his army, horse and foot alike; with this instrument he promises to destroy the Queen of England's fleet and to capture her kingdom.

Some Portuguese, returned from England, report that Drake has been restored to favour, and will be placed in charge of a fleet to harry the Indies.

Madrid, 9th February 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

22. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is a rumour that the Duke of Lorraine is trying to come to terms with the King of Navarre. This has alarmed the Ministers lest the other members of the League, following the example set them, should also endeavour to make terms and thus free themselves from their present difficulties. Accordingly, in order not to abandon their policy in France the Spanish have opened negotiations with the Duke of Mayenne, and are endeavouring to induce him to surrender some fortress on the borders of Flanders to the Duke of Parma, so that they may have a shelter for their troops in case of a reverse. They are attempting to prove to the Duke of Mayenne that it is to his interest that there should be a Spanish corps-d'-armée in France, and the only way to render that possible is to place some strong hold at the disposal of Spain. The Duke of Parma has been charged to negotiate.

Madrid, 10th February 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

23. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is in Piccardy, keeping the Duke of Parma under observation. He has ordered a concentration of all his troops, and the Marshal d'Aumont and many other great personages have joined him. This inspires them with the hope of victory. The King will have about four thousand more horse than the Duke, and he expects three thousand musketeers from England. And with these he hopes to have as many infantry as the Spanish, on whom alone it seems that the Duke relies. Talking to me on this subject, the Marshal d'Aumont said: "Let the Duke of Parma advance with his infantry, we have two or three thousand gentlemen who will put foot to the ground and then shoulder the pike." The King's forces will amount to nine thousand horse and fourteen thousand foot.

Chartres, 11th February 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

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1592.
Feb. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

24. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Parma crossed the Somme in force. His Majesty did all he could to mass his troops in order to give battle, but being unable to do so he has resolved to remain in his cantonments, and to exhaust, in this way, the Duke of Parma's supplies. The Duke marches in fighting order; never more than a league a day, and never dismounts till he has set all his guards, so afraid is he lest he should be surprised. The French are in the van. It seems from his order of march that he intends to remain on the defensive and not to offer battle, unless the King attacks him in his entrenchments.

Chartres, 12th February 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

25. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty awaited with anxiety the arrival of all those troops which I have indicated in my previous letters; and although he was aware that the Duke of Parma was steadily advancing towards him, he resolved to maintain his position, though reason counselled a retreat. While in this attitude news arrived that the Duke of Parma was close by with all his army in battle array, having begun his march at day break. On receiving this report the King set out at once with a hundred horse to reconoitre. He pushed forward so far that he found himself face to face with the vanguard of the enemy, which opened fire. His Majesty then retreated, leaving behind him M. de Lavardine to break the enemy's attack. The enemy charged and, having killed M. de Givry's horse under him and wounded M. de Lavardine, they compelled the King to retire, though still fighting, till he was wounded in the flank by a harquebuss, but so slightly that a knife blade would not enter the wound. The arrival of the Duke of Nevers proved of the highest importance. He halted at the end of a village and showed no disposition to retire, nor any dread of the enemy. The enemy, either because of the high repute of the King, against whom they always act with fear, or because those in command were inexperienced, halted without engaging the Duke of Nevers, which they could easily have done as the rest of the royal troops were a long way off. It pleased God to save the King, and to conceal from the Duke of Parma his splendid opportunity, which was recognised by the King himself, who admitted that he had advanced too far against his enemies.

Chartres, 13th February 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

26. GIOVANNI MORO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In the congregation of France a resolution has lately been passed that the Duke of Parma is not to make any innovation upon the

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deliberations of the late Pontiff, that is, to maintain the three thousand Swiss, and the one thousand horse, and in case that number is not now complete he is to fill up the ranks from the French.

The King of Navarre is strongly entrenched under Rouen, and in that position he will await the Duke of Parma with design to force on an action should the Duke endeavour to relieve the city. It is thought that the Duke will not accept the challenge.

Rome, 15th February 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

27. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The suspicions which the Duke of Mayenne and Madame de Monpensier entertain against the party of the King of Spain in Paris are on the increase. His Majesty made his first retreat to Neufchâtel, in the castle of which he left M. de Givry, with a large number of picked troops, and he himself took up a position between Neufchâtel and Rouen. The Duke of Mayenne advanced with all his troops and took the town of Neufchâtel. He sent to beg the Duke of Parma to join him in order to make a joint assault on the Castle. The King dispatched five thousand horse in that direction, and the Duke of Parma in alarm refused to move. *The Spanish are afraid of being abandoned by the Duke of Mayenne in virtue of a secret understanding with the King. And as a matter of fact I have many reasons to suppose that Mayenne may tempt the Spaniards to an attack in order to land them in embarrassment, and in order to justify himself if peace is made.*

Chartres, 16th February 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

28. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday the Grand Vizir sent a chavass to say that he desired me to go to him this morning. Cicala, the Capudan Pasha, was present.

The Grand Vizir said that my predecessor Bernardo was always well furnished with news and I too must be in the same case; he wished, therefore, to know what was the territory which the King of Spain had acquired in France, of which they had news.

I assured him that I had no such news; and that when I left Venice the King of Spain had acquired no territory in France. He then asked me which of the two, France or Spain, enjoyed the sympathy of the Republic. I replied that the Republic was the good friend of both powers, and that there was no question of Spain just now, for the war in France was a civil war, though one of the parties declared that they had the support of Spain on religious grounds. Thereupon Cicala exclaimed "You are saying what you do not really believe"; and the Vizir added "These are all Spanish falsehoods. They will certainly make themselves

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masters of France as they did of Portugal and will proceed to destroy your Republic." I answered that there were no signs of such a disposition on the part of the King, and that one ought not to look for injuries at the hands of friends.

They held some conversation together, and then the Grand Vizir said that the Sultan had received letters from the King of Navarre, explaining that as he was fully occupied with the Spanish war he had not yet been able to send an Ambassador to the Porte. The Vizir asked who was supporting Navarre, and which side the Grand Duke of Tuscany took. I replied that the Grand Duchess was a Frenchwoman, and that Navarre was supported by the mass of the nobility, the Queen of England, and part of Germany.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 21st February 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

29. GIOVANNI MORO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

They say that the Duke of Mayenne is not at all anxious that the estates should meet for the election of a King as he desires to continue that authority which he now enjoys as Lieutenant General of the Crown of France.

Rome, 22nd February 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

30. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador does not cease to urge the Capudan Pasha to take the sea, but as yet without positive result. He pleades the cause of the King of Navarre, as I have explained in my previous despatches, and as is clear from the enclosed.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 22nd February 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

31. COPY of LETTERS sent by the SULTAN to HENRY III. (*sic*) King of France and Navarre.

To the thrice Glorious and Resplendent Prince, higher than all great Princes, follower of Jesus, goal and end of all the differences among Nazareens, sweetest fountain of splendour and honour, Henry, Emperor and heir of the eternal blessedness and glory of the noble kingdom of France to whom all come in supplication.

After the exchange of mutual offers of eternal friendship and thrice holy peace, we inform you that your letters have reached our hands, and from them we learn your friendly disposition and your perfect benevolence towards our Porte.

After the perfidious assassination of your predecessor you, as nearest to the throne, have been elected King; and desiring to maintain the ancient alliance made by many previous Kings, you found it very necessary to send an Ambassador for the confirmation and renewal of the treaty. But being occupied by the war against the Spanish, the Ambassador whom you had appointed was mortally wounded in fight, and you found it necessary to defer the choice

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of another. You further ask for help for Don Antonio, King of Portugal, unjustly driven from his throne by the King of Spain.

This, and all that your letters contain, we have understood.

We inform you that Don Antonio sought help from the Prince of Fez and sent his son as hostage. The Prince has kept Don Antonio's son and refused all help. We have ordered the Prince to send the son of Don Antonio to our Porte at once; when he arrives he will be treated with all honour, and he and you shall be fully satisfied, provided that you maintain the ancient alliance with the Porte and send us your Ambassadors.

Your ships, subjects, and merchants shall enjoy perfect liberty to come, to stay and to return.

Moreover, the English Ambassador, who is also your Ambassador, has asked permission for you to export grain and horses; although this is strictly forbidden, yet for the friendship you bear us, your request is pleasing to us, and we have ordered our Beglierbeys in Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli in Barbary, to receive your agents with honour.

Constantinople, given at our Imperial residence the 28th January 1592.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

32. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Mayenne is unable to endure with any dissimulation, the service of the Duke of Parma and the necessary respect towards the personages with the Duke, for he holds that the King of Spain and the Spanish nation make little account of himself. The French and Spanish never lodge together, and no Frenchman dare go into Spanish quarters, but at the risk of his life.

The partizans of the King keep an eye on all such facts and do all they can to increase the discord.

Chartres, 26th February 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

33. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Guise, trusting to his strength in cavalry, or perhaps because he thought that the King would be unable to mount his horse on account of his wound, pushed across a little river which ran between the Spanish and the Royal camps. He had with him a regiment of infantry and six hundred gentlemen, splendidly mounted. The King engaged in a slight skirmish for the purpose of testing his troops.

The King at once saw the error which the Duke of Guise had committed in advancing too far from the body of his troops, and caused himself to be taken in a litter to the field of action and there mounting his horse he directed the attack. The Duke of Guise was routed and fled, leaving two hundred dead, besides prisoners.

Chartres, 27th February 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

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Feb. 29.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

34. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The rumour that the English fleet will put to sea still continues, and its destination is said to be either the Indies or Portugal. The Queen is said to be seriously ill, with little hope of saving her life. But this rumour is not fully credited.

Madrid, 29th February 1591 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

March 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

35. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Chavass who went with Giovanni Stefano Ferrari to Ragusa to accompany Marigliani here, has returned. He brings with him Marigliani's letters, of which I enclose a copy. Your Serenity will gather the method which Marigliani adopts in order to withdraw from the promises given by Ferrari, though he does not break off negotiations, for he continues to stay in Ragusa and reserves the liberty of sending an agent here or of requesting the Porte to send Orembey, the Dragoman, to him. Orembey had an audience of the Grand Vizir on the matter, and was told that it would be useless to discuss the subject just now as the Sultan had ordered no further deliberation upon it. All the same the Grand Vizir is resolved not to abandon the negotiations as he considers that they concern the reputation and dignity of the Porte, whatever may be said to the contrary. If Orembey is not allowed to go, another private emissary will be chosen, in order to open the way for the arrival here of Ferrari and another agent of Marigliani, who, it is held for certain, has been able to secure in the ordinary way that the fleet shall not put to sea this year to damage the Crown of Spain. The news that the Spanish Ambassador was not coming to Constantinople, spread very fast, and has injured the reputation of the Grand Vizir, who was the warmest advocate of the truce; and thus the hopes of the Capudan Pasha revive. He goes every day to the Arsenal, and the work on the guard-ships is being pushed forward. There are, perhaps, five hundred hands at work in the Arsenal, without counting the galley slaves, who number about two hundred. The workmen from the Greek islands have not appeared yet.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 1st March 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

36. Copy of a LETTER from MARIGLIANI to the Grand Vizir, FERRAD PASHA, written from Ragusa.

From Giovanni Stefano, my man, I have received your Excellency's letters, and to my great satisfaction I gather that you would willingly see me at the Porte, for which object you have sent a chavass with suitable orders. Ferrari has accompanied the chavass, to my great annoyance, for he ought to have waited in Constantinople to execute any orders that might be sent to him; and to communicate your Excellency's wishes to me. Those wishes I am ready to carry out provided your Excellency will allow

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me to send you an agent who shall negotiate on certain important points touching my arrival, for I am bound to have in consideration the honour of my Sovereign as is every faithful vassal and Minister.

I am sure that your Excellency, who is so anxious to carry to a conclusion during your period of office those negotiations which so many others have desired to effect, will assist me so that I may report favourably to my Master; and will allow me to send an agent at once, or will commission Orembey, the Dragoman, to come to Ragusa, for I am quite willing to explain my views through him.

I shall make all preparations for the journey, and I beg for a speedy answer from your Excellency as this sojourn in Ragusa pleases me little.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 3. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

37. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is news that a Scotish Captain, in the service of the King of Spain, has attacked the King of Scotland in the royal palace, intending to kill him, but the King defended himself bravely; others say that the object was to carry off the King to Spain, and for that purpose five large ships were held in readiness. The Spanish Ambassador, with whom I discussed the matter, admitted that the Captain had been in the service of Parma, but added that he belonged to the House of Stuart, and that his object was to seize the throne.

Prague, 3rd March 1592.

[*Italian.*]

March 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

38. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has for long endeavoured to tempt the Duke of Parma to give battle, but in vain. The Duke occupies a position in a great forest between Dieppe and Rouen. The King thought of going to attack him, but was dissuaded.

The people of Rouen tired with the long siege, and seeing that the Duke of Parma conducts the war in an excessively cautious manner, made a great sortie, the other day, to try whether they could not, by themselves, effect their liberation from the siege. They came out eight hundred strong, in white shoes (*scarpe*) (? sciarpe, scarfs) and made an assault on a certain hillock, which gained they would have been able to reach the guns, spike them and kill the soldiers in charge of the trenches. But the Marshal Biron arrived post haste and attacked them. They fought with great obstinacy, and many fell on either side; the Marshal was slightly wounded in the leg.

Chartres, 5th March 1592.

[*Italian.*]

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March 7.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

39. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The conduct of the Duke of Parma, so different from that of the French, who are always ready to fight, has disgusted the leaders of the League. Although they do not actually applaud Navarre's actions they praise his valour. Some openly declare that the Spanish owe their reputation to the fact that they have never been matched with any one of consideration. These pungent appeals to the Spanish honour, are far from producing the desired effect, and it seems that the Duke of Parma instead of advancing is retreating towards Flanders, where it would appear that Count Maurice has laid siege to Dunquerque.

The King now knows that he need have no fear that the Spanish forces will be able to compel him raise the siege of Rouen. He has given orders to direct all the artillery fire upon the city itself. It is thought that the citizen will surrender rather than run the risk of being taken by force, and thereby exposed to the results of greed, lust, and all the other brutalities of a soldiery composed of so many different nationalities.

Chartres, 7th March 1592.

[*Italian.*]

March 7.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

40. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In the matter of the truce with Spain, the Grand Vizir has renewed his application to the Sultan in order that he may reply to the letters of Marigliani; but the Sultan has given express orders that not a word is to be said on the subject. Ferrari and Orembey have both begged the Grand Vizir at least to send some one to announce to the Spanish Ambassador the receipt of his letters. Their object was to make use of Hassan, a renegade of Piacenza, for that purpose. The Grand Vizir, however, refused to do so, and it is thought that he wishes to secure the Sultan's permission first, and is in hopes of a more favourable answer. Meantime, the hostility of the Mufti and the Sultan's secretary will have time to operate. The Grand Vizir has endeavoured to justify his conduct to them, but they declare that the question of the truce is one of religion; and they continue to scheme for the return of Sinan Pasha as Grand Vizir; a policy which is shared by the Sultana.

It seems that Marigliani is not so anxious to come here, as he has probably been informed that there is no danger of a powerful fleet putting to sea this year.

The English Ambassador and others here are spreading a report that the Emperor will marry the daughter of the King of Spain, and will occupy himself with the affairs of Flanders, to the prejudice of the Queen of England in Zealand. Thus the King of Spain being free from the weight of the Flanders war, will be able to apply himself to the subjugation of France. The Emperor would allow freedom of conscience in Flanders, and grant a

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general pardon, thus he would become stronger and better able to oppose the Turks in Hungary.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 7th March 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 10. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

41. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish desire peace in Flanders; but the other party will not hear of it unless a general peace with France and England is also concluded.

Prague, 10th March 1592.

[*Italian.*]

March 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

42. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The chiefs of the League are disgusted that the King of Spain does not support them. They declare that they are now convinced that the King of Spain is not equal to King Henry. They have resolved to send Villeroy to ask for peace. The King has informed them that he is quite ready to embrace the Duke of Mayenne and all the others of his house. Villeroy declares that, if the chiefs of the League were not troubled in their consciences, and afraid lest they may loose their estates, peace could easily be procured.

His Majesty is resolved not to lay down arms till he has recovered all the possessions which have been unjustly taken from the Crown, and until the chiefs of the League abandon their relations with foreign Princes.

Chartres, 10th March 1592.

[*Italian.*]

March 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

43. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is suffering from gout, which is all the more dangerous because it has attacked the throat. Those who manage affairs here, warned by this danger, have again taken steps to secure the departure of the Constable of Castile because he has some pretentions to a voice in the government, if the Sovereign is a minor.

Madrid, 12th March 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

44. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Parma was in such haste to pass the Somme that the King arrived too late to prevent him. The Duke of Mayenne is in Amiens, and the chiefs of the League, in disgust at the Duke of Parma, have sent to the King to beg for safe conducts in order to return to their homes. The King graciously assented. Madame de Guise has reached Paris, and a meeting has been held in which the mode of treating with the King was discussed; for as far as

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things have gone at present it was not certain whether the Spanish succours were medicine or poison.

The sudden retreat of the Duke of Parma was attributed first of all to lack of provisions, then to some rising in Flanders; but now news is brought that three thousand five hundred Dutch have joined the King, and four thousand English are expected, and it is evident that the Duke retreated for fear lest he might be forced to give battle, or perhaps be besieged in his trenches; for the King's army is greatly strengthened by these additions, especially in the infantry arm which the Duke of Parma, owing to his method of fighting, has more reason to dread than cavalry.

While his Majesty was following the Spanish, the garrison of Neufchâtel, numbering about four hundred men, threw itself into Rouen. This is not a matter of much moment, in view of the deficiency in provisions and in powder, and considering the well known resolution of the King, of the Queen of England, and of the States of Holland, to employ ships and men with such promptitude as to give confidence in the happy issue of that enterprise.

The King is not a Prince to loose his way in the conduct of a war; and if the sortie from Rouen has prevented him from bombarding from the fort, he will certainly change his plan of attack and will not leave the city any quieter than it was before. A scheme for handing Melun to the Duke of Mayenne has been found out. It was concocted by two Captains. They confessed that two other plots, one in Tours and one in Chartres, were on foot. Diligent watch is being kept. The people are incited to rebellion by the priests, and it is clear that if some lack judgment and others courage, no one lacks the will to do mischief.

Chartres, 14th March 1592.

[*Italian.*]

March 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

45. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Grand Vizir has permitted Orembey to send by the hands of Hassan the renegade of Piacenza, letters to Marigliani at Ragusa informing him that the Grand Vizir is little pleased with the tone of his communication, and that after showing it to the Sultan his Majesty has twice repeated the order that the subject shall be discussed no further. Accordingly the Pasha can say no more on the matter. At the end of the letter Marigliani is told that if he had really wished to open negotiations and to carry the matter to a conclusion, he could quite well have come in person to Constantinople, for the Imperial Porte is open to all; but that by means of letters or special agents no approaches ought to be made. That if he wishes to come here, which no one believes, he may send by Hassan to the Grand Vizir, who will give him a letter to secure his admission and also his return. I cannot tell your Serenity how widely this reluctance on the part of the Spanish Ambassador is felt.

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I have been to visit the Mufti, who is held in high consideration and with whom the Sultan discusses all the more important questions. The English Ambassador is in such close relations with the Mufti that he seems to have absorbed many of the Ambassador's ideas and thoughts.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 22nd March 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

46. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is very anxious for peace in Flanders, that is, in the States of Holland and Zealand. He perceives that his Ministers, in the progress of the negotiations, wish to include the Queen of England, but to save his dignity he is desirous to make it appear that he neither seeks nor wishes for peace. With this object in view they are endeavouring that the King of Denmark, who of all the northern powers has greatest weight here, should interpose and conduct the negotiations. But, seeing that the preparations of the English, both in ships and men, are being pressed forward with vigour, the road towards peace and towards negotiations with the Queen is really closed.

Warning has been sent to all ports off which the English fleet might appear. It is thought that the destination of the fleet will be the West Indies. Orders have also been issued that no ships are to be allowed to sail from any port. This method of concentrating all the defences at home and leaving the sea open to the English is held to be, if not the most useful, still the most necessary, for it is impossible to raise an armament in these kingdoms which would be strong enough to make head against the enemy.

A few days ago there arrived at Court one who had been secretary to Don Antonio, but had left him. It seems that he has given confirmation of these English preparations; for, though I do not know what he said, yet after his arrival the above-mentioned dispositions were taken.

In order to send money into Italy the Adelantado, who is commander-in-chief, was requested to furnish six galleys; he replied, however, that he could not give more than three which were fit for such a voyage.

Madrid, 23rd March 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

47. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have received your Serenity's instructions of January 11th regarding the money for the Sicilian corn contract. *But truth to say, if the money is left in the hands of the Spanish Ministers, who do not even respect the moneys of their own Sovereign, it will be a long and difficult business to recover it.*

A ship of Curzola, which for some years has made the voyage from the west, when off Cape St. Vincent, fell in with English

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Corsairs who detained her a while and then let her go uninjured. But a squadron of five Spanish ships placed there to patrol those waters, sailing up while the English were still in sight, laid claim to all the cargo as having been rescued by them. The commander of the squadron seized the ship and took her into San Lucar, where the master and crew were dispoiled of their valuables. The supercargo came here to negotiate for the restitution of the goods and of the ship. The matter was sent to the council of war, with which body I have used my best endeavours on behalf of these unhappy men who have suffered more from those who ought to have protected them than from the enemy. *The matter was settled in their favour; though they have been unable to recover much of their possessions.*

The galleon "Mani," laden at Lisbon, sailed for Italy. She was caught by English pirates off Majorca and taken to Barbary, where she was sacked and then set at liberty again with her crew. They sailed back to Cadiz, and there encountered another disaster, for some of the crew were arrested by the Spanish officials and threatened with torture on the ground that they had plundered the ship in accord with the English.

Madrid, 24th March 1592.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

48. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is rumoured here that the Duke of Parma will remain this year with his army in France. In Flanders it is only necessary to hold the fortresses for the King and for that purpose the Duke's presence is not required. All this is not certain yet, but the Ministers here hope that the King of Navarre will not be able to continue the war through lack of money, and will be obliged to disband a great part of his army.

The gentleman sent here by the Duke of Mayenne is a relation of the Duke and has a brother who owns a Marquisate in Vienne. He promises that Spanish troops will be received and safely lodged in that district.

The secretary of Don Antonio, whose presence I reported, has been won over to the King by large sums of money. His Majesty specially desired to discover the extent of Don Antonio's relations in Portugal.

The Adelantado has seized some vessels of Marseilles which were on their way to England. The Marseillaise threaten reprisals.

Madrid, 31st March 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 31. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

49. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of Navarre's forces have been greatly augmented by assistance from the States of Holland and from England. The Duke of Parma is said to have retired before him.

Prague, 31st March 1592.

[*Italian.*]

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1592.
March 31
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

50. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King and his Ministers have conceived a suspicion that the Grand Duke of Tuscany is furnishing funds to the King of Navarre, as I have frequently reported. And quite recently these suspicions have been increased and confirmed by the discovery that Florentine bills of exchange, to the value of one hundred thousand crowns, payable in France, have been forwarded to London, it seems unlikely that so big a sum should be destined for the service of private merchants. This information I have from an ecclesiastic who is in constant communication with the Ministers and in frequent conference with his Majesty. The Grand Duke, in order to prove his devotion to the Crown of Spain, offered to hand over the fortress near Marseilles to the King. His offer was declined, and the King declared that he had no desire to occupy any part of the territory belonging to the French Crown. Don Pietro de' Medici also has offered his services to the King, promising to accept any post save one which would place him under the orders of the Duke of Parma. The King thanked him, but as no use is being made of Don Pietro's offer it is clear that he is kept here rather as an annoyance to his brother than from any idea of employing him actively.

News from Seville that four ships of the India fleet were lost in working their way out of harbour, and that the rest of the fleet has deferred its departure in consequence of information regarding the preparation of an English fleet.

Madrid, 31st March 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 3.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

51. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Agent (sic) *during all the time that I have been here has neither said to me, nor caused others to say, anything which would lead me to suppose that he intends to apply to your Serenity for support in his negotiations; perhaps because he knows that in the matter of the truce the affair will fall to the ground by itself, owing to the non-arrival of Marigliani; though it is true that the departure of Hassan for Ragusa with letters has led to the rumour that Murigliani will come here after all.*

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 3rd April 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 4.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

52. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Your Serenity will have gathered from my previous letters that the Spanish and the French are in discord. This has been augmented by the fact that the Duke of Parma after crossing the Somme wished the Princes of the League to swear allegiance to the Infanta. The Duke of Mayenne and the other Princes

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refused; the army of the League has been disbanded. I am informed that the Duke of Mayenne said these words "I should not mind a bit if the King of Navarre became a Catholic or issued some general promise of accord; and the world would see that I made war and peace from motives of religion only."

Chartres, 4th April 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

53. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Ferrad Pasha has resigned the post of Grand Vizir, and Sciavus Pasha has been appointed.

The Agent, or rather Ambassador of England (for so all call and treat him), is delighted at this change, though he would have preferred to see Cigala Grand Vizir. The Ambassador held no correspondence with Ferrad, but was absolutely opposed to him.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 5th April 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

54. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Parma has retired altogether and his army is disbanded for three months. In these circumstances the King has resumed the siege of Rouen. Although the city is resolved to resist, still they think that it will not be able to withstand famine, which can slay without bloodshed. The Duke of Parma has cantoned his army in such narrow quarters that sickness has broken out in his camp, and it seems unlikely that he will be able to return to France for some time.

In Paris and throughout France they affirm that peace will be made; but what will be the upshot of negotiations, so often undertaken and so often abandoned, no one knows. The King declares that for the well-being of the nation, he is ready to pardon and forget much. *The Princes of the League are abandoning entirely their relations with Spain and Savoy, as they know that peace with them is impossible.*

Chartres, 5th April 1592.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

55. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After his Majesty had received the reinforcements from Holland, he turned his whole attention to the siege of Rouen. The garrison were also expecting men and powder, and in order to bring them into the city they made a sortie. The attack was so vigorous that the German troops were thrown into confusion and their Colonel made prisoner. They were retreating into Rouen when they were

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surprised by M. de Givry and forced to abandon their prisoners. M. de Givry was wounded, but slightly, in his shoulder.

The King has disbanded most of his cavalry and a considerable part of his infantry, either because the lack of provisions is insupportable, or because the valour of the French is of such a nature that unless it is employed at once it ebbs away.

The Queen of England furnishes a certain quantity of infantry, but in view of the circumstances it should be larger.

M. de Nevers and M. de Villeroy have been in consultation about the terms of a peace, but as yet without any visible result.

Chartres, 14th April 1592.

[*Italian.*]

April 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

56. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The appointment of Sciavus as Grand Vizir was made against the intentions of the Sultan himself, who, in his own mind, had designed to make Sciavus second Vizir and Sinan Grand Vizir. But Sinan was far away, and his Majesty was aware that there was pressing danger if he refused to satisfy the troops by the removal of Ferrad; he accordingly conferred the seals on Sciavus. This appointment is more popular among the people and the merchants than with the troops, who remember that the disorders of their payment took place in the time of Sciavus, though the head of the Beglierbey of Greece paid the penalty for all. It is thought that if the Sultan's daughter, who is twenty-six years old, marries Sciavus he will keep his office, if not there is danger of his losing it. Owing to his affability it is exceedingly pleasant to deal with Sciavus, but he has the reputation of being the corruptest Minister that the Sultan has ever had (il trattar con Sciavus per la sua affabilità è carrismo a tutti, ma egli è in opinione del più corrumpibile Ministro che questo Re habbia mai havuto). He makes fair promises but does not keep them except with those who give him large gifts; and on this account his previous terms of office have not had a long duration.

There is a party here, instigated by the Englishman, which desires that his Majesty should turn his attention to naval matters, in favour of the Crown of France; and this subject will eventually be taken into consideration if the negotiations of Marigliani are not re-opened by this change of Grand Vizir; for they were completely suspended. (Altri vorrebono, cosi instigati dall' Inglese, che sua Maestà voltasse l'animo alle cose di mare per interese particolarmente della corona di Franza, in che finalmente si occuperanno, se non si repiglia il negotio del Marigliani con l'occasione della mutatione del Bassà, che prima era intermesso a fatto.)

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 18th April 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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April 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

57. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In Divan of last Tuesday the Grand Vizir and the Capudan Pasha made petition to the Sultan for permission to arm one hundred galleys to support allies, protect the coast, and keep the enemy occupied. The Sultan replied that such a fleet was too small for offensive operations and too large for defence.

The Capudan Pasha, seeing that he could not arrive at his object in this way, has sent out spies by sea and scouts by land, in the hope that they will bring back such news as will alter his Majesty's resolution. The English Ambassador also takes care to supply news from France, and urges the despatch of a fleet in favour of Navarre and to check the designs of the King of Spain. He has seized the occasion to announce that by way of Poland an Ambassador from the King of Navarre and a son of Don Antonio of Portugal, who is starting from England, will reach the Porte. The Ambassador is waiting for presents from England for his Majesty and the Pashas; but in the meantime he does not fail to make gifts, for the most part at the cost of those who require his favour and his support for the furtherance of their affairs. (Adopera anco l'ambasciatore di Inghilterra per far saper l'avvisi di Franza et instare che essa armata esca a favor di Navarra, et che impedisca li disegni del Serenissimo Rè Catholico, et ha havuto a dire che per via di Polonia ha a venire qui un Ambasciatore di Navarra et anco un figliuolo di Don Antonio di Portogallo che parte di Inghilterra; di dove egli aspetta robbe mandate per presentarsi a sua Maestà et alli Bassà come ministro di quella corona; et fra tanto non resta di donare, per il più a spese di particolari che si vagliono del favore et negotiatione sua per portar avanti li loro affari.) The hopes of the English Ambassador that the fleet will put out this year to the number of fifty galleys, are fostered by the Grand Vizir and the Capudan Pasha, though those who know say that not more than thirty can be got ready.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 18th April 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

58. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Among naval men there is only one subject of conversation, that is, the great armament. It is said that if the truce with Spain is not concluded the fleet will put to sea to damage that kingdom; others say to attack Candia, tempted by the opportunity offered, and by the firm belief that the war in France keeps the King of Spain fully occupied, and that the discord between Christian Princes will not allow him to unite his forces.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 23rd April 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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1592.
April 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

59. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Four galleys should have left Lisbon to join the others which are lying at Seville, and to sail with them for the convoy of the West India fleet. They have a number of bronze cannon on board. *But fear of the English at Lisbon, and at Seville too, has caused delay.*

Madrid, 25th April 1592.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

60. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As the siege of Rouen advances appeals are made to the Duke of Parma that he should come to the rescue. He replies that the King of Spain has spent so much money on this war that as a recompense he requires, either that the Princes of the League should swear allegiance to the Infanta, or that they should surrender some strong place. This answer has induced the Duke of Mayenne to enter into negotiations with the King. His Majesty has sent to the Duke three articles, signed by his own hand, so favourable to the League that M. de Villeroy declared that if the Duke of Mayenne refused them, everyone would be justified in saying that he was the cause of all these troubles. It seems that the Duke of Mayenne has shown these articles to the Duke of Parma in order to prove to him how favourable are the terms which the King offers, and therefore to induce him to abandon his claims on behalf of the King of Spain; also in the hope of frightening him into action.

The King has recalled his disbanded troops with a view to pressing the siege of Rouen.

Chartres, 26th April 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

61. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Parma has come back in the hope of being able to raise the seige of Rouen, as the King has disbanded so much of his cavalry. The King is resolved to give battle; and the nobility is flocking to his camp from all sides. The Duke of Parma must come to an action soon, for the lack of supplies renders it impossible for him to maintain himself for long in those parts.

Chartres, 27th April 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

62. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Parma advanced on Rouen; the King drew out to meet him, leaving Darnetal garrisoned by three thousand infantry. His intelligences informed him that the Duke of Parma was

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bringing provisions, but that he had no ammunition. The King determined to call up the three thousand infantry from Darnetal. Thus the road was left open and the provisions carried into the town. The following day the infantry resumed its position at Darnetal; and the King with his cavalry went down to Caudebec which was threatened by the Duke of Parma, who hoped that if he were master of that place he could throw provisions into Rouen.

Chartres, 28th April 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

63. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Until the Duke of Parma arrived the King had no other object than the siege of Rouen. The Duke of Parma spent four days over the siege of Caudebec, which he captured, and this has allowed time for all the nobility of this country to join his Majesty. Thus reinforced he resolved to fight the enemy. He pushed rapidly forward and surrounded the whole hostile army in Yvetot (Affettot). The Duke of Parma will either be starved into surrender or will be forced to cut his way out. In the meantime his Majesty has dislodged the Dukes of Mayenne and Guise from les Tôtes (Juitot et Liuitot), and they have taken refuge in the camp of the Duke of Parma.

Chartres, 1st May 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

64. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Sciavus is by nature a lover of peace; and many think that the negotiations for a truce with Spain will be resumed. He hopes to draw great gain from the negotiations, but unless equally large presents are made in the Serraglio the Spanish will not be admitted, as the Grand Signor is resolved to have his share of the booty which used to be the perquisite of the Grand Vizir only.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 4th May 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

65. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The people of Rouen launched a galeass with which they intended to protect the ships which were coming up from Havre-de-Grace with provisions. It had not sailed very far before it was attacked and captured by the English with its officers and soldiers.

Chartres, 10th May 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

66. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King's forces have been augmented from all sides. He has done his best to cut off the Duke of Parma's retreat into Flanders.

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In this he has succeeded, for after making himself master of Pont Audemer (Pondormi), he crossed the river and the Duke will now be forced to make a long detour. Besides, with the help of the English, he has been able to prevent provisions from reaching the Duke from Havre-de-Grace or Honfleur (Omplur).

This has induced the Duke of Mayenne to re-open negotiations for peace.

Chartres, 11th May 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

67. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ragusan Ambassadors bearing the annual tribute are sending despatches to their government by special messenger; I take the opportunity to send this under cover to the Count of Curzola in order to relate what has happened in a house adjoining the Embassy owing to the dangerous habits of the government.

With the last despatches which I received came many letters addressed to private individuals, and in one of these for the Pietro di Grassi, a Venetian merchant, were letters for M. de Lancome, Ambassador of the late King Henry of France, who, after the death of that Sovereign, continued to represent the Crown of France with credentials from the Guises, and with the title of Ambassador, though he was not really so, for on the death of the King the Grand Vizir suspended the salary which actual Ambassadors are in the habit of receiving from the Porte.*

All the same M. de Lancome was treated by everyone as an Ambassador. Among the many abuses at the Porte is this, that little distinction is drawn between Ambassadors and Agents. The letters from Venice—I know not from whom they came—brought a bill of exchange for three thousand two hundred sequins for M. de Lancome, endorsed as payable by Messrs. Pasqualin Leoni, and drawn by Baglioni against moneys received in Rome by M. de Dreax (Drù), Ambassador of France.

The news of this remittance soon spread and came to the ears of the English Ambassador and of M. de Breves,† a near relation of de Lancome's, but a follower of Navarre. The English Ambassador went to the Capudan Pasha and told him that this money came from Rome, and added, from the Pope; and mixed up this business with the affair of the Spanish spy recently arrested.

The Capudan, in a fury, sent chavasses to de Lancome bidding him come at once to the Arsenal, where the Capudan was, and ordering him to bring the bill of exchange, or to send it. De Lancome replied with his usual impetuosity, which from his first coming has won him the name of madman, refusing point blank either to go to the Arsenal or to send the bill of exchange, and adding that he had only one superior here and that was Sultan Murad.

The Capudan sent again but with no better result. He thereupon went to the Sultan's secretary and to the Grand Vizir, who was on

* Jacques de Savari Lancosme; his Embassy is described as "l'une des plus malencontreuses et des plus nuisibles pour les entèrêts de la France" cf. Charrière, "Negociations de la France dans le Levant," and D. C. Leva, "Paolo Paruta," I. p. 249, note 2.

† Francois de Savari, Sieur de Breves, nephew of Jacques de Savari Lancosme.

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bad terms with the Frenchman because de Lancome had neither visited him nor made him any present, as indeed no more had he to Ferrad Pasha. These three petitioned the Sultan for leave to use force. The day before the Divan the Dragoman of the French Embassy was arrested, and after the Divan the Grand Vizir and the Capudan withdrew to the Sultan's kiosk and sent for de Lancome. He excused himself on the ground that his suite was not ready. When the Pashas received this answer they sent a larger number of chavasses to tell de Lancome that they were waiting for him, and with orders to use force. But de Lancome hid himself in a certain chamber and was not found. The chavasses carried off instead a friar, the chaplain, who was put in prison. De Lancome thinking that the fury of his enemies was overpassed, stayed quietly at home in perfect confidence. But suddenly he saw in the distance a multitude moving towards his house. The Ambassador resolved at once to offer no resistance, and hoping to gain time, he and the secretary and some few others took to flight. They climbed, with the help of ladders, into an unoccupied house. The Turks, unable to capture the Ambassador, set a guard over the house. They drove out a woman and her child, and arrested his nephew and his servants. The Grand Vizir declared that his goods were confiscated as a rebellious fugitive; and this was interpreted by the mob as a license to steal whatever they could. A large number of chavasses and a great crowd came up to the Embassy and on the pretence of making an inventory all the Ambassador's goods were broken or stolen, and everything remained in the hands of the Turks. They found upwards of four thousand ducats worth of jewels and silver, and perhaps as much again in furniture.

All this took place on the day and at the hour when I was to have an audience of the Grand Vizir. The event delayed the Vizir and I was forced to wait a long time at his divan. The rumour ran that all this had happened to the Venetian Ambassador and to the Venetian Embassy, the French Embassy being partly forgotten owing to the long retirement of the French Ambassador, and undoubtedly owing to the greed of the Turks, there was a risk that pillaging might extend to the neighbouring houses. I returned in time to see part of the spectacle. I have no sympathy either for the recklessness of those who directed the sack nor yet for the French in their losses.

The English Ambassador and de Breves employed a French renegade as their agent throughout this whole business. He is a thoroughly bad character; when he was lately in Rome he so completely insinuated himself into the good graces of Cardinal Santa Severina that the Cardinal not only imparted to him the secret information of the Inquisition on the subject of Turkey, but also about the Christian Powers. The Cardinal's confidence in him was so great that he obtained for him most ample and favourable recommendations from six illustrious inquisitors; these I have read to my wonder and amazement. This fellow reports many instances of the secret understanding between de Lancome and the Spanish Ministers and the Spanish Ambassador in Venice; but I hold all this to be his own invention.

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This Frenchman who conducted the business had orders to take all the papers from the French Embassy to the Grand Vizir, to whose house were summoned many Dragomans to translate them. Throughout the whole affair the English Ambassador lent his support and they entrust everything to him.

The unfortunate de Lancome, when night fell, withdrew to the house of his relation but foe, who took him in. But shortly after the French renegade, the agent in all the mischief, arrived also, and de Lancome in terror stole away secretly and betook himself to a vineyard where Mattheca, your Serenity's Drayoman, lives. His relation, however, was not long in following him up, and together they took council on the situation. As it was impossible to leave Constantinople in safety they resolved to go to the secretary to the Sultan, and to beg for his intercession with the Grand Vizir. The secretary, however, sent de Lancome on to the Capudan Pasha, excusing himself on the plea that such were the Sultan's orders. In the meantime a proclamation was issued offering a reward for any information about de Lancome. De Breves accompanied the Ambassador to the house of the Capudan. The Ambassador spoke at length, but received hardly any answer; for the Capudan was beside himself with rage. The Ambassador had hoped to be restored to his own house, or at least to be sent to the house of the Grand Vizir, but instead he was obliged to go to the dwelling of the Subaggi of Pera, an agent of the Capudan's. He was not left there for long, however; for the papers seized at his house made it clear that the bill of exchange was for the amount of five thousand carlines, sent by the Viceroy of Naples. When the Grand Vizir learned this he sent and took the Ambassador out of the house of the Subaggi and put him into the common prison, where only the vilest malefactors are kept. There the Ambassador lay one whole day and a night. The English Ambassador and de Breves had to intercede for him and have procured that he should be consigned to the care of a chavass, in whose hands he now is.

They say that the end of the matter will be this, that such of his property as can be recovered will be restored to him and he will be handed over to the English Ambassador and de Breves for the purpose of being sent to the King of Navarre, though these will let him go where he will, on board a ship of Toulon in Provence.

M. de Breves came to recount the whole affair to me. He endeavoured to show that his action had ended in good, not in harm. He begged two favours of me; one was to say a word to the French renegade to prevent him from further persecution of de Lancome; the other that I should write a letter of recommendation to your Serenity on his behalf. I think his intention is to remain here as Ambassador for his King, and for that purpose he will avail himself of the support of the Porte. The Ministers do not see that the sole object of de Breves and the Englishman is to drive out of Constantinople anyone who can in any way thwart their policy which is directed solely to the support of Navarre, the

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departure of a fleet next year, and the manipulation of the Porte to meet their wishes.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 11th May 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

68. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE

I have already explained how the Duke of Parma is besieged in his entrenchments. The rumour that the Prince was wounded means that not Prince Ranuccio, but the Duke is the sufferer. The wound, though it has caused fever, has not as yet prevented the Duke from being carried about the camp in a chair, but in view of his bad health it is considered to be dangerous to his life. Both Spanish and French are surprised to see the Duke besieged by the King three days after his supposed defeat, and the raising of the siege of Rouen. There is great confusion. The French are impatient at being lodged in the open, without any necessaries, and in water up to their bellies owing to the continual rain, they declare they would rather fight and die honourably than perish in such misery. The Spanish declare that they have been led into this trap on purpose. The Duke promises to free them honourably either by an engagement or by a retreat. As provisions are scarce he sent two thousand men across the river; they brought in a little grain; but for the future, owing to the dispositions made by the King, they will be deprived of that resource.*

The Duke has mounted two pieces of artillery on platforms outside his palissades, and he intended to make a feint in that direction, hoping to draw the King under the fire of the guns; but he has been advised to abandon this scheme.

The King is lodged in a strong position, one league away from his enemy.

Chartres, 12th May 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

69. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The obvious intention of the Duke of Parma to refuse a battle has caused the King to draw nearer to the enemy's camp, so that by a closer siege he may force the Spaniards to accept action. The other day the Duke endeavoured to capture and fortify a little hill whence he could bombard the King's camp; but his Majesty immediately sent forward two thousand French and one thousand five hundred English who easily expelled the Spanish, unsupported as they were, and destroyed the fort which had been begun. The Duke did not support his troops because he was afraid of being gradually drawn into a general action.

It is thought that the Spanish cannot maintain themselves for long, they are in great straits for provisions.

The Prince of Condé is besieging Caen in Brittany; and the Queen of England has sent two thousand infantry to keep the

* Ranuccio Farnese, son of Alessandro, Duke of Parma.

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Duke of Mercœur in check should he attempt, with his Spanish troops, to relieve the place. If the siege of Caen is successful the King of Spain will be forced to send more troops there.

The King has caused Pont Audemer to be occupied, a sign that he is convinced that the Duke will attempt to pass the Seine at that point.

Chartres, 14th May 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

70. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Parma, finding that he could not maintain his position owing to the absolute want of all provisions, gave orders to strike camp by night and march without sound of trumpet or tuck of drum. The King was instantly informed, and mounting his horse set out with few followers to reconnoitre. Having observed the order of the enemy's march a gun was fired as alarm signal to his whole camp. At daybreak all were in the saddle, and would have been earlier had not the night been so dark and stormy that his Majesty thought it prudent not to risk his army in a woody country full of ditches and fit for ambuscades. Orders were given to concentrate at the Moulin de Clères, so as to block the road to Rouen, for at that point he heard that the enemy were repairing the bridge over the Seine. The King himself with six hundred horse hung upon the rear guard of the enemy. On entering the abandoned camp he slew a few Spaniards and seized a large number of waggons, cannon balls, and other arms.

The Duke did not advance more than a league towards Caudebec where he hoped to cross the Seine under cover of that place. To relieve himself of baggage and munitions it seems that he sent them to Honfleur and Fecamp. The King presses him continually and the Spanish have been unable to form a fixed camp more than twice.

Chartres, 15th May 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

71. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Parma made a forced march, and in company with the Duke of Mayenne and the Duke of Guise he entered Caudebec. Owing to the smallness of the place he made the rest of his army take up their quarters in the villages of Ronzon and Valliquerville ((?)Sanvalerigliеck). The King at once attacked those positions and captured them, after slaying many Spaniards and seizing much baggage.

The Duke of Parma's provisions reach him from Normandy. They are brought in small ships. But as his Majesty has placed two companies in Pont Audemer it will be easy to prevent the people of Honfleur from scouring the country for supplies.

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If the King does not win some victory over the Duke of Parma he will, it is thought likely, lay siege again to Rouen.

The chiefs of the League are anxious for peace in view of the desperate state of the country, but it is not easy to see the lines upon which an accord can be reached. One of the chief impediments is the obstruction thrown in the way by interested parties who draw a profit from the confusion.

Some friars have been found in the King's camp, it is said their object was to assassinate the King. His Majesty set them at liberty as he holds that his own goodness and his line of conduct ought to be sufficient to ensure his safety everywhere.

Chartres, 16th May 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

72. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO MARCHESINI, Secretary to the Venetian Embassy in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I enclose news from Paris sent by a Member of the League to a Cardinal in Rome.

M. Landriano supports Guise rather than Mayenne, of whom he gives a very unfavourable account. He says that Mayenne is hated by the people and that his forces dwindle daily. On the other hand, the forces of the Duke of Parma are increasing. The King of Navarre continues before Rouen merely to please the Queen of England. Landriano has greatly comforted the Pope by affirming that for every ten Huguenots in France there are one hundred Catholics. The Pope has been invited by the Spanish to name a Catholic King in France; and the choice seems to be confined to two persons only, Guise and Mayenne, the first is desired by the people, but both are abhorred by the nobility. It seems as yet that his Holiness has no desire to take part in the matter, though the Duke of Guise has sent the Abbe d'Orbeque to Rome to negotiate in this affair and to ask for help in money. A secretary of the Duke of Lorraine is also here in search of money, with no success, however. His Holiness will only spend fifteen thousand crowns a month on France, and that only if the Duke of Parma returns to the relief of Rouen. The secretary declares that his Master has entirely abandoned all idea of becoming King as he found that he was fed by words alone on all hands, and he promises to follow the Pope implicitly, only stipulating that the Prince elected shall be of the blood, though he objects to Navarre on the ground that he is not a Catholic.

Rome, 16th May 1592.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

73. The Duke of Mayenne sent to the Parliament of Paris to declare that in spite of all rumours and proposals he had no intention of making peace.

The people of Rouen have risen in revolt and have declared that if the town is not succoured by Pentecost, they will surrender.

The visit of the Count of Soissons to the sister of Navarre was undertaken with a view to marrying her against her brother's

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wishes. He proposes to become a Catholic in the hope of thus arriving at the Crown.

Paris, 28th April.

[*Italian.*]

May 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

74. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador, de Lancome, has been consigned to the keeping of the English Ambassador and M. de Breves. The larger part of his goods have been restored to him and also his papers. He is to be sent to Venice on board an English ship which is lying at Chios, and handed over to M. de Maisse, French Ambassador to your Serenity, who will send him on to the King of France; at least, so I am informed by many persons.

While I was making up my mind to oppose this arrangement, being well aware how troublesome it would be to your Serenity, de Breves came to inform me that the English Ambassador had entrusted the whole affair to him. As he seemed to be seeking my advice, I said that it was to the interests of both himself and the English Ambassador to let de Lancome go free, for in this way the Englishman would have attained his end, and de Breves would have acted well for the service of the King while fulfilling the obligations of his relationship to de Lancome. De Breves promised to follow this advice, and said that he would put de Lancome on board a French ship. I imagine that de Lancome will land in Italy so as to avoid any places which hold for Navarre, to whom de Breves intended to write an account of all that he has done, and, with the help of the Porte, to ask the King for the appointment as his Ambassador; but he has changed his mind and is now resolved to go to France in person. He will take with him the most important papers which are prejudicial to his Majesty and these will prove the secret intelligence with Spain. He does not wish to land at Ragusa on account of differences which he has with the townspeople, but proposes to disembark at Cattaro; and he has asked me, in view of the importance of the affair, to secure him against the sanitary officers' quarantine. I replied that this was out of the question, for whatever happened he would have to go through the quarantine at Venice. This answer he did not like. He has put off his journey and left the decision to the Turkish Ministers, and more particularly to the Sultan's secretary.

De Breves has asked me for letters of recommendation to your Serenity and also begs for your support with the King to obtain what he desires. I replied that as far as I was concerned he might count on my support, but that your Serenity rarely wrote to the King of Navarre.

As a mark of confidence, in appearance at least, de Breves brought to show me a minute of a letter written by de Lancome to the Duke of Mayenne in February last, unless I am in error, and he sketched the contents of many others. He is well informed on the subject, for the Grand Vizir showed first to the English Ambassador and then to de Breves all the papers which were

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sequestrated at the French Embassy and translated by the Imperial Dragomans.

The substance of the letters communicated to me was this, that chavasses had been sent to Ragusa to bring the Spanish Ambassador to Constantinople, but that the Venetians and English were doing all they could to prevent his arrival, or, at least, that, if he reached the Porte, he should not conclude a truce; for which object they offered two hundred thousand ducats, being well aware that if the Grand Signor were secured against the forces of Spain he could do as he pleased with the Venetians, from whom the Turks received more damage in time of peace than from any other power, for the Turkish trade was destroyed by the Uscocks, who were in fact the Venetians. The only remedy for this evil was the capture of Candia, and for that purpose a large fleet would sail next year.

De Lancome went on to complain that owing to your Serenity's action the last three or four posts had brought him no despatches.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 16th May 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

75. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the Duke of Parma's position had been repeatedly assaulted by the King with very great loss to the Spanish, the Duke unable to resist the King's forces and the famine in his own camp, sent for as many boats as possible from Rouen, and embarking the flower of his cavalry and infantry, he crossed the Seine. He left his baggage and the rest of his army to the mercy of the King's soldiers, in the hope that if they surrendered at once they might be spared; but that is not probable.

The Duke is lodged to-night five leagues from here. He will cross the Seine at St. Cloud, as the Parisians will not allow him to enter the city. He has taken three pieces of artillery out of Dreux, for without artillery there is not a place so small but that it would refuse him lodging.

The King meanwhile is pushing on to Mantes with all speed, hoping to engage the Spaniards before they can gain a place of safety, for in their present evil plight there is not a place that will give them shelter, and so their only safety is in retreat.

Caudebec has been recaptured, and the English ships have sailed up to Rouen, in which city is the Duke of Mayenne, with a wound in his arm. And so ends the relief of Rouen.

Chartres, 18th May 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

76. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Parma with not more than eight thousand men, in great disorder, passed close by here. He has lost his best officers

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and troops in the actions of Goetot and Razon. When he drew near Paris he made a bridge of boats at Garenne, having learned that the Parisians would refuse to let him pass The Duke's forced marches have caused many of his troops to be left behind and cut to bits by the soldiers which were in Paris on their way to join the King.

The King has left the Marshal d'Aumont at the siege of Honfleur, after capturing which he is to proceed to recover the other small villages round about Rouen. The King himself is marching on St. Denis with a view of cutting off the retreat of the Duke into Flanders.

The people of Paris came out to meet the King as he was passing by there with the intention of broaching the question of peace. The King requested them to consult with the Deputies as he was occupied with the conduct of the campaign. It seemed that the Sorbonne would not admit the election of an equal number of Huguenots and Catholics upon the commission to discuss religious matters; but now that the King's reputation is increasing daily I hear that it will yield on this point.

Chartres, 24th May 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

77. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Deputies of Paris have found in the King's Deputies such a favourable disposition towards peace that it appears that nothing can now prevent its accomplishment.

It is well known that great offers have been made to the Duke of Soissons to detach him from his excellent resolution; and that the Duke of Parma has promised that the King of Spain will pay annually two millions in gold to the nobility, and will maintain fifteen thousand infantry and five thousand horse if the French will declare the Infanta Queen of France, and hinting that in that case a marriage between her and the Duke of Soissons might be arranged.

The Duke of Mayenne is in Rouen, and declares that the Spanish forces are no match for the King. He is in favour of peace.

Now that the Spanish are in retreat it is hoped that both parties will apply themselves seriously to accomplish this end.

There is news from England that the King of Scotland has sent an Ambassador to the Queen; it is said that his mission is to obtain for his master the title of Duke of Lancaster, which would be equivalent to naming him heir to the throne. It is thought improbable that he will succeed owing to the dislike which all great Princes have to naming their successor.

Chartres, 25th May 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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1592. May 26. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

78. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Dieppe has declared itself neutral, and many English and Dutch ships in that port have set sail being suspicious of that neutrality.

Prague, 26th May 1592.

[*Italian.*]

79. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

May 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

I have already informed your Serenity that M. de Lancome was almost at liberty, having been removed from the care of the chavass and placed in the custody of M. de Breves, on the parole of that gentleman and of the English Agent or Ambassador. They have been planning to embark him on a French vessel and to allow him to go where he likes. While de Lancome was waiting to sail he resumed all his old haughtiness and his violent manner, as soon as he saw that his life was safe. In the meantime the Sultan's secretary has sent to the Englishman and to de Breves to say that the Mufti, who has just resigned, though a relation is also his enemy and has attacked him by declaring that de Lancome, though a rebel against the King, has obtained his liberty by bribing the secretary. He therefore feared that de Lancome when once free might make a declaration to this effect in writing, which the secretary's enemies could use to damage him, and he required either some assurance that de Lancome would be handed over to Navarre, or that he should be kept here till orders came from France. They replied that they would guarantee the arrival of letters from the King containing his acknowledgment of what had been done, but that they could promise no more than that, on account of various difficulties which they pointed out. The secretary showed himself dissatisfied, and then they came to this conclusion, that de Breves should either go in person or send to the King of Navarre, and that de Lancome should be placed in custody of Sciavus Pasha until the King's answer arrived.

De Breves came to me and told me that he proposed to employ a Mollah of the Mosque of Sultan Suleiman, a person of confidence with whom he had acquaintance owing to the fact that he had purchased the freedom of one of the Mollah's relations, who was a prisoner in Malta. De Breves intended to propose that the Sultan's secretary should allow de Lancome to travel to France in company of the Mollah; but if that were refused he would suggest that de Lancome should be sent to Ragusa until an answer was returned from France. This was de Breves's middle course between the two extreme proposals, one that de Lancome should be sent to Algiers, the other that he should be sent to Venice in custody of a chavass to be consigned to M. de Maisse, French Ambassador to your Serenity.

I must not conceal from you that the Grand Vizir has been heard to declare that they intend to take no more notice of this madman, and that he may go or stay as best pleases him. By accident I met de Lancome in the Monastery of St. Peter, where we walked together for a long time, and he told me all that had befallen

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him, most of which was due to his natural disposition. He tried to make me believe that the night he passed in the public prison his execution was ordered. I also gathered that he thought this conduct was inspired by a desire to revenge the insult which the Porte conceives that it has undergone in the affair of the Spanish truce. He declared that he was the good servant of Spain and would die to support the Spanish party. On the subject of his departure he says he will not go away except upon violence and compulsion. In that case he will touch at Nice to leave his family and his property, and will then proceed to Spain to report all to the King. He further said that he was leaving behind large debts contracted for the good of Christendom, and that his creditors were willing to rely on his word. I know that this is a fiction.

He told me of the difficulty raised by Leoni about the payment of the bill of exchange on account of a previous bill which had gone astray. Leoni wishing to prove to the Ambassador that the obstacle was not the absence of the money, proposed to bring it all to the Venetian Embassy in four sealed bags. I consented; but next day I learned that some Florentines claimed against this money on account of a bill for eight hundred sequins drawn in the reign of Henry III. These Florentines rely upon the support of the English Ambassador. I sent to warn de Lancome of my suspicions that the Florentines would apply to the Grand Vizir, and to tell him that, as the money could not lie here under a Turkish sequestration, I should send it back to Leoni. Leoni sent at once and recovered the money. The English Ambassador sent to inquire about the above sequestration, and I replied that I intended to have nothing to do with the affair. The Englishman then presented an order to Leoni which he refused to receive as not being under the English jurisdiction; but while reading it, Leoni saw that de Lancome was named Giacomo, while in the letter of credit he was called Lodovico, by error of those who drew the bill in Rome or in Venice. Leoni then declared that he would not honour the bill unless ordered to do so by a sentence issued by me as his judge. De Lancome, however, has not moved me for such a sentence; contenting himself with protesting the bill. From this your Serenity will gather that he is not altogether displeased and that he means to make this business an excuse for staying on here.

I have dwelt at length on this matter in case de Lancome should report to Rome or elsewhere.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 30th May 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

80. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Parma after crossing the Seine at St. Cloud, drew off towards Charenton in order to have the Marne on his flank. Along this river he marched continually, and it is thought that he is now out of France. On the march the troops plundered

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the houses, and even the convents of the most religious nuns in this country have been polluted and contaminated.

Chartres, 8th June 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

81. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have received despatches *containing reports from Constantinople. These I have communicated to Don Juan d'Idiaquez, and they have been forwarded to the Escurial, where they were very welcome, as throwing light on the various rumours about the Turkish fleet.*

Madrid, 9th June 1592.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

82. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The fate which has befallen M. de Lancome is precisely that which was foreseen. He has been sent a prisoner to the Tower of the Black Sea. This happened three days ago. He was conducted there by a great crowd of chavasses and accompanied by one of his relations. All his property has been sealed and an inventory made; and then entrusted to M. de Breves. This action was not the idea of the Grand Vizir but of the Sultan's secretary, who was determined that this man, smarting under injuries, should not be allowed to go to Rome or Spain to make mischief, but that he should remain in custody till the King of Navarre came to some decision about him.

The Grand Vizir would have accepted the compromise suggested by de Breves, to confine de Lancome, under guard, in his own house, or to send him to Ragusa, but this the secretary opposed on account of Marigliani's presence in that city; nor would he consent to the other alternative, on the ground that such treatment of enemies was too lenient and that they ought to be handled with all rigour. As his word has more weight than that of any one else at the Porte, his will has been carried out. De Lancome bears his fate with great constancy, hoping that all will turn out well for him.

It seems that de Breves intends to send to France a secretary of de Lancome, who has has shown himself more of the other party than of the League. De Breves will remain here himself so as not to leave the post of the French Embassy quite vacant. Although he has no credentials the preservation of the ancient French alliance is considered of such importance at the Porte that if he choses to ask for it he will receive the treatment due to an Ambassador. Further, if he remains here the credentials as Ambassador are more likely to arrive as there would be a saving in expense. Letters of recommendation in his favour will be sent from the Porte to the King.

In Barbary there is a coral fishery which has for long been considered the support of the people of Marseilles and others of

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Provençe, who are wont to go to a certain place called the Bastion, held in the name of the French. Some English have now laid hands on it, and are seeking an investiture from the Porte. They offer to pay five thousand ducats a year, and to give the Grand Vizir a lump sum of forty thousand ducats. M. de Breves, however, has raised opposition, and has obtained from the Vizir a promise that nothing shall be done till despatches arrive from the King, on condition that the coral fishers shall pay a royalty on their profits. M. de Breves has begged me to testify to his services to the French Crown in order that M. de Maisse may be informed of them; and that I should assure you that he is the person who has lessened the evils which have befallen M. de Lancome, as is the case.

The day before yesterday Hassan, the renegade of Piacenza, returned from Count Marigliani. Hassan was sent by the late Grand Vizir Ferrad. He reached Ragusa with the news of the fall of Ferrad and the elevation of Sciavus Pasha. Hassan brings to Sciavus a letter, two pages long, which is contrary to the usual habit of brevity.

This letter has been translated into Turkish and sent to the Serraglio, since when we have heard nothing more about it. Until I am able to send you a full copy, or at least a summary, I must inform you that, after compliments, Marigliani gives a detailed account of all the negotiations in this affair down to his father's time. He says that Ferrad promised him all he asked. But that is now denied here.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 13th June 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 13. Copy of Original Rubric,* Venetian Archives.

83. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A nephew of Alvaro Mendez has passed from England to Constantinople on business for his uncle, and to negotiate for the help of a Turkish fleet to the injury of Spain.

June 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

84. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Of the many Frenchmen who have come to Court to ask for money, few have gone away content. In particular M. de Lansac, who has been in Aragon, is extremely annoyed. In conversation with Count Chinchon he told the Count that he was sure that no friendly efforts had been made on his behalf, and that he repudiated the Count's friendship. Count Chinchon grew angry, and resented this speech; whereupon Don Christoforo de Mora, who was present, said that this was only a piece of French vivacity which must be endured.

The Duke of Lorraine has sent to inform the Spanish Ministers that in the election to the throne of France he will not offer himself as a candidate for the crown, and will refuse it if elected, unless

* The despatch is missing.

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his Majesty will pledge himself to protect the Duke. He thinks that no one can maintain himself on the throne without the support and protection of Spain.

Fuentes, who is to go as Spanish Ambassador to Savoy in place of Seralva, who is dead, will receive a salary of one thousand crowns a month.

At the buoy at the mouth of Lisbon harbour are twelve English galleys, which prevent any vessels from leaving or entering the port. One vessel which was making for Lisbon, took these ships for friendly ships and fell into their hands. The Englishmen are reported to be well armed, and it is feared that they may make a junction with other English ships and lie in wait for the West India fleet.

The ships which should have sailed from Seville to Peru *have been delayed by fear of the English; and so instead of two fleets which usually sail each year, one in February and the other in June, this year hardly one will set out. This is of very serious injury to commerce.*

Madrid, 19th June 1592.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

85. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The ship "Sumachi" which gave me a great deal of trouble during the first year of my Embassy, is troubling me again. She was on her way to England when she was seized by some of the King's ships at the straits of Gibraltar. The cargo is sequestrated and the crews imprisoned as the Spanish declare that the ship and all on board it is English.

Madrid, 20th June 1592.

[*Italian.*]

June 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

86. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The day before yesterday the Duke of Mayenne reached Dreux. He had with him a regiment of Spanish troops. He stopped a whole day in Dreux on account of his health, which is becoming worse day by day, so that the doctors doubt whether he can live. One of his reasons for desiring peace is in order that he may put his household on a proper footing in view of his possible death.

His Majesty, meanwhile, is fortifying Gournay on the Marne, in order to blockade Paris, and to give him command of a passage over that river.

The Duke of Parma has gone to the baths at Spa.

Chartres, 25th June 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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June 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

87. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The contents of Marigliani's letter disturb the Sultan.

M. de Lancome in the Tower of the Black Sea, does not lose heart. He has taken to writing as the only way of employing his restless spirit.

There is a movement on foot to allow the Florentines to trade under their own name as others do under the French or the English flag. The English Ambassador here declares that the Grand Duke of Tuscany holds more for Navarre than for the League and Spain. He points to the Grand Duke's opposition to Savoy in Provençe, and all this makes the Tuscan name more acceptable here.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 27th June 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

88. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Flemish and English who are with the King raise difficulties when ordered to march. They declare that they were sent into France for the sole purpose of besieging Rouen, and as that undertaking is now abandoned they wish to return home. The King has sent M. de Senescey (Sensi) to England to prove to the Queen that it is not for the interests of France to press that city at this moment. He will also inform her Majesty that the King is compelled to seek peace owing to the expense of the present war and the confusion created by Spain. The real object of this declaration is to show the Queen that she ought to have rendered more assistance at the siege of Rouen which was undertaken for her sole benefit.*

Chartres, 7th July 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

89. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador has received from the Queen, his mistress, and from the King of Navarre letters dated April last and addressed to the Sultan and the Grand Vizir. The purport of the letters was to dissuade the Sultan from concluding a truce with the King of Spain by pointing out in the strongest terms the indignity and loss which would result to this Crown. The Grand Vizir has placed the letters in the hands of the Dragoman to be translated. They will not be presented to the Sultan till Bairam is over, especially since their contents have already been communicated by word of mouth. The Ambassador, however, desires that they should be presented at once in order to arrest present negotiations for a truce. It is possible that these letters may have weight in inducing the Sultan to lend no ear to Spain, and to despatch a large fleet next year. The English Ambassador strains every nerve to that end. It is true that he is in some embarrassment owing to the fact that last year he interfered to obtain for

* Claude Charles de Baufremont, Baron of Senescey, Bishop of Troyes.

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Aron of Moldavia the Principality of Bogdania. Aron has since been removed and the Ambassador finds himself, not embroiled, it is true, in the promises which Aron had not time to keep, but deprived of the great advantage he would have gained had Aron proceeded to the actual government of that territory. And although his mission here for the Queen of England and the King of Navarre is favourably regarded by the Turks, as bringing to them additional glory, all the same the Ambassador is bound to lose his influence as he is now involved in affairs which are far removed from the true sphere of his action and which affect the interests of this Crown. The Prince of Bogdania, on his way through Constantinople, was refused an audience, his goods were taken from him and he was interned in Aleppo.

M. de Breves, who is here for Navarre, has made up his mind to go to the Sultan and to relate all that he has done in the case of M. de Lancome, who represented the League. He desires, with the help of the Porte, to obtain the post of Ambassador from the King of Navarre, or at least to create such a post for someone else. Meanwhile, thanks to his many services, especially in securing the liberty of Turkish slaves, he has received a concession for the free export of grain, and has hired ships which were to load in Greece; the Pasha, however, has not issued the necessary orders yet.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 10th July 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

90. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News has reached the French Bishop, the Guise's Agent at this Court, and the other Agents of the League, that the King of Navarre has obtained some successes. This has roused the suspicion that the Duke of Parma has orders not to fight, for they affirm that on more than one occasion he declined to give battle. They lament the unhappy state of France, torn in pieces by its own children and despoiled by foreigners; and declare that the election of a Catholic Sovereign is the only remedy possible. In that sense they have again approached his Majesty with a new petition. He has always shown himself disposed to take the necessary steps; and in dismissing the said Bishop he has assigned to the Duke of Guise eight thousand crowns a month for the maintenance of his person and his house, exhorting him at the same time to convene the States for the election of a new King. But as his Majesty will not say a word upon the subject of his own candidate, many people suspect that his actions and his thoughts are not really at one.

Promise has also been given to send part of the army of Aragon into France, and to subvention the League anew, but though this Bishop has applied for the restitution of two hundred thousand crowns which the Duke of Guise declares were spent by his father on the promise from his Majesty that they should be made good, he has not succeeded in recovering them as yet.

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The Bishop has taken his leave, he received a diamond cross worth five hundred crowns, and in addition to this he has asked for money for his journey, declaring that he has spent all he brought with him; he has received six hundred crowns.

The ocean fleet is being got ready, part to go to the Azores to await the West India flotilla, part to clear the seas of English pirates who do not cease to infest it. Don Alonzo de Bazan has gone to Lisbon to superintend the preparations.

Madrid, 18th July 1592.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

91. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Aron, the deposed Prince of Bogdania, was brought prisoner to Constantinople by Janizaries. The Sultan gave orders that he was not to enter the city, but the Janizaries disobeyed, and brought Aron into the city with great uproar. The Sultan in alarm at the mutiny deposed Alexander, the newly elected Prince, and restored Aron.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 18th July 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

92. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Breves communicated to me three days ago a letter addressed by the Grand Vizir to the King of Navarre.

De Breves declared that as a private individual he could not meddle with public matters which were under the protection of the English Ambassador. I learn that the letters of the Queen of England contain two other topics besides the exclusion of Spain from the truce; one is the despatch of a fleet to Toulon next year; the other is the establishment of a French Ambassador here. One is to be sent as soon as possible.

No reply has been given on these points as M. de Breves does not insist, and the English Ambassador is so completely occupied with the affairs of Bogdania that he has no time to think of anything else.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 27th July 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

93. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 18th instant a vessel from the East Indies entered the port of Lisbon. It brought news that four other vessels are on their way from those parts. This one parted company at the Cape of Good Hope and reached Lisbon without touching at St. Elena where it is usual to stop and refit. This ship avoided St. Elena, and so will the others, from fear of the English corsairs, which were said to be lying in wait at that island in order to plunder all ships coming from the East Indies with rich cargoes

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of spices and other goods, as your Serenity will gather from the statement which I enclose.

Madrid, 28th July 1592.

[*Italian.*]

July 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

94. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Alfonzo d'Idiaquez, Colonel in the Spanish army in France, and son of Don Juan d'Idiaquez, left the camp of the Duke of Parma because he was ill satisfied with his Excellency. From that moment the Duke began to lose the favour he enjoyed with his Majesty and the Councils of State; and the Spanish are spreading reports with a view to still further damaging him in the estimation of the King. They declare that he took pleasure in annihilating the Spanish troops which are harder worked and worse paid than the rest of the army, and that he did all he could to disgust the Spanish officers so that they might be induced to leave the camp and so to secure a free field for the Duke to carry on everything as best suited himself. But as yet his Majesty has shown no marks of his disapproval.

Madrid, 28th July 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

95. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The more talk there is of peace the more one hears of actual hostilities. It seems that the Queen of England dexterously fans the flame.

Chartres, 1st August 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

96. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Florentines who are negotiating the payment of Signor Ruccelai's jewels are quarrelling with the Jew Alvaro Mendez about the assignment of certain tributes. But the English Ambassador, who has great influence with the Grand Vizir, because he brought to the Vizir's pocket perhaps as much as one hundred thousand crowns over the affair of Bogdania, has undertaken to protect the Florentines by promising four thousand ducats to the Pasha, on account of which he has already given him a diamond worth one thousand. In spite of all this, the Ambassador himself told me that he was afraid the Jew would win if he bid higher.

The Ambassador then went on to speak at length on the subject of the Grand Duke of Tuscany's free trade policy. He urged on me that if the Ambassador Moresini had opposed the English trade in linen and tin it was clear that Venice was far more

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bound to oppose the Florentines, who were trading in cloth of gold, silk, and wool, and would thus destroy Venetian commerce in the Levant. I replied that this was England's business in a double sense, first because the introduction of woollen goods will damage the linen trade, and, secondly, in the interests of France, which would lose jurisdiction over the Florentines in the Levant; whereas your Serenity's interests were all the smaller owing to the fact that the Jews in Ancona and other cities traded in foreign wools under the name of Venetian. He answered that he was unable to make any opposition owing to the fact that a year ago he had offered to act as intermediary between the Grand Duke and the Turkish Empire, though he received orders from the Queen to proceed cautiously in the matter. He says he has written again and is waiting an answer. At the same time he confirmed the report that the Florentines had offered the Grand Vizir twenty thousand ducats for this privilege and had made presents to many other Pashas and Ministers. The Queen of England will not spend, the King of France cannot spend, and so the matter rests with your Serenity. I answered that in the absence of orders on the matter I preferred not to discuss it. I expect that the Ambassador has been gained over by promises.

He also told me that in the replies to the letters of the Queen of England and the King of Navarre there was no specific promise of a fleet as was asked, but hopes have been held out by hints. He has written to both Sovereigns that thirty thousand crowns well spent here would do more good against the King of Spain than five hundred thousand squandered on the war over there.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 10th August 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

97. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Two Ambassadors arrived from England some days ago. They left again immediately on the completion of their mission, which was in the first place, to urge the King to continue the war, and secondly, if he were resolved on peace, to beg him to come to no terms without advising the Queen.

Chartres, 14th August 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 15. Copy of Original Rubric, Venetian Archives.

98. Secretary RANUSSIO.

They are preparing Tyrolese troops for service in Hungary, and the leaders suggested are the Marquis of Burgraces and Captain Lidel.

The English have captured an Indiaman of nine hundred tons, and other smaller ships in sight of Cascaes.

The Earl of Bethune (?) (Conte de Betunes) has attacked the King of Scotland.

Innsbruch, 15th August 1592.

[*Italian.*]

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Aug. 25. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

99. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England is withdrawing two thousand infantry from the garrisons of Flanders to send them in aid of Navarre.

Prague, 25th August 1592.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

100. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from Lisbon that one of the four ships coming from the East Indies parted company and put into a port of the Isle of Corvo. This port is unprotected, and some English ships which were cruising about there sailed in and attacked the East Indiaman. The crew, unable to defend themselves, fled on shore after having fired the ship, which was burned with all her cargo, valued at a a million and a half of gold, and including a large quantity of pepper belonging to the King. They were counting upon selling this at once, and now that this is impossible, there will arise much difficulty in the finances.

They are awaiting the arrival of the other ships, but with anxiety, for the English are still in those waters, and indeed news has come from Lisbon that nine Englishmen attacked the flagship of the East India fleet and another ship, which had cargoes worth three millions of gold. If this is true, it will bring great ruin chiefly on the city of Lisbon.

Madrid, 12th September 1592.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

101. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The supercargo of the "Sumachi" found that just before he reached Cadiz with the King's order for the release of the ship, the Adelantado had issued a sentence confiscating all the cargo on the ground that it was English property.

Madrid, 12th September 1592.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

102. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Senescey (Sensi) writes from England that he has obtained from the Queen the promise to send three thousand infantry, paid for six months, into France.

Chartres, 17th September 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

103. LEONARDO DONATO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Holiness told me that he had read in the Gazette news which he really believed to be a *canard* (*menantaria, menanti si chiam*

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ano qui quelli che scrivono li fogli de avisi che vanno per le piazze). All the same, in case it might prove to be true, he said he would communicate it to me, and it is this, that your Serenity is thinking of sending a noble as Agent to England in order to purchase grain. His Holiness said that he was aware that not long ago your Serenity had thought of sending an Ambassador but had abandoned the idea. If this Agent went now it would cause great suspicion in his own mind and in that of the King of Spain, and people would say that grain was not the only object of the mission. If it were absolutely necessary to send to England, a merchant would do quite well as Agent, instead of a noble whose presence would imply ulterior consequences. And if your Serenity's attitude towards the Turk were such as to arouse suspicion, that was a reason the more for not rousing further suspicion as regards other Princes.

Undoubtedly the object of his Holiness is to prevent your Serenity from sending a representative to the Court of that most heretical Queen.

Rome, 19th September 1592.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

104. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Those who are acting for the King of Navarre have orders to continue their efforts to secure the formation of a fleet of at least one hundred galleys for next year. That number would be sufficient, they say, to hamper the designs of the King of Spain and of the League. They have talked upon this point with the Sultan's secretary and other Ministers of importance, and the answer received was that the King should hasten to send a resident Ambassador to Constantinople for the honour and dignity of the Porte, and if he comes during this winter there will be time enough. The Turks themselves admit that there is some question of an attack on Malta.

The Sultan has resolved to give no answer to the letters of Count Marigliani. He is influenced by the opinion of his secretary rather than by that of the Grand Vizir. The secretary is opposed to the conclusion of a truce with Spain. The secretary is old and very rich and has acquired his influence by assisting others to riches. Under cloak of religion he interferes in affairs of State.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 19th September 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

105. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As long as the Court lay at Burgos the city seemed full enough; but now that it is gone the place is desert. For it used to be inhabited by merchants who trade with England, Flanders, and

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France, but owing to the wars, that traffic is cut off and the population has fallen in numbers and in wealth.

Burgos, 4th October 1592.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

106. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English who are coming to join the King will soon be here. His Majesty sends them to this place because he cannot help doing so. He is, as a rule, averse from using foreign arms, and when compelled to do so, he usually keeps those troops near his own person, both in order to prevent them from becoming masters of any strong place and also to check the usual violence of foreign soldiery.

Chartres, 8th October 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

107. LEONARDO DONATO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England is said to have persuaded the King of Navarre to declare himself a Catholic, urging upon him that it was unnecessary to lose a great kingdom merely because he took one view and not another on religious questions.

Rome, 10th October 1592.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

108. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England having recently sent reinforcements to Count Maurice to enable him to harry Friesland, the Duke of Parma has concentrated troops there, and these operations will delay his return to France. This has led the King to disband a large number of his troops.

Chartres, 18th October 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

109. The AMBASSADORS in Rome to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Holiness said that he had heard a rumour to which he would refer, though he thought it was most probably mere gossip of the people, because if it were true it was a matter of great importance. It was declared that the English were about to found an exchange house in Venice with the consent of the Republic. We replied that we had no knowledge of any such intention, and that we thought the report was pure gossip, for, as a matter of fact, there were very few English in Venice, and the majority of these had come there on purpose to enjoy the Catholic religion. The trade with England was completely abandoned, because the English were pirates who robbed the merchantmen that went to traffic in

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their ports; and the Venetian merchants had quite given up that commercial route which in itself was long and dangerous.

The Pope referred to the rumour that the Republic would send an Ambassador to England, and we replied that if such an idea ever passed through your Serenity's mind it was merely suggested by the great scarcity of grain in these late years, and that the Republic would only take such a step under the gravest necessity. A proof of this assertion was furnished by the fact that although the Secretary Ottobon went to Dantzig for grain he did not set foot in England.

The Pope replied that the Republic should take care to avoid giving rise to any suspicion in such an affair; especially as the Queen of England was doing all she could to harass the King of Spain.

Rome, 28th October 1592.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

110. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Agents for the King of Navarre have been informed that M. de Lancome will not be set at liberty till an Ambassador arrives from France.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 31st October 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

111. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English announce the return of their fleet from the Indies, and declare that it brings a vast booty taken from the Spanish fleet. For this reason there have been public rejoicings in London.

Chartres, 4th November 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

112. TOMASO CONTARINI and FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish fleet for the West Indies has arrived there safely with the loss of one small ship. The West India fleet, which should have sailed thence, did not put to sea owing to fear of the English, who are cruising in those seas, pillaging cities and burning ships even in harbour. It is thought unlikely that the fleet will be able to reach Spain this year, and so in order to secure the arrival of the money they are going to despatch light vessels which are to carry nothing else, and to take an unusual route.

Logrogno, 7th November 1592.

[*Italian.*]

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Nov. 14.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

113. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Lancome, late Ambassador of France, who was imprisoned in the Tower with two of his nephews and others, has been removed to a less severe prison, and his elder nephew has been set at liberty in order that he may recover the property which was appropriated by the mob. As the Turks set great store on the presence of an Ambassador of France, and seeing that the King of Navarre delays to send one, I think that they wish to set de Lancome at liberty. The English Ambassador and de Breves oppose this step by all possible means and especially through the Secretary of the Sultan —a person of great weight. Their machinations are very hurtful to Christendom, and in a high degree to the Republic. Their object is to secure that de Lancome should be consigned to the Captain of a Marseilles ship, to be landed at Toulon and handed over to the Government of the King of Navarre. But they have not succeeded as yet. It is the opinion of many that the Jews and de Lancome are keeping the question of the truce with Spain still alive.

The Grand Vizir has lately written to the city of Marseilles threatening to cut off its commerce and to make its citizens slaves if they abandon the King of Navarre.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 14th November 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 29.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

114. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Breves has lately written to M. de Maisse, Ambassador of France at Venice, informing him that the Grand Duke of Tuscany is endeavouring to reopen relations with the Porte and to establish an Agency. The result of this would be to remove the Florentines from the protection of the French flag. De Maisse has replied that the question is one which affects your Serenity chiefly, and has ordered de Breves to act under my instructions.

Letters from the King of Navarre to the Sultan and the Grand Vizir have recently arrived, but have not been presented. The purport of these letters is to thank the Sultan for having dismissed Marigliani, who only came to the Porte not to honour the Sultan but to spread snares for others. Thanks are also rendered for the imprisonment of de Lancome, who was acting here in favour of the League and of Spain. The King of Navarre begs the Sultan to complete his benefits by consigning de Lancome to the English Ambassador and to de Breves, who will send him to some port which adheres to the King's party. The King adds that he intends to send an Ambassador to reside here. From what I am told they expect the arrival of a certain Secretary Lambert. De Breves will be named Ambassador.

This same post brought despatches for the English Ambassador, confirming him in his title, and announcing the speedy arrival of a ship with presents for the Sultan and his Ministers. I imagine that the Queen of England and the King of Navarre may be acting in concert so that the presents of both should arrive at the same

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time in order to secure the assistance of the Turkish fleet with a view to upsetting his Catholic Majesty's designs on Provençe and England. And to give a proof of the existence of these designs they have spread the report that at Ragusa, Marigliani has endeavoured to come to terms for hiring Venetian vessels for the service of his master.

The Florentine negotiation proceeds, and Antonio Vecchietti, a Florentine, who was acting here and fell ill of the plague, has recovered miraculously. I think I can perceive that the Levantine Jews, who are desirous of a favourable issue to the negotiations, because many of them wish to settle in Pisa, have gained over the English Ambassador and his follower Paulo Mariani, both of them so hard pressed that they would do anything for money. I must inform your Serenity that this Ambassador, who is openly hostile to us on religious and other grounds, is spreading a report that in Zante, where the English have a factory, burial is refused to his fellow countrymen, and they are obliged to send their corpses to Turkish territory.

Some Frenchmen having spoken ill of the King of Navarre, de Breves seized the occasion to avenge a private injury. He complained to the Grand Vizir and the Frenchmen were sent to the galleys as slaves and compelled to carry stones for the Royal buildings. This division among the French causes them to be held in small account and scandalizes every one.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 29th November 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

115. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I informed your Serenity in my last despatches that letters have arrived from the King of Navarre and I gave same of their contents. Having now had an opportunity of running through them secretly I can add the rest.

The King declares that the Austrians have resolved to recover the fortresses they have lost and to prosecute the war with all their might; that the King of Spain is rendering every assistance to the League in France, not only with men and money but also with ships as he has lately hired twelve galleons at Ragusa; and that he himself is most in need of horses and grain.

The Grand Vizir at once submitted a translation to his Majesty, though he suspected that the letters were drafted by the King's Ministers, not by the King himself. The Sultan ordered a suitable reply to be made, in general terms, touching again on the question of this Ambassador whom the King promised to send to reside at the Porte, and deferred until his arrival, all answer to the points raised in the letters. The Sultan also wished to know if the rumour about the Ragusan ships hired by the King of Spain was correct. The Ragusan Ambassadors offered to lose their heads if there was a word of truth in the report.

The English Ambassador and de Breves have insisted upon a categorical answer about horses and corn, and about the support

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of the Turkish fleet. They tell me that they were requested to wait the return of the Capudan Pasha. On the other hand I am informed that no reply at all was given upon that subject, and that they will hardly get one without money from England or from France. Such, however, is the confidence which these two Ministers repose in the Sultan's secretary—a man of most avaricious temper—that they lay their count to obtain all they desire.

On the question of grain I learn that there is some talk of allowing a limited export from Barbary. But the English Ambassador and de Breves desire free export, and to obtain this they must wait the arrival of presents from their respective Princes, when they will kiss the Sultan's hand and be received by him as Ambassadors.

The Secretary has obtained the surrender of de Lancome and all his suite to the English Ambassador and de Breves. De Lancome will be sent to Toulon and handed to Navarre.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 13th December 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

116. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Capudan Pasha has refused to the English Ambassador and to de Breves the free export of grain from the Archipelago and granted it only in Tunis and Barbary.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 26th December 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

117. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Breves and the English Ambassador together have drawn up in Turkish a summary of letters found, as they say, in the Archives of de Lancome, and have taken it to the Grand Vizir in order to prove to him that de Lancome was in the service of the League and the King of Spain, and therefore that he ought to be consigned a prisoner to them in order that he may be sent to Toulon.

They also hope to stimulate the Sultan to despatch a fleet in support of Navarre. The whole composition is artful and calculated to injure de Lancome.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 27th December 1592.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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1593. Jan. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

118. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Two thousand English have landed in Brittany with the intention of occupying the Duke of Mercœur and preventing him from invading Anjou as he always wished to do. His Majesty has ordered the Marshal d'Aumont, who had started for this place,

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to return to Brittany, and to exert all his power to recover Laval or Château Gonthier (la Vale overo Siateogotier).

It seems that for the present there is but little hope of that peace for the conclusion of which so many personages have engaged their best efforts. The most suspicious circumstance in the case is the post which the Spaniards have promised to the Duke of Mayenne, namely, that which the Duke of Parma held in Flanders, Lieutenant of the King of Spain in France. This would give him command not only of the Spanish but also of the French militia.

Chartres, 1st January 1592 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

119. POLO PARUTA, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany, through his Ambassador, has made a long defence of himself from the charges of assisting Navarre and Lesdiguières.

Rome, 2nd January 1592 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

120. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The arrival of the Duke of Guise in Paris was at first supposed to be connected with the assembling of the States; it proved however to be the result of secret intelligences inside the city of Senlis. There, some priests, who had joined the conspiracy, murdered the sentinels, and the troops of the League scaled the walls with so much vigour that two hundred of them were inside the town before the Governor was aware of the attack; he, however, made so valiant a defence that the city was saved, to the great service of the King.

Chartres, 8th January 1592 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

121. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In communicating the news from Constantinople to Don Juan d'Idiaquez I laid stress upon the preparations for a fleet which the Turk was making, &c. and the certainty that the fleet would put to sea this year which was now upon us, to the danger of all Christendom. Don Juan replied that his Majesty was already aware of this and laid the whole blame upon the continual promptings of England and France at Constantinople (ciò procedeva per li stimuli continuati d' Inghilterra et di Francia a Constantinopoli).

I hear that Drake is about to sail from England in the middle of next month with fifty ships. His Majesty is advised from London that the English intend to sail to the Indies, with a view

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to seizing and fortifying a port where a fleet might be established, and so to gradually detach that country from the government of this Crown; the Spanish have long been afraid of this.

Madrid, 9th January 1592 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

122. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

All business is conducted here with the greatest secrecy, and so I have not been able as yet to obtain any information as to who will succeed the Duke of Parma. It seems certain that such an appointment cannot be long delayed, and it is possible that your Serenity may have news of it from some other quarter first; for the King is accustomed in matters of great importance to arrive at his determination all by himself, and then with his own hand to write the necessary orders. They say, however, that the Count Mansfeldt and Count Fuentes have received a joint commission to manage the affairs of Flanders as Royal Lieutenant until the election of the Captain General. It is possible that Fuentes will take the command in France, while Mansfeldt continues in Flanders. Signor Tomaso Fresco, the King's Agent General of the Revenue, tells me that he has orders to send large sums of money to France.

Madrid, 9th January 1592 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

123. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Capudan Pasha urges his Majesty to allow him to arm sixty galleys over and above the ordinary number, as a protection for the Archipelago, and he promises to inflict great damage on Christendom and to fill the galleys with slaves. The English Ambassador and M. de Breves are in frequent consultation with the Capudan, but there are no signs of extraordinary activity in the Arsenal, and I am in hopes that until the presents from England and the Ambassador from Navarre arrive here, these foreign Agents will not be held of much account.

They have experienced great difficulty in obtaining the consignment of M. de Lancome as their prisoner. Finally, with the most powerful aid of the Sultan's secretary, they have succeeded; and on the last day of last month quite suddenly de Lancome was taken from the Tower of the Black Sea, and, with one servant, was placed on board a sloop of Marseilles, whose Captain was ordered, as he valued his life, to keep de Lancome safely and hand him over to the Governor of Toulon, who is acting for Navarre. His relations and suite were put on board another French ship. Before sailing de Lancome spoke to the English Ambassador and to de Breves, who sought to tempt him to win his liberty by taking an oath to go to Navarre and to recognise him as King; an oath which de Lancome steadily refused to take, and he ended by declaring that

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even if Navarre were recognised as King by all France still he would succeed in unseating him. The English Ambassador then proposed to submit the matter to me, but this de Lancome refused, and while the conversation was in progress the sloop made sail. His departure was so rapid that I had no time to make my formal adieux.

The question of the export of grain from Barbary is still open. The Capudan tells me that, as a bribe, they have offered him a jewel worth three thousand sequins, but that he refused it.

I learn that de Breves has obtained leave to export horses for France.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 10th January 1592 [m.v.].

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Jan. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

124. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the failure of the attempt on Senlis the Dukes of Mayenne and Guise sent most of their troops to the siege of Beaumont, a fortress of the highest importance to his Majesty.

The Papal Bull authorising the Cardinal of Piacenza and the Princes of the League to elect a King of France, has not met with the approval of the Parliament of Paris.

Chartres, 14th January 1592 [m.v.].

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Jan. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

125. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I had an audience of his Majesty last Thursday, in the course of which I made a humble request that the ship "Sumachi" might be set at liberty; pointing out that, although his Majesty had thrice given orders for its release, it was still detained by the Adelentado of Castille on the ground that she was owned by English, whereas, as I have affirmed again and again, her owner is a Venetian merchant. As everyone knew the kind intentions of the King I feared lest I should be held to blame if the ship were detained any longer; *especially as in view of the dread of a Turkish descent this very year, your Serenity was in need of all her ships for transport purposes.* The King replied most favourably; *but the Adelentado, who is here in person, does not cease to display hostility, and has seized in like manner the ships of the Genoese and of other nations, and has put the crew to torture to force them to depose that the ships are owned by English. The Adelentado has seized most of the cargoes, as common report affirms, and no one here dares to hinder him. He thus takes his vengeance on the English for their continual rapine on the high seas against the ships of Portugal; that kingdom has not only lost its Indian trade, but has been harried by the English ever since it came under this Crown. They are now in serious alarm for the*

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safety of the West Indian fleet, as news comes from the coast that English ships are cruising about and waiting to attack it.

Madrid, 17th January 1592 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

126. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Pietro de' Medici has twenty-four thousand crowns a year from his patrimony, besides twelve thousand which the King of Spain provides him in virtue of the rank of General in England which Don Pietro holds; add to this five thousand as the income from his wife's dowry.

Madrid, 17th January 1592 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

127. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I find that the Ragusans, the English and the French, are all united in an effort to obtain the corn contract from the Grand Vizir; accordingly I have broken off negotiations with the Capudan, as I thought it my duty to keep an eye on the operations of those who are making use of the chief Minister, and are therefore in a stronger position than I am, and also to wait for further orders from your Serenity. If the Englishman and M. de Breves obtain a concession I will endeavour to secure a share in it, and will not fail to conclude a concession for your Serenity also, if I can escape the lies and tricks of the Capudan.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 23rd January 1592 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

128. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Grand Vizir has received a letter from Count Marigliani, dated Naples 4th November 1592. In this letter Marigliani announces his arrival at Naples, where he had been summoned by the Viceroy to give an account of the difficulties which he encountered when negotiating here for a truce. These difficulties lie in the execution of the terms agreed upon with Sinan Pasha. Marigliani says he would be willing to return and to renew the negotiations were it not for certain deplorable events which had taken place after his departure, for example, the seizure of forts and cities in time of peace, and the imprisonment of the Ambassador of a Crown which had for long been an ally of the Porte,—although he was quite certain that no such accident could happen to himself, the servant of so great a monarch as his master. Marigliani also declares that if in Constantinople they ever wish to resume the discussion on the basis of the terms accepted by Sinan Pasha, he is ready to return. This letter, translated into Turkish, has been sent to his Majesty, but as yet the Grand Vizir has given no orders for an answer; not because he is

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not willing to renew the negotiations, but because the Softas are strongly opposed and give their support to Navarre, desiring to hamper the King of Spain by the despatch of a fleet.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 24th January 1592 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

129. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty has given orders to Don Juan d'Idiaquez that the Venetian ships are to be set at liberty. Accordingly the Council has drawn up instructions for the Adelentado of Castille declaring that by the King's express orders the ship "Sumachi" is to be restored to her master; and that the King does this to please your Serenity, although it is certain from the evidence taken that the ship belongs to the English; and that both the Adelentado and Don Juan d'Idiaquez are aware that the English in the present state of relations between England and Spain, are endeavouring to pass their merchandize off as Venetian.

It now remains to recover the whole of the cargo. Part to the value of two thousand ducats was restored to the supercargo, but the rest was declared by the Adelentado to be forfeited as being English goods.

As regards the two other ships detained in Portugal, the "Stella" and the "Vidala," they are going to write to the Cardinal Archduke of Austria for information, *but all this is done merely with the intention of gaining time, and allowing a sufficient number of ships to be armed against the English. News has recently come from Lisbon that fifteen English ships have been sighted near Cascaes, and very soon after about forty more, not far from the shore. This news causes great alarm for the safety of the West India fleet.*

Madrid, 27th January 1592 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

130. POLO PARUTA, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Holiness said to me, "What worse can the French Princes of the blood do than support a heretic, and even propose to make him King of France? And we, what can we do? God knows that if we were convinced that we could pacify France we would not hesitate to go there in person, aye, and to suffer martyrdom if need be." He remained quiet and thoughtful for a bit and then broke out, "How can we believe in Navarre? One of his own party caused us to be told that even if Saint Peter himself declared that the King would become a Catholic we had better not believe it, for he had reached an age when it was ridiculous to think that he would change his faith. And we are only too deeply convinced that this is so, for he was born and bred a heretic, and it is a tale to tell to children to say that he has any

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genuine thought of becoming a Catholic. This is a ruse suggested to him by the Queen of England, who saved her own life by a like deception, and then, when she came to the throne, she proved the source of all those ills and misfortunes which have fallen upon Catholics." He then entered upon a detailed account of the whole matter, speaking consecutively and at greater length than is usual with him, and concluded by saying that he could give no credence to the word or pretences of Navarre. "Some of his party," continued his Holiness, "have suggested that as guarantees of his good faith we should take the word of the cities and the Marshals of France." To which I said, "Thank you; who will bind the cities or answer for the Marshals? Some say Navarre himself, but when he is King who will venture to disobey him?"

Rome, 30th January 1592 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

131. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

*The English Ambassador and the French Agent went together to audience of the Grand Vizir.** *The Englishman met with a cold reception on account of the part he had taken in the change of Vaivodes in Bogdania (Moldavia) and Walachia. Nevertheless the Vizir promised him a fleet of two hundred sail in the coming year, and he exhorted M. de Breves to write to the King of Navarre that he will be expected to share the expenses after he has felt the benefit.*

Your Serenity will not blame me if in this despatch I report varying rumours on the subject of the fleet; for just in proportion to the importance of the subject I feel myself bound to report everything in order that your Serenity may form a judgment as to what is likely to take place.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 14th February 1592 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

132. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain to the DOGE and SENATE.

The ships "Stella," "Vidala," and "Sumachi," have been set at liberty. *They are putting together as many ships as they can to oppose the English, of whom we hear fresh piracies every day, even right under the walls of Lisbon.*

Madrid, 22nd February 1592 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

* Sinan Pasha, who succeeded Sciavus Pasha, deposed in January of this year, after a rising of the Janissaries.

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Feb. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

133. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty has ordered a revision of the accounts for the West Indies, and especially of Mexico, with the result that he finds that he has been robbed of upwards of five millions in gold.

Madrid, 24th February 1592 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

134. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Breves had orders from the French Ambassador in Venice to act in the matter of the Florentine trading privileges as I should direct. He tells me that he has spoken to the English Ambassador who is entrusted with the protection of French interests which are involved in this question of the Florentine traders, because if the privilege is granted to them they will cease to sail under the French flag. The English Ambassador, however, declines to move; says he has no money to spend, and words are worthless against those who employ deeds. But I am fully convinced that the Florentines have not moved in this matter without first securing the English Ambassador and another of his chief councellors, Mariani, both of them in great straits for money, and ready to embrace any party.

M. de Breves and the English Ambassador together continue to press the question of the grain contracts; and they have presented a petition sealed by the Sultan's secretary, the Mufti, by certain preachers, and by the principal Emirs who support the demand, as it is not illegal to make a concession for grain to those who are at war with the enemies of the Sultan. They are waiting the result.

(*Monsr. Brevi hebbe ordine da cotesto Ambasciatore di Francia di far officio in ciò quando fusse da me ritento, et mi ha egli detto di haver parlato coll' Ambasciatore Inglese, a chi è raccommandato la prottetione di Francia interessata in questo, che essendo restituito il commercio ai Fiorentini, non navigaranno più sotto la bandiera Francese, ma l' Ambasciatore non si vuol moverse; non ha commodità di spendere; non si potendo opporre con parole dove concorrono fatti. Ma lo tengo per certo che Fiorentini non si saranno messi a questo senza guadagnar prima l' Inglese et un altro suo principal consultore, il Mariani; ambidoi in strettissima fortuna, che si appigliariano a qualsivoglia partito. Il medesino Brevi giontamente coll' Inglese insta tuttavia della tratta de grani et hanno fatto nuovo Arz sigillato dal coza del Re, Mufti, et alcuni predicatori et Emiri principali, che approbano la domanda come che non sia contra la legge dare grani a chi fà la guerra con li inimici di questo Impero.*)

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 26th February 1592 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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March 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

135. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has given orders that everyone is to hold himself prepared to march. As in England two thousand infantry are ready to land at the smallest sign from his Majesty.

Chartres, 1st March 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives

136. TOMASO CONTARINI, retiring Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On board the galley which arrived in Barcelona from Genoa were the Patriarch Gaetano, the Nuncio, and Sig. Domenico Relli, Ambassador for the Duke of Savoy. In the course of conversation the Nuncio said that he had orders from his Holiness to act in all things in conjunction with your Serenity's Ministers, above all as regards Turkish affairs. And as his Holiness had heard that great preparations are being made at Constantinople, the Nuncio was instructed to request the King of Spain to take such steps as might be necessary for the defence of Christendom.

Savona, 1st March 1593.

[*Italian.*]

March 7.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

137. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from Seville that the West India fleet when sailing from that port lost one vessel on shore, and another by fire; and that the whole fleet is waiting for fair weather. Of the West India fleet now at Havanna five ships laden with silver, to the value of two hundred thousand ducats, are missing. The fleet at Havanna will not sail till the fleet which is being gathered here in the ports of Cadiz and Lisbon has joined it.

Madrid, 7th March 1593.

[*Italian.*]

March 9.
Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

138. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is news from Frankfort that up to the tenth of last month the Count Mansfeldt, with his troops, was still near Guise. This surprises the Spanish Embassy, who say that it is impossible, though they confess that they do not know where the Count actually is. Indeed, Don Guglielmo de Clemente told me the day before yesterday that a squadron of cavalry, which had remained behind to guard the baggage, the plate and the money of the Duke of Feria, packed in waggons that had stuck in the mud,—had broken open the boxes and stolen everything down to the black velvet and gold liveries with which the Duke intended to make his entry into Paris.

There is confirmation of the news that in Scotland the Earl of Angus has put himself at the head of the Catholics and has

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conspired against the King. It is said that the Earl is incited by the King of Spain, who wishes to prevent the Queen of England from sending help to France.

Prague, 9th March 1593.

[*Italian.*]

March 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

139. POLO PARUATA, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Holiness read me a memorandum which he held in his hand. It stated that Pansanias Brazzoduro and others had raised some companies of light horse in the territory of Vicenza for service with the King of Navarre. And further that there was now in Venice a certain captain, whose name I could not catch, his Holiness read it so low, who was charged to beg that the Republic would increase to twenty thousand crowns a month the four thousand a month which it at present paid to Lesdiguières.

Rome, 13th March 1593.

[*Italian.*]

March 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

140. MATHEO Zane, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Lancome has been all this time at the island of Marmora, distant from here about one hundred miles. He has been engaged in negotiating with the party of Navarre to secure his freedom upon an oath that he would present himself to Navarre within six months, and during that period would not bear arms, nor plot against his royal Majesty. He has obtained his liberty and has recovered his property, and has left with his mistress and his children, all but the eldest who remains here with M. de Breves as a sort of hostage. I am persuaded that he will land in Sicily in order to speak to the Count Olivarez, with whom he conducted a correspondence. From Sicily he will go to Rome to be absolved from his oath, and your Serenity may rest assured that wherever he goes he will do us an evil turn, as he is persuaded that the Republic is hostile to his party. However the small esteem in which he was held here prevented him from doing much mischief and so I hope it will be elsewhere. I must tell you that the very moment of his departure from Marmora he sent a French Dragoman to Sinan Pasha to tell him, though I do not believe the Dragoman did so, that if he wished to crush the Republic he should attack Sebenico.

Haider Pasha, ex-Viceroy of Algiers, will soon be here. I am told that he is bringing with him Ottavio Avogadro. The French here declare that Avogadro is wrongfully a prisoner as he was protected by a passport from the King of Navarre; and I know that M. de Maisse, French Ambassador in Venice, will procure him letters from the King to the Sultan and the Grand Vizir, and will strongly recommend him to the English Ambassador and M. de Breves. But all this notwithstanding I do not believe that Avogadro will obtain his liberty unless he spends money; I am afraid rather

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that, in order to avoid being given over to your Serenity, he will put a crown upon the course of his misdeeds by abandoning the true religion. And seeing that your Serenity came to terms with Sinan for Avogadro's arrest in Corfu upon the price of ten thousand ducats, and then suspended the negotiations, it is very likely that I may be called upon to fulfil the promises given, and on this point I should be glad to know your wishes.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 14th March 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

141. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A few days ago the Duke of Feria arrived in Paris with forty thousand crowns in specie and seventy thousand in bills of exchange, a sum far inferior to that which the Duke of Mayenne had asked for. This and the want of discipline among the Spanish troops has thrown the Duke into a bad humour with Spain. The Duke of Feria is also doing all he can to induce the rebels to unite in electing the Infanta as Queen of France. All the preachers, and especially a Spaniard, are devoted to this object. They all declare that the Salic law is a pure fiction, never recognised; and that the interests of France require such a choice; others talk of the King of Spain, others of the Duke of Lorraine.

Chartres, 18th March 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

142. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has left to join the Duke of Nevers and the English at Dieppe.

Chartres, 20th March 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

143. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

We have news here of the steps taken by order of his Majesty for the election of the new King of France; and every one is curious to see what will happen in the Parliament of Paris. Some hold that owing to the number of claimants, and the confusion of parties in that unlucky kingdom, it will be difficult to reach any solution of the question. Besides there is great uncertainty as to the real intentions of his Majesty. On this topic I must report to your Serenity what the Admiral of Castile recently said to me, that they were utterly mistaken who affirmed that his Catholic Majesty did not wish to see another King elected in France, only the person chosen must be of so little importance that he will be compelled to depend entirely on the King of Spain. As regards the Duke of Mayenne and his pretensions, he, at all events, is absolutely excluded from the views of his Majesty who in appearance, at least, seems disposed to favour the Duke of Lorraine. It

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is thought, however, that the Parliament will very probably dissolve without any decision, and that all that has taken place so far is in favour of the King of Navarre. And so it may happen that the Spanish gold which is scattered with so lavish a hand in the kingdom of France may prove fruitless after all. Rumour says that the King will shortly go to Portugal to exact the oath of allegiance to his son. His Majesty is thinking of remodeling and increasing his Council of State, so that in case of any accident his son may find support adequate to the burden which will fall upon him.

Madrid, 27th March 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

144. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Nuncio had an audience of the King during which, in his Holiness' name, he urged his Majesty in view of the Turkish armaments directed against Hungary, to take steps for the support of the Emperor and the protection of Christendom. I learned from the Nuncio's own lips that these representations of the Pope were made at the instance of the Emperor himself. And the Pope further pointed out that the States of the Church and the kingdom of Naples were especially exposed to a Turkish descent, and therefore he begged his Majesty to give such orders as were fitting to Prince Andrea Doria.

The King replied briefly, that as far as Hungary and the Emperor were concerned, he was so occupied in Flanders and in France against the heretics and in support of the Church, that he could hardly do anything for his Imperial Majesty; as to the second request, that orders had already been given to Prince Andrea Doria.

Madrid, 27th March 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

145. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The appointment of M. de Breves as Ambassador from the King of Navarre to the Porte is announced in letters from M. de Maisse, French Ambassador in Venice. M. de Maisse says that a certain Lambert has left Venice with instructions, presents, and credentials. This Lambert has not arrived yet, but he cannot be long now. M. de Breves to whom I had offered my congratulations, is awaiting him anxiously, in order that he may begin to use his powers, to employ the presents and to carry out his instructions, which are principally to secure the sailing of a fleet of at least one hundred galleys for the purpose of counteracting the designs which his Catholic Majesty has upon Provençe. The Capudan Pasha, Cicala, has already obtained the support of these two Ministers of England and France, for his favourite scheme of urging the Sultan to inflict as much damage as he can upon all Catholics. I am in

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hopes they will not succeed, at all events as regards the number of the ships. The Ambassador of the Queen of England has news that the ship with the presents for the Sultan was to sail from England early in January.

These Ambassadors should be more made of than they are here, for they do all they can to aggrandise this Empire, and to damage Christendom, and their interests are identical. But though they are most ready instruments of mischief, no good can be expected from them even were they so disposed, for they have not sufficient influence, neither one nor the other, for that; and the Turks, be it from a natural haughtiness, be it because they are aware of the present condition of France, make less account of that crown than when it was able to injure them. (L'Ambasciatore della Regina d'Inghilterra tiene avviso che la nave col presente per il Gran Signor doverà partire dalli porti d'Inghilterra li primi di Gennaro. Li sudetti Ambasciatori doveriano qui esser accarezatti più che non sono, perche non trattono mai altro che cose concernenti alla grandezza di questo imperio a preguidicio del Christianesimo, convenendo nell' interesse tra loro commune, ma si come sono instrumenti attissimi al male, cosi non se ne puo aspettar alcun bene, essendo disposti a farlo, perche non hanno egualmente credito, ne l'uno ne l'altro; et li Turchi o sia per diffetto dell' alterezza naturale, o perche conoscono l'esser presente della Francia, non fanno più capitale di quella corona come quando ella era abile a dannificar li Turchi). The result is that the Turks treat these two Ambassadors as pumps for drawing out the information they require as to European affairs. I tell your Serenity this in order that you may discount the promises of M. de Maisse that these Ambassadors here can protect Venetian dominions from invasion should the Turkish fleet take the sea. All the same I will manage to keep them friendly for all they may be worth.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 29th March 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

146. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is going to send M. de Matigny in a few days to the Queen of England. The object of this mission is to ask for further help. These and the troops which the Constable will bring from Languedoc will enable the King not merely to face his enemies but even to make some attempt on Paris. Signor (Antonio) Perez will join the Embassy in order to consult with the Queen and also with Don Antonio of Portugal, and on his return I may obtain some further information (il Signor Perez se ne va ancor lui per tratter con quella Maestà et con Don Antonio di Portogallo; delle quali negociationi al suo ritorno si potrà haver qualche maggior lume).

Chartres, 1st April 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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April 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

147. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have received orders in your Serenity's despatches to obtain the restitution of the entire cargo of the "Summachi" along with the ship herself, on the ground that both belong to a Venetian subject. I must not conceal from your Serenity that all I have done at present is to continue on the lines laid down by my predecessor and as requested by the supercargo of the said ship. He confessed that a part of the cargo is really the property of Englishmen (though he has entered it all on the ship's books as Venetian) and being now seriously alarmed lest in the course of the trial he lose not merely the cargo but also the ship, he wished to attempt the recovery of the ship alone. I succeeded in bringing the affair to a conclusion satisfactory to him; and since he made his confession as to the English ownership of part of the cargo not merely to me but also to the Adelentado of Castille, I concluded that I could take no further steps in the matter.

Madrid, 2nd April 1593.

[*Italian.*]

April 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

148. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from Lisbon that several ships have sailed to meet the West India fleet, which has received orders to weigh anchor. It is hoped that this month will see it safe in harbour. It is also reported that other twenty ships are ready in Lisbon besides the twelve galleons which are lying at Seville ready to sail on his Majesty's orders for Cape St. Vincent. It is well known that although no regular fleet has sailed from England yet there are about fifty English ships in these waters. These ships are doing most serious damage every day, as the larger part of the Spanish ships are built by private individuals on the security of about six per cent. on all the goods which are brought by the India fleets.

During these last few days couriers have been arriving direct from France; but it has been impossible to discover the purport of their news; it is held for certain however that the news is not good, for it is a rule here to suppress all unfavourable and to publish widely all favourable despatches.

Madrid, 4th April 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

149. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As regards the ship "Black Lion," she was detained by the Adelentado, and when it was shown that the ship and cargo were English they were declared forfeited.

The rumour grows that if any election is made to the throne of France it will fall upon the Duke of Lorraine. This would be

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a choice satisfactory to the King of Spain, as the Duke would be compelled to rely on this Crown for help against the King of Navarre. And discussing this point one day a member of the Council said that if the Duke of Lorraine were chosen, the Crown of Spain would have made a good business of it, for not only would a large part of Lorraine be freely surrendered, but also Brittany, with the opportunity of acquiring Provençe, in return for money and assistance furnished to the Duke. For these reasons the Duke is the most popular candidate; and if he is elected, his Majesty thinks of marrying the Infanta to one of his sons. But this idea is not favoured by the Spanish people, for they consider what would happen if the Infante died and the Princess became heir to the Spanish throne.

Madrid, 8th April 1593.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 10 Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

150. POLO PARUTA, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Despatches from Spain show that the King is in very bad health. The Ministers desire to secure the affairs of Italy; and for the same reason they are employing the brother of Cicala, Capudan Pasha, in Constantinople.

Rome, 10th April 1593.

[*Italian.*]

April 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

151. MATTHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In the matter of the Florentine trading concessions the English Ambassador has taken a part, perhaps on the ground that the King of Navarre and the Grand Duke of Tuscany are on good terms. The Ambassador called on me the other day and complained that, according to information from Venice, sepulture has been denied to the master of an English ship, and the crew were forced to throw him overboard. He declared that the Queen would be very angry, all the more so that she knew that persons of every kind of religion were to be found in Venice.

I replied that the moment the grievance was laid before the illustrious Court it would be remedied at once.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 12th April 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

152. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The scarcity of money caused by the delay in the arrival of the India fleet and by the excessive expenses which grow daily, has induced his Majesty to raise a loan of seven hundred thousand crowns with Giulio Spinola at twelve per cent. Five hundred thousand he has sent at once into Flanders and the other two he keeps here to meet certain expenses.

The corsairs in the ocean are said to number upwards of one hundred and fifty; but the ships are small, ill-armed, and not under one commander, but, scattered about in squadrons of ten;

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they plunder wherever they can; and news has lately come that they have captured eight ships partly from Seville, partly Portuguese; these ships were laden with East India goods. It is also rumoured that Drake is on the point of putting to sea with sixty ships, fully armed and having on board a considerable number of troops and sappers; as though he were meditating a second descent on Portugal. As to the West India fleet it is likely that, in the face of these rumours, it is still lying at Havana. The Adelentado of Castille is taking steps to protect the shores against English corsairs. It is common talk at Court that an understanding between the Turk and the Queen of England, with a view to harassing the King, is highly probable. In that case the Turkish fleet would make a descent on Africa or would cruise off Provence to interrupt the communications in the Mediterranean, while the English fleet would make a descent on Portugal or harry the coast of Spain, and cut off communications by the ocean.

The expenses for France are so great that his Majesty will not be able to bear them much longer. He has made up his mind that come what may they shall not exceed one million of gold a year.

Madrid, 14th April 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

153. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is the greatest alarm at the possibility of an English descent upon the coast of Spain. His Majesty has ordered the Duke of Medina Sidonia to go at once to his territories at San Lucar near the shore and to hold himself ready for anything that may happen. Six out of the twelve galleons which were lying armed in the port of Seville, have put out to sea. They have made towards Cape St. Vincent. The remaining six will sail as soon as possible, while other ten were to leave Lisbon on the fifteenth of this month. Juan Gomez de Silva is in command. All this fleet is intended to act as escort to the gold and silver ships. The Viceroy of Portugal has already despatched four carvels with troops on board, as he has information that part of the Havana fleet has already sailed, and is taking a route in high latitudes in order to avoid the corsairs. The West India fleet has never at any time of its history been so harried by the English and exposed to such danger of capture as at this present moment. But the Spanish indulge in hope on the ground of the route which the fleet is taking this time, and they expect that it will appear suddenly off Cadiz without having to coast along the shores of Spain.

The Procurators of the Cortes of Castille will be asked by the King and his Ministers to vote another five millions in addition to the eight millions already voted, and which they are now exacting. The plea is that the King must be relieved from the weight of so many debts. His Majesty has taken them deep into his confidence, and has shown them that, in addition to all the other obligations already secured upon the Crown revenues, he has debts to the amount of

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about thirteen millions of gold, in the air as they say. These are all unsecured, and his Majesty points out that his credit as well as his private reputation is in danger; adding that these vast sums of money have been spent in the service of God and piety, against the heretics of Flanders and of France, and as all this redounds to the greatness of the kingdom of Castille that nation more than any other ought to provide for the satisfaction of such debts, and pave the way for its King, allowing him the means to discharge his conscience and thus to secure a proper peace of mind for the few years that remain to him. To this insidious request the Procurators replied that all Spain is exhausted by the exaction of these eight millions, and one hears on all sides nothing but disaster, and so they could not see any way of compelling the Castillians to undertake this fresh burden, the eight millions being already more than their shoulders could bear.

Madrid, 17th April 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

154. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Numbers of couriers have been arriving from France, despatched by the Spanish agents in Paris to inform his Majesty of all that is taking place in the Parliament. There are many requests also for money from the Duke of Mayenne, and the Ambassador of Savoy makes similar ones on behaf of his master; but so great is the dearth of money that it is impossible that they should receive any help, until the West India fleet arrives. Drake has sailed to meet the fleet. If he captures it there will be a loss of ten millions in gold between that of private owners and that of his Catholic Majesty.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia is constantly exhorted to leave for the coast, but he is in hopes of winning a very important law suit which has kept him here many months. The suit lies between the Duke and the Royal Customs of the Port of San Lucar, the Duke's territory. The Duke accordingly stays on, declaring that he will not leave till his Majesty shall have put an end to his most unmerited troubles.

Madrid, 23rd April 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

155. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Juan d'Idiaguez asked me if I really thought that the Turkish fleet would come out this year. I replied that he had even fuller information than I; all the same I thought a fleet would sail. He replied that it would be a serious matter if the fleet appeared off Africa or the Spanish coast, for the English corsairs were quite trouble enough.

Madrid, April 24th 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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April 24.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

156. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Breves's instructions and credentials have arrived, also some cases of goods as presents, but as these were insufficient, he has bought three thousand crowns' worth here. He will open his term of office by imposing a tax of five per cent. upon all French merchandise for the upkeep of the Embassy. He says he will attend the next divan to kiss hands and to ask for the renewal of the ancient capitulations with the Crown of France. These capitulations affect merchants chiefly; in them it is declared that all nations except the Venetian and the English can trade securely under the French flag. He tells me he is commissioned to act as if the Grand Duke of Tuscany were an ally of France, and to allow him to be neglected at no point of his wishes. I, however, have my doubts that the tax above-mentioned will cause the Florentines to abandon the French flag, for fear that they too may render themselves liable to this impost.

While M. de Breves was waiting to make his first public appearance, the Capudan Pasha sent for him several times to invite him to his garden at Scutari. M. de Breves always excused himself, but the last time the Capudan sent his own caique and de Breves went. They held a long consultation in the Capudan's garden. De Breves, in answer to a question as to his master's allies, named the Queen of England, the Protestant Princes, Venice and the Grand Duke. The Capudan caught at the name of your Serenity and pointed out that the Republic must, of course, be very suspicious of Spain, and proceeded to enlarge on the course to be pursued if the Grand Vizir is to be won over to advise the Sultan to increase his fleet.

The Portuguese Jew who had been doctor to the Embassy under the last two Ambassadors has at last embraced Islam, to which he has long been inclined. He now begs to remain in your Serenity's pay, and promises even more useful service, as he will now be freer, and more great houses will be open to him.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 24th April 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 26.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

157. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England has sent four thousand foot soldiers, well armed, as reinforcements to the King, and has told his Majesty that these are picked troops all ready to die in his service; she therefore begs him to employ them upon any active employment that may seem to him good, whether it be an assault or a pitched battle, for if he allows them to waste away either through the sufferings or the idleness of a long siege, as has happened on other occasions, she warns him that she will send him no more.

Chartres, 26th April 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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May 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

158. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The news is confirmed that the galleons which sailed from Cadiz have put back with their masts carried away by the storm.

From England we hear that Drake with sixty-four big ships sailed from England on the Friday before Palm Sunday. It is thought that Drake intends to force the port of Havana, with a view to capturing and fortifying the whole island, converting it into a station for a fleet which will completely ruin the West India trade. The coast of Spain is very badly guarded, and the Ministry are incensed against the Adelentado of Castille, to whom letters of reproof have been forwarded in the King's name.

Madrid, 1st May 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

159. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Grand Vizir, enraged at the answer of the Imperial Ambassador, which did not at all correspond with the information which he had received, communicated to the Sultan and published—namely that the tribute would certainly be paid this year—sent guards to surround the Ambassador's house and to prevent any one from entering. Then, shortly afterwards, he caused the Dragoman of the Embassy, a Perote, to be arrested and brought to his presence. He accused the Dragoman of treachery and of having made false translations of various documents, and ordered him off to the public prisons, which are reeking with a thousand diseases, where the poor devil still lies; and the knowledge of his fate has terrified all the other Dragomans of the Embassies, and prevents them from the proper discharge of their duties.

I am further informed that yesterday, on indications furnished by the Ambassador's butler, who had become a Turk, the Grand Vizir sent and seized all the Embassy papers, and has caused a selection to be translated into Turkish; a most dangerous innovation from the days of M. de Lancome, the French Ambassador. In the recent divans war has been formally declared against the Emperor, and the Spahis, under the Beglierbey of Greece, have been ordered to the front. Sixty heads of Hungarians and forty slaves have been presented in Divan, and the Sultan has shown favour to those who brought them.

The Ministers of this Crown have had their attention called to the fact that the King of Poland will likely attack Sweden, and not merely the English Ambassador, who has frequently interfered in the affairs of Poland, but others also, point out that this is a good opportunity to settle the business of that kingdom.

The Ambassador of France has kissed hands and was received with great honour and the gift of fifty robes. Before his reception he had an audience of the Grand Vizir, who asked him if he knew one who had recently brought letters from Florence, for if he did he was to inform that gentleman that the answer was ready. On taking his leave the Ambassador approached the Vizir and said in

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Turkish that he offered to conduct all the negotiations with Florence to the benefit of the Vizir and the Porte. The Vizir replied that as many merchants as pleased, yes and the Prince himself, were welcome.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 1st May 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

160. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

They are thinking of sending fresh infantry into Brittany where a large number of English reinforcements have arrived in support of the King of Navarre. The Spanish are resolved to preserve what the Duke of Mercœur won in that province, while the Queen of England is equally resolved to expel the Spanish and to restore the cities to their ancient allegiance to the French Crown.

Madrid, 4th May 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 8. Original Despatch, Venetian, Archives.

161. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have received your Serenity's orders to take all steps necessary for the recovery of the ship "Summachi" and her cargo; I must, however, repeat what I said in my previous letters, that I have already obtained the royal orders for the restoration of the ship and all of the cargo that is really Venetian. How much that is must be decided by the ordinary courts, and here the Adelentado raises opposition, declaring that some of it is English.

After close study of the supercargo's books, and of the depositions before the court, this is what I personally have arrived at. The supercargo's book contains a complete list of all the various items of the cargo; some have already been restored to the crew and to the supercargo himself. The rest which is now in the hands of the Crown officers, consists of twelve items; of these twelve, two, the most important, stand in the name of Michiel Summachi; one consists of 47 casks, 21 barrels, and 32 sacks of raisins, the other of sulphur. As regards the sacks of raisins, although they appear on the ship's books as the property of the said Summachi, still secret bills of lading have been found on board from which it appears that all the raisins, except 17 casks, belong really to Englishmen. I enclose copies of these bills of lading. The supercargo has confessed that these goods are English, and that is confirmed by intercepted letters from Englishmen interested in the cargo.

As regards the sulphur the Adelentado has judged it to be munition of war destined for England, the foe of this Crown. On the strength of this decision all the goods are declared forfeited, and the Spanish concerned in the matter are liable to be sentenced to death.

Two other items, namely, forty-six casks of raisins, are undoubtedly English property. Other four items appear on the books

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as belonging to merchants in Hamburg and Cologne, and other Germans. The last four items appear on the books as property of your Serenity's subjects; but seeing that the names of the owners are not known, and the goods are addressed to Englishmen whose names are well known here, opposition is raised, and the goods are asserted to be English. This wants proof, however, as the supercargo's books are not to be relied upon. If those who are interested will send me their papers I will do all I can to support them.

Madrid, 8th May 1593.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

162. COPY of PART of the BOOK of the SUPERCARGO on board the ship "SUMACCHIA."

In the name of God. 1592, 25th April, at Zante. The ship named the "Santa Maria de Scopo," Master Stellio Ghindazo, for the voyage to London. May God preserve him.

Messer Giorgio Sumacchi has placed on board at the order of Messer Michiel Sumacchi, 47 casks, 21 barrels, 32 sacks of raisins; goods marked by the accompanying signs, and in sound condition. To be consigned in London on the order of the said Messer Michiel Sumacchi. Freight as agreed on.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

163. COPY of FOUR SECRET BILLS OF LADING found on board the ship "SUMACCHIA."

1. Shipped by Thomas Norton (*Nortem*), Englishman, to order of Serciver (?) and Simon, Englishmen, fifteen casks of currants weighing 29,338 lbs.

2. Shipped by Thomas Norton to order of William Aldis (*Aldris*), Englishman, fifteen casks of currants, weighing 40,000 lbs.

3. Shipped by Giorgio Sumacchi, to order of Michiel Sumacchi, seventeen casks of currants, weighing 32,000 lbs.

4. Shipped by Cirio Zardinella, Englishman, to the order of Edward Andre and Thomas Quinarez, and of Hugh Ermosen, Englishmen, twenty-one barrels of currants, weighing 15,032 lbs.

[*Italian.*]

May. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

164. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador of France had an audience of the Grand Vizir the day before I had mine, nominally to give the news from France but really to secure the despatch of a fleet, towards which end his whole efforts are directed. He tells me that the Vizir assured him that the number of the galleys would be sixty. He also says that he has the support of the Emirs and the Preachers whose good will he has won by securing the freedom of the Turks who were prisoners to the Maltese. I am informed from a trustworthy source that the Imperial Ambassador has offered six

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thousand thalers to the Grand Vizir and promised that the tribute shall be here by the end of July, if the Vizir will set the Dragoman at liberty; he has also spent several other thousand thalers on those who have influence with the Grand Vizir, but all, as yet, without effect.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 9th May 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

165. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Imperial Ambassador has offered eighteen thousand thalers for the liberty of his Dragoman, and promises the payment of the tribute by July. The Pasha shows himself unwilling to yield; but it is thought that he will eventually accept the offer.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 9th May 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

166. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

While Drake with his war ships and flying squadrons was keeping the sea in wide and open order, and waiting for the gold and silver flotillas in forty-two degrees of north latitude, the whole of his Majesty's fleet came safely into the Azores, where they at once discharged the treasure, and stored it in a safe place. The King was advised of this two days ago, and sent orders at once that all the galleons of Portugal and Seville were to sail to the Azores, and to escort the treasure safe to Seville.

News from Biscay that some English ships landed troops for the support of Navarre not far from Bordeaux, and while lying off that coast they were suddenly set upon by ships of Biscay. Many English were killed; two ships caught fire and were burned; two others were burned by the English themselves to prevent them from falling into the enemy's hands; in fact, the Spanish have won some glory in this comparatively trifling action.

Madrid, 13th May 1593.

[*Italian.*]

May 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

167. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty's Ambassadors in England write to say that in that Kingdom there is considerable suspicion of Catholics in consequence of the rising in Scotland. Scotland is in such a state of confusion that it is doubtful whether the King will be able maintain his authority there. The Queen of England has furnished him with help in men and money, and this leads to the supposition that the King of France will not receive much assistance from her this year, and that therefore the operations of war will not be of great

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importance this year in France. Everyone would like to see war blazing in Piedmont.

Chartres, 14th May 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

168. POLO PARUTA, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Holiness said that there was another point upon which he wished to speak, namely, that he was fully informed that there was a proposal to send an Ambassador from Venice to England. He was well aware that such proposals had been presented before, but always rejected; he was, therefore, all the more surprised that they should be renewed at a time when many obvious reasons counselled otherwise.

I replied that I had no information on this subject; all I knew was that a Venetian gentleman had gone to England for his own private affairs, and this might possibly have given rise to the rumour.

Rome, 15th May 1593.

[*Italian.*]

May. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

169. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador of France has heard from Jaffer Pasha, who was present at the audience of the Ambassador himself and the subsequent communications by the Dragomans, all that took place subsequently in Divan. The Ambassador came to me and offered to speak to the Sultan's Secretary upon the question of the fisheries (which is pending between the Republic and the Turk) and with the Grand Vizir himself. I thanked the Ambassador and accepted the first of his proposals. The answer from the Secretary was most satisfactory. On the suggestion of the said Secretary the Ambassador offered, when at audience of the Grand Vizir, to point out to him that the Grand Signor was at peace with all, but that if he declared war on the Republic, the King of Spain and all the powers would instantly unite against the Sultan; for experience showed that the Christian powers never made any way against the Turks except in company with the Republic; and it is evident that the King of Spain and the Pope are doing all they can to raise up ill feeling between Venice and the Turk. Now as the policy of the Turks was to thwart the King of Spain it is clear that they ought to uphold the Venetian alliance. This the Ambassador offered to say. I thanked him and said I would refer for instruction, which I do. I begged him, in audience of the Grand Vizir, to act as he saw the temper of the Pasha to require, but to speak as of his own motion, in order to prevent the Turk from conjecturing that, because your Serenity stands well with France, therefore you must stand ill with Spain. I think that the thanks of your Serenity might be presented to this Ambassador through M. de Maisse, the French Ambassador in

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Venice; for I am of opinion that this Ambassadors' secret negotiations with the Sultan's Secretary, with the Emirs and Preachers, who are all hostile to Spain, are likely to prove of far more value than any public negotiations.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 17th May 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

170. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The last post had hardly left when orders were issued by the Sultan that all the slaves and all the workmen in the arsenal should be employed upon some buildings in the old Seraglio, and that the Capudan Pasha should attend to these buildings in person till the foundations were laid and the walls above ground. The French, who thought they had secured the despatch of sixty sail, hardly hope for thirty now. One of the two brothers of Cicala, the Capudan Pasha, has reached Ragusa. It is said he has been sent for by his brother, but as he is travelling with a retinue far above his rank I suspect that the Spaniards, seeing all negotiations for a truce by means of Marigliani and Steffani at an end, have resolved to attempt this other road.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 18th May 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

171. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The despatch of the fleet to fetch the treasure home from the Azores is being hastened. The Seville galleons when off Cape St. Vincent capture three English corsairs.

Madrid, 20th May 1592.

[*Italian.*]

May 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

172. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Capudan Pasha has sent to the Sultan the translation of his letter to his brother, in order that his Majesty might give his assent, which he did at once. There is a rumour, which took rise in the Seraglio, that the Ministers know quite well that this brother of the Capudan is coming on the business of the Spanish truce. It is said that the King of Spain promises not to form any league against the Turk, supposing he attacks Candia, provided that the Turk does not interfere with his designs in France.

M. de Breves has visited me on the strength of this rumour, and pointed out that your Serenity will be obliged to provide for your own safety, which may be done at a comparatively slight cost, if the Sultan's Secretary can be induced to undertake the matter. I replied that your Serenity had never had any doubts about the friendliness of the King of Spain. I added that, even if his Catholic Majesty, or some of his Ministers in Italy had

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actually reopened the question of a truce through the agency of the brothers Cicala, still I did not believe he would conclude the negotiations by means of those persons, and in the meantime he could reap the benefit of time which was so important to the Spanish.

The Ambassador of France has not had an audience of the Grand Vizir; I am glad, for thus he will avoid touching on matters which interest your Serenity. And I have begged him to abstain from meddling in these affairs, for I find that he has taken to writing to the Sultan, through the women of the harem, not only all that he hears but all that he fancies.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 24th May 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

173. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Capudan Pasha, seeing that the Sultan desires him to sail, has sent his men to tell his brother Carlo to come by way of Salonica, and to wait on the coast till the Capudan can join him.

The Imperial Ambassador finds the support and favour of the Capigi of little use, as all those who have employed them know. He is still a prisoner in his house as on the first day of this affair; and the unlucky Dragoman still lies in the public prisons, reeking with a thousand diseases. I am assured that the Ambassador and the Grand Vizir have come to these terms, that if no movement is made upon the frontier the two years' tribute will be here by the end of July. The Pashas on the frontiers have orders to act as the enemy acts; if they are satisfied that the tribute is coming they are to refrain from attack.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 26th May 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

174. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Signor Carlo Cicala will come straight to Constantinople to wait on his brother the Capudan Pasha. He will possibly arrive before the Capudan sails. All this increases the likelihood of the common rumour that he is about to undertake negotiations for the truce with Spain.

The Capudan does not like, though he does not contradict, this rumour. I trust that, even if Signor Carlo has authority to negotiate, the matter will come to nothing.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 9th June 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

175. POLO PARUTA, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from Cologne that the Queen of England has held a council in London to discuss the affairs of France and to take into consideration the question of sending an army corps, fully

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equipped and under a capable leader who should be independent of all orders except the Queen's though instructed to co-operate with the King of Navarre.

The object of the army should be to attack the cities held by the League, and if any fell to the Queen she was to keep it in recompense for the great expenses to which she had been put on behalf of France. It was also proposed to maintain four thousand infantry to assist Count Maurice to annoy the King of Spain.

Rome, 19th June 1593.

[*Italian.*]

June 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

176. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The house of the Imperial Ambassador has been made free and open again. Before that was done the Dragoman was taken from the public prisons and placed in the house of a Chavass.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 20th June 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

177. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

While I was at audience with the Grand Vizir, the Dragoman of the Imperial Embassy was introduced. The Vizir made him translate orders to the Pashas of Bosnia and Temesvar, to the Beglierbey of Greece and the Tartar of the Crimea, to refrain from attacking the Imperialists. The Vizir used violent language to the Dragoman, and declared that he hoped the tribute would not be paid, so that he might have the pleasure of employing the Sultan's incomparable and invincible arms against the Emperor.

All the Dragomans are in terror and are inclined to oblige the Turk rather than to serve those in whose employ they are. The French Ambassador has received a letter from the Grand Duke of Tuscany begging him to secure the capitulations for the sure and free commerce of the Tuscan merchants.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 21st June 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

178. POLO PARUTA, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Mons. de Lancome has reached this city. He has had a long audience of more than two hours with his Holiness. He will stay here yet a while, and he has written to the Princes of the League to learn their will, and also for some money to pay his debts which are numerous.

Rome, 26th June 1593.

[*Italian.*]

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July 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

179. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Carlo, the brother of the Capudan Pasha, who was expected here, has not arrived yet, but he is looked for daily from Ragusa; and the delay is so great that he is conjectured to have changed his route.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 3rd July 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

180. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Last night the Imperial Embassy was closed and the Dragoman imprisoned. Orders were sent to the Pasha of Temesvar announcing his appointment as Pasha of Bosnia; with orders to concentrate troops.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 4th July 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 6. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

181. GIACOMO VENDRAMIN, Secretary to the Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Confirmation of the Imperial victory at Sziszek. Eight thousand Turks drowned. Seven pieces of artillery taken, one of enormous size.

Popel[1] about to leave as Ambassador to Constantinople.

Prague, 6th July 1593.

[*Italian.*]

July 13. Copy of Original Desptach, Venetian Archives.

182. GIACOMO VENDRAMIN, Secretary to the Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Some few days ago an Ambassador[2] from the Queen of England arrived here. Some say that his mission is to deal with questions of customs duties levied against the Hanseatic towns; I, however, have heard from a friend of his that the Ambassador himself says he has no such commission, but that he has come here to free the Queen from suspicion that she and the King of Navarre had stirred up the Turk to attack the Emperor in Hungary, with a view to diverting the King of Spain from his designs in France. The Queen wished it to be known that if she had roused the Turk to attack others she certainly never urged him to attack his Imperial Majesty; and she further offered her best services to bring about an understanding between his Majesty and the Turk. She declares she can effect this, thanks to the experience she has acquired in negotiating a peace between Poland and Turkey.

The Ambassador had an audience on Thursday; and owing to his arrival the Nuncio has delayed his departure for Munich. and Salzburg to settle a dispute about an abbey.

Prague, 13th July 1593.

[*Italian.*]

[1] Lobcovich.

[2] Dr. Christopher Parkins. Cf. the late Mr. Lemon's Index of Envoys and Ambassadors, M.S., Public Record Office; also State Papers, Germany, bundle 31. State Papers, Domestic, show that Dr. Parkins was Ambassador to Denmark in 1592. The Cecil Papers give us a letter from Parkins, dated "Stoad," 27th May, 1593, which states that he is on his way to the Emperor.

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July 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

183. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News in haste from Seville that beyond a doubt the gold and silver at the Azores has been transhipped on board his Majesty's ships, and will certainly arrive here without any danger from the English.

Madrid, 16th July 1593.

[*Italian.*]

July 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

184. POLO PARUTA, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Although I had no particular business with his Holiness I did not fail to attend the ordinary reception, to pay my respects, as I told him, and to ask if he had any orders for me. The Pope showed satisfaction at my conduct, and then began to discuss matters of minor importance; the appartments in the Palace of S. Marco; the weather, which is far from warm; I will not occupy your Serenity's time by relating these.

His Holiness then said that he wished to say one thing to me in order that I might report it to your Serenity; he was informed that there were many English in Venice, who boasted that they were spreading their false doctrine in that city, and making many perverts to Calvinism. I showed great surprise at this, and, indeed, I felt it. I pointed out to his Holiness that as a rule very few English dwelt in Venice; that Venice did not trade with England as much as in times past on account of commercial relations which, for various reasons, had been considerably altered and diminished. And so if by chance some English ships reached that port, as, for example, had happened this year owing to the importation of grain, they stayed but a short time, and the crews for the most part lived on board, not on shore. These men were either sailors or merchants, entirely occupied with their own business. But even if there were among them men of evil intent, how could they affect the minds of men pious and Catholic as were the citizens of that State, which I could affirm, and his Holiness well knew, was as free of infection as any other. "I understand," answered his Holiness, "still, it is not amiss to give this warning, as it may preserve you from that poison. All the more that the Calvinists are the worst and the cruellest of all."

Rome, 17th July 1593.

[*Italian.*]

July 20. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

185. GIACOMO VENDRAMIN, Secretary to the Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Wednesday the English Ambassador was summoned to the Emperor, to receive his answer. The Emperor thanked the Queen for her kind offers, but said that at present there is no need for her to trouble herself.

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It is thought that the Ambassador must have some other business which we do not know as yet.

Prague, 20th July 1593.

[*Italian.*]

July 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

186. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King after learning, by means of expresses from France, the steps taken by his agents to secure the crown of that Kingdom for for the Infanta, despatched various couriers, one after another, with instructions whose nature it is easier to guess at than to know for certain. It seems, however, that there is a scheme for declaring the Infanta Queen and raising a Prince of France or of the House Lorraine to the position of her husband and King of France. His Majesty takes time to consider this proposal. *Those who are best informed think that the King will not accept this scheme, but that it is put forward merely as a blind in order to exclude the King of Navarre in any case, and then, eventually, to induce the States to accept the proposals made to them by the Duke of Feria, namely to elect the Infanta as Queen and marry her to a Prince of the House of Austria. No one can believe that, after so many negotiations and the expenditure of so much money, the Spanish will all of a sudden come to such an excellent resolution as to leave the French free to elect a Sovereign of their own nationality; and then to give her the Infanta as a sort of pledge that his Catholic Majesty will for the future preserve the integrity of France. All the same there are rumours that if a Prince of the House of Lorraine is elected King of France, Brittany and other parts of the Kingdom will be separated from the Crown.*

Madrid, 20th July 1593.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

187. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As the rumours that your Serenity had lent aid to the Imperialists in this recent engagement in Croatia continued, I went to the Sultan's Secretary, a personage who is in frequent communication with his Majesty. After compliments, the Secretary at once began by saying that he was still disposed to maintain his offers to preserve the peace between the Sultan and the Republic; all the same, the rumours that your Serenity had allowed reinforcements for the Imperialists to pass through your territory struck him as highly probable, not merely on account of religion, but also because it was obviously in the interests of your Serenity to have a weak Christian power for neighbour rather than a strong Turkish power.

As to the reinforcements I assured him that the case was just the reverse of his supposition, for your Serenity would never depart from your neutrality, nor render any assistance against the Turkish Empire as long as she was not touched; while as to the

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question of faith the religion taught us to desire universal peace and nothing else.

The Secretary then said that it was an ancient habit of the Turk when an army was sent towards Hungary to despatch a fleet also to prevent any assistance being rendered by the King of Spain. I replied that in matters of policy actions change with circumstances, and that the only effect of sending out a squadron now would be to compel the King of Spain to man and concentrate his fleet, as he could not but interpret such an action as having an intention hostile to himself, for it would not strike him as likely that the Turkish fleet was intended to prevent him sending aid by the route Genoa, Milan, Switzerland.

The Secretary went on to say that the Ambassadors of France and England, but chiefly of France, insisted that the Turkish fleet should be sent to the waters of Provence, where it would prevent the King of Spain from despatching aid to the Imperialists, and would also support the King of France inside his own kingdom and encourage him to make attacks on Spanish territory, especially when the English fleet was cruising off the coast of Portugal and round the Azores. The Ambassadors say that this could easily be done without any great risk; as the port of Toulon while in possession of Navarre is at the disposal of the Turks for shelter and winter quarters, if need be. The Ambassadors also suggested an attack on Marseilles, unless that city shortly declared against the League.

I replied that the Ambassadors were playing their own game, but the Turk should consider whether it was to his interest to attack the King of Spain and the Emperor at the same time.

The agents of Tuscany are urging the granting of the capitulations for free and safe commerce. I enclose a copy of the Capitulations. But the French Ambassador is waiting orders from France.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 22nd July 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

188. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the rumour that the King of Navarre would become a Catholic, the Nuncio, the Duke of Feria, and the Princes of the House of Lorraine agreed to elect the Duke of Guise as their king.

Chartres, 23rd July 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

189. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Sinan Pasha has assumed the supreme command, and has been invested with such absolute authority as to show how determined the Sultan is to carry the war through vigorously. His Majesty has written to the Queen of England explaining his vast preparations

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and exhorting her to do all she can on her side for the destruction of Christians (essortandola a far anco lei quanto puo dal suo canto a destruttione de' Christiani). It is suggested that the Sultan should write to Navarre as well; but no decision has been taken, as it is well known here that Navarre is weak, and in need of support, although, as the proverb runs, any one is able to do mischief. I have already informed your serenity that the Majordomo of the Imperial Ambassador, a Croatian, became a Turk, and was the cause of the search at the Embassy and the destruction of the papers. Sinan Pasha summoned this man to give an opinion on the campaign in Hungary, and the siege of Vienna. He replied that he was acquainted with Croatia only, but added that if the Turk thought of laying siege to Vienna great caution should be exercised, for all the forces of Germany would band together for the defence of that city. The Pasha dismissed him, but three days later sent for him again and made minute enquiries as to the distances to your Serenity's frontier, and whether Zara was as strong as they reported it. The answer was that an attempt on Zara would certainly be difficult. The French Ambassador, through the Emirs and preachers with whom he is on good terms, urges the despatch of a fleet to France. He is endeavouring to secure such orders before the arrival of Cicala's brother to negotiate for a truce with Spain. The Ambassador has the great advantage of upwards of nine years' residence here, and he is not under the necessity of employing interpreters in his intercourse with the Turk. He is in high favour with the Turks on account of his reputation as their benefactor, which he enjoys in consideration of the many Turks he has freed from slavery at the time of the quarrel about the church of San Francesco. On the other hand he has no authority in himself, and very little on behalf of his master, whose position here is as I have explained above. The Ambassador always reports to M. de Maisse, French Ambassador in Venice, and receives his orders from him.

Orders have been sent by the suite of an Ambassador from Fez, who is returning home, that all are to hold themselves ready to arm at a moment's notice.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 23rd July 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

190. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The two couriers from Hungary have been taken in chains to the camp, where they had to march surrounded by cavalry. It is said that other two have been executed outside the city walls. Reports from the frontier show that the Imperialists are resolved to carry on the war; prelates and people have sworn on the gospels to fight to the death. This news probably induced the Grand Vizir Sinan Pasha, to take the violent step which he has just taken, namely, to seize the Imperial Ambassador in his Embassy and to bring him, along with two servants, to the camp. He came in a carriage, and is lodged in a small tent in charge of a cavass. He

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us in a shocking state of health. The two young servants follow the carriage on foot and loaded with chains. The Ambassadorial household, including a relation of the Ambassador, his secretary, chaplain, doctor, and others, to the number of twenty-six, were taken, with chains at their necks and feet, through the whole length of the city, to the Arsenal convict-prison, where are the slaves of the Grand Signor. A large and insolent crowd followed them. The day following, the relation of the Ambassador and the secretary were removed to the tents, it is believed at the request of the Ambassador. The Grand Vizir declares that the Ambassador has deceived him. He swears that he will impale the Ambassador and his Dragoman. This charge is founded on letters in the Ambassador's own hand, giving, as the Grand Vizir alleges, most pernicious advice to the Emperor his master, by representing the power of the Turks as very low, and the dejection of the Sultan and his Ministers extreme. The Grand Vizir says that the man who cannot speak the truth does not deserve to live; and further charges the Ambassador with excessive avarice, declaring that he came to Constantinople to amass money, not to serve his master. Even if all this were true the Ambassador does not merit such treatment, which is an insult to the prince rather than to the minister; a disgrace to him who inflicts rather than to him who submits. The Grand Falconer has been tortured in the Serraglio. He was accused of forging the Sultan's signature, condemned to death, but let off with three hundred bastonadoes and expulsion from the Serraglio. There is a rumour that twelve Kapigis have been sent towards the frontier with orders to drown a great man, the Pasha of Buda, son of Mehemet Pasha, because he had presented a memorial throwing the blame of what has happened in Croatia on Hassan, Pasha of Bosnia. The Sultan swears by his own head and the souls of his ancestors, that he will avenge the blood that has been spilt. Many here think that the Sultan's anxiety for war is caused by the dread of a rising among the troops which have just come home from the Persian war.

As soon as the letters by the ordinary post had arrived, and they had been awaited with anxiety on account of the delay—the English Ambassador came to tell me in confidence that he had received despatches from his sovereign giving him strict orders to attempt an accommodation of the differences which existed between his Imperial Majesty and the Porte, with a view to preventing an absolute rupture. The Ambassador said that he should conceal this information from the French Ambassador because he would not approve of it, but that he has communicated it to me because he hoped that in the interests of your Serenity, I would give him support. The Ambassador added that matters had proceeded so far that he despaired of any success; and he begged me to express my opinion. I, in the name of your Serenity, thanked the Queen of England and praised the object of the instructions, although its attainment was certainly difficult for the very reasons which he had adduced I said that without your orders I was unable to do anything, and could only lend my support to others. This I said in order to prevent him from suspecting that we are hostile.

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We discussed the advisability of approaching Ferrad Pasha as the minister who is little interested in the prosecution of the war, but the Ambassador held the opinion that it was better to deal with Sinan, the commander-in-chief, first, because the affair was specially in his hands, and, secondly, because Ferrad would not be favourable to a peace which would bring Sinan back to the place of Grand Vizir, which Ferrad holds in Sinan's absence.

The English Ambassador had audience (of the Grand Vizir) at night, and presented the letters from the Queen of this purport: that the Queen had learned that military operations had been commenced on account of some delay in the payment of the tribute from Hungary; that this did not seem to her a reason for breaking the truce but rather for fulfilling the engagements repeatedly made to her, of attacking Spain and assisting her in the war; that she had accordingly written to recommend an accommodation, and for that purpose an Ambassador would be sent to the Imperial Court. She reminded the Vizir that to begin a war was in the hands of Princes, its successful conclusion was in the hands of God; and other like remarks.

The Pasha asked how the Ambassador had received these letters, showing that he suspected them of being manufactured here; a step which these representatives sometimes take. The Ambassador gave a detailed account, and added a warm recommendation in the sense of his instructions, pointing out that the world did not hold the Imperialists responsible for what had happened in Bosnia, while the Queen always hoped that war would be made upon Spain, and to move in so many directions was not advisable. The Pasha flew into a rage and declared that the forces of the Sultan were so numerous that he was equal to facing the whole world; and this war would not end in Hungary but would spread to Vienna, and he himself would not be satisfied till he had levelled the walls of Rome. In order to prove that this war was just, he declared that the Imperialists had seized on a place in Croatia where they were exhorted to turn the mosques into taverns and pigsties; the Turks were not going to war for an increase of territory nor of subjects, for of these they had enough, but in obedience to their laws; and even if they did not win it was a great good fortune to die as martyrs, but victory was certain. He added that if the Emperor chose to surrender all his possessions in Hungary it would then be possible to treat of peace, and to allow him to enjoy the rest in quiet; but if he were to offer thirty tributes he would find a deaf ear turned to his proposals. The Pasha boasted that in fifteen days he had collected and despatched a very powerful army, a feat no one else could have accomplished. As to the King of Spain, the Pasha announced that war by sea would be declared. That this had not been done before was due to the operations in Persia. He had left strict orders that one hundred and fifty galleys should be taken out of the Arsenal, and he declared that his Majesty was willing to spend freely on this expedition. The Ambassador asked that the letters should be sent to the Sultan and the answer given in his name, but the Pasha flew into a passion and declared that royal authority had been given to him

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and that there was no need to speak to anyone else, for what he did was already approved, and it would be to his disgrace if it were known that he had listened to such a suggestion, or communicated the information to others. He thereupon ordered his answer to the Queen to be drawn up. With these the Ambassador left. It seems that he does not stand very well with Ferrad, and says that he has no opportunity of being presented at the first audience of Ferrad as Grand Vizir; and so I think he will take no further steps in this matter; if he does I will inform your Serenity.

The Imperial Ambassador is still with the Grand Vizir, commander-in-chief. He is in charge of a cavass. His effects are being sold at auction; and he is to travel with the Grand Vizir. It is said he will be sent on ahead and allowed to go to Vienna in charge of the cavass. His household here is to embark for Venice. He is less severely treated in camp than was said at first. His secretary and valet are here to dismantle the Embassy previous to the departure. The French Ambassador came to see me and told me that the Emir, the Mollah of Santa Sofia, who is his intimate, and is about to march with the Grand Vizir, was summoned to the Serraglio, where he had a long conversation with the Sultan on the subject of the armament. It was resolved to take out of the arsenal one hundred and fifty galleys, and these, with the hundred which are already in commission, are to sail for Africa to harry the lands of the Crown of Spain. It is hoped that the King of Fez will send down a body of cavalry, and that these, with the Moors of Valençia and other provinces, who would rise, may achieve some success. I remarked that it would be as well not to take this as a step already decided. He replied that the Eunuchs of the Serraglio would not dare to say a word against the scheme, and whoever did would be held for no true Mussulman; and that he had written to his Majesty the King and to his Ministers in France as if the affair were settled.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 24th July 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 27. Copy of Orignal Despatch, Venetian Archives.

191. GIACOMO VENDRAMIN, Secretary to the Venetian Embassy in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Sunday afternoon the English Ambassador came to visit the Ambassador. After compliments he said that, in view of the excellent relations which exist between the Queen, his mistress, and the Republic, he had come with the intention of stating what his mission was. He then continued by saying that the Queen had seen with sorrow the disturbances which were taking place in Croatia, and had determined to make representations at Constantinople, but was restrained by the fact that she did not know what were his Majesty's wishes on this point, and did not desire to meddle unasked in other people's affairs. But when things went from bad to worse she did take steps at the Porte for the recall of the Turkish troops. In this she had been successful, for the Beglierbey of Greece, who was beginning to attack his Majesty, had been ordered to fall back and had done so. Not content with

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this the Queen had sent her Ambassador here to explain what had been done, and to offer her services for a complete accord with Turkey. All this the Ambassador explained to the Emperor, from whom he had for answer, that his Imperial Majesty thanked the Queen for her offer, but that his Ambassador at Constantinople reported that quite other steps had in reality been taken at Constantinople, where a pamphlet had been published urging the Turks to attack his Majesty in Hungary; that he had seen a copy of it; but that he would take time to think, would consult with his ministers, and give another answer shortly.

The Ambassador says he has insisted on seeing the pamphlet, and has declared that if the charge be true the Queen's Ambassador at the Porte would be recalled and punished. All the same he has not succeeded in obtaining a sight of it; nor has he received any answer, only promises that one will be given.

It seems that his Majesty enquired of the English Ambassador whether the Archduke Ernest would be well received in the Netherlands; to which the Ambassador replied, if he goes there in the same spirit as the King of Spain he will be well received; if he goes in the spirit of the King of Spain's ministers he will accomplish nothing. As to peace, the Ambassador had good hopes; and it could easily be arranged if his Catholic Majesty would only come to an understanding with the Queen.

Prague, 27th July 1593.

[*Italian.*]

July 27. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

192. GIACOMO VENDRAMIN, Secretary to the Venetian Embassy in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Popel, Ambassador elect to Constantinople, has moved to Vienna, where he will wait news from Turkey.

In France Dreux has fallen to Navarre. He intends to make his conversion. He is trying to raise six thousand Swiss.

Prague, 27th July 1593.

[*Italian.*]

July 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

193. GIOVANNI MOCENAGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King made his conversion and heard his first mass on the 25th in St. Denys'; it was served by three curés from Paris; to whom the Duke of Guise refused passports, and they have been excommunicated by the Legate.

Chartres, 27th July 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in Despatch of Aug. 1. Original Venetian Archives.

194. Letter from HENRY IV. to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR.

Announces his conversion to the Catholic religion (*la resolution que Jay pruise de me faire instruire en la religion Catholique*).

Announces his intention to hold the ceremony of consecration and coronation.

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Invites the Ambassador to be present. Has given orders that one of the best lodgings be reserved for the Ambassador.

Will order an escort when the Ambassador announces that he is ready to start.

"And herewith my lord Ambassador, I pray God to have you in his holy keeping."

Nantes, 28th July 1593.

[*French.*]

1593. Enclosed in Despatch of Aug. 1. Venetian Archives.

195. A tract of twenty-four pages:

TITLE.

Harangue | faicte en l'assem | blee generale des | trois estatz de France le | second jour d'Auril, par le tres | illustre, et tres-excellent Duc de | Ferie, au nom du Roi Catholique, | pour l'élection d'un Roi tres- | Chrestien.

Avec la lettre de sa Maiesté Catholique, aux deputez de la sudicte assemblee.

Ensemble la responce de l'Illustrissime et Reverendissime Cardinal de Pelleué, au nom de tous les Etatz.

Le tout traduict en François.

A LYON,
Par Jean Pillehotte,
Libraire de la S. Union.

M.D.XCIII.*

Harangue faite en l'Assemblee Generale des trois Estats de France, le second d'Avril, Par le tres-illustre, et tres-excellent Duc de Ferie, au nom du Roy Catholique, pour l'élection d'un Roy tres-Crestien.

Tres-illustres, et tres-reverends Seigneurs et vous tres-nobles personnes.

Estant par speciale faveur de Dieu, establie la paix entre le Serenissime Roy Catholique mon tres-debonnaire Seigneur, et le Serenissime Roy de France Henry-second d'heureuse memoire; et icelle confirmee par le mariage de la Serenissime Elizabeth la fille, si que deslors nous nous promettions moyennant la grace de Dieu tout heureux succez et felicité: se sont glissees dans ce Royaume, ia de plusieurs siecles tres-Chrestien, des heresies pestilentielles: lesquelles y ont tellement prins pied et accroissement, partie par les armes et force de plusieurs personnage de grande authorité et pouvoir, partie par les menees et artifices de beaucoup de gens cautz et rusez; qu'on a iuste occasion de craindre un naufrage et

* *See* Martin, *Histoire de France*, 4me. edit. x. 808.

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ruyne totale de la Religion. Mon Roy par sa bonté et clemence, n'a rien omis, pour declarer l'integrité de son amitié, et a monstré par effect autant de zele en la conservation de la Foy Chrestienne, qu'on sçauroit desirer d'un Roy tres-Catholique. La mort soudaine du Roy son Beaupere, tant regreté d'un chascun luy a rauy le moyen de faire cognoistre l'honneur et affection qu'il luy portoit. Ce qu'à la verité il eust fait, s'il eust vescu. Il a honoré sa Bellemere, il a aymé et chery ses Beauxfreres, et n'a rien oblié de ce qui concernoit leur bien et commoditez: ne s'estudiant à autre chose, qu'à rendre perpetuel et indissoluble le lien de paix ia contracté: et faire que l'un et l'autre Royaume, voire (ce qui dependoit de là) toute la Repub. Chrestienne demeurast ferme en la Religion avecq tout heur et asseurance. Et pour parler plus en particulier, il n'y a personne qui ne sçache que pendant le regne de François second, aussi tost que la necessité se presenta, le Roy Catholique lui envoya d'Espagne de grandes armees soubs la conduite de Duc Carvaiale: A Charles neufviesme il envoya de Flandres le Conte d'Areberg avec grand nombre de gens de Cheval: Et en autre temps le Conte de Mansfelt conduisant plusieurs troupes tant de Cavallerie, que d'Infanterie. Lesquels tous on fait la guerre en France avec q'autant de zele et de valeur que si c'eust esté pour leurs propres maisons et patrie. Chose qui vous est tellement notoire et asseuree, qu'il n'est besoin d'en discourir plus amplement. Or, pour passer outre, ie ne sçay vrayement que c'est qu'on pourroit trouver de plus grand, de plus genereux ou de plus louable en un Roy puissant, que la patience du Roy Catholique parmy tant et si grandes iniures qu'il a recevës de vos Roys. La Royne Mere soubs Henry troisiesme son fils s'oubliant (car ainsi suis-ie contrainct de parler) des biensfaits et courtoisies passees, a par deux fois agacé le Roy Catholique, dressant armee navale contre nostre estat de Portugal. Le Duc son Beau-frere s'est emparé de Cambray, et a empieté tout ce qu'il a peu de Flandres. Henry prestoit la main à l'un et à l'autre ou pour le moins ne leur contredisoit, quoy que ce fust de son devoir, et en son pouvoir de ce faire. Et nonobstant cela, mon Roy a constamment perseveré en son amitié, non pour n'avoir les moyens de se venger (comme tout l'univers peut tesmoigner) ains par une bienvueillance Chrestienne: et provoqué par les mesfaits de ses Beauxfreres a mieux aimé ceder aucunement de son droict, que de leur oster l'occasion de se recongnoistre; et donner entree à une calamité universelle. Je toucheray briefvement le reste: Estant le Duc d'Alançon trespassé, et ayant le Prince de Bear dés ce temps là commencé à aspirer au Sceptre de ce Royaume, le Roy Henry feit voir par signes evidens qu'il a favorisoit à ses desseings: de sorte que les Seigneurs de Guise, freres qu'on ne sçauroit assez haut-loüer, aviserent qu'il estoit necessaire de penser au remede d'un si grand malheur. L'affaire requeroit de grandes forces et moyens. Le traicté d'Union fust accordé, quoy qu'il apportast grande charge à mon Roy. Vous en avez la copie: lisez ce qui y est couché; vous n'y trouverez rien qui ne sente sa pieté, rien qui puisse estre reprins de gens de bien, et zelateurs de leur Religion. Sa maiesté Catholique a voulu pouvoir de bonn' heure à vos affaires, de peur que venantz à nonchaloir son aide et conseil, vous ne vinsiez un

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jour consequemment à vous perdre et ruïner de fondz en comble, comme il sembloit toutalement devoir advenir : Elle a foncé grande somme de deniers ; et vostre Roy esté contrainct de se tourner du party de la Religion : ce que s'il eust faict avec syncerité de coeur et bon zele, il y a'a long temps que les flammes de l'heresie seroyent entierement estainctes en ce Royaume. Mais le maling esprit luy a tenu son coeur fiché ailleurs : de maniere qu'au lieu de nous voir à la fin de ces maux, nous y sommes entrez encore plus avant. Il a fallu de rechef fournir argent : et en fin mesprisant tout danger, on est entré en guerre ouverte. Il est bien vray que nos troupes ont esté battues à la bataille d'Iury ; mais aussi nostre armee conduite par le tresvaillant capitaine Alexandre Farnese, Duc de Parme et de Plaisance, a delivré des maius de l'enemy ceste noble Cité de Paris, où presentement nous parlons, sur le poinct qu'elle se voyoit ia perdue, apres avoir esté long temps conservee par ses loyaux citoyens avecqu'un tres grand travail, une constance merveilleuse, une vertu et valeur nompareille. Autant en a esté faict à Roüen. J'adiousteray à ce que dit est, un traict et exemple d'amitié, non moins admirable que rare ; c'est que le Roy Catholique pour vous donner secours, a laissé ses affaires propres à son grand preiudice et desavantage : il a tousiours eu par devers vous ses serviteurs pour vous assister de toute ayde et soulas au milieu de vos difficultez et destroictz. Il y encores maintenant et ia dés long temps a eu gens de guerre, qui n'attendent que d'exposer leur vie pour vostre delivrance, pour vostre repos et salut : la soulde desquels excede ia six millions d'or ; sans que mon Roy s'en soit prevalu d'aucune commodité. Iceluy neantmoins non content de cela, n'a cessé de penser, et adviser par quel autre moyen il pourroit vous donner ayde et secours : et en fin (qui est le principal) il a fait tout devoir et instance pour la convocation et assemblee de ces tres celebres Estatz : il a solicité noz SS. Peres de vous cherir, et espouser vostre cause : et m'a envoyé à vous tant pour vous faire entendre de sa part quel est son advis et conseil en tels affaires et de si grande consequence ; que pour vous assister en tout et par tout ce qui touchera vostre bien et advantage. Tous lesquels offices et courtoisies semblent estre si belles, si magnifiques, si asseurees, si signalees, que ie ne sçay si ou la France, ou autre Royaume quelconque en a iamais experimenté de semblables en son extreme necessité. Au reste nostre Roy Catholique estime que vostre conservation et salut consiste en ce que par vous soit esleu et declaré un Roy, tellement zelé à la Religion, qu'il aye aussi le moyen et puissance de mettre ordre à voz affaires, de vous defendre, conserver et garantir de voz ennemis : si qu'estant declaré chascun puisse esperer et s'asseurer de voir bien tost moyennant la grace de Dieu, remis-sus le culte et service de la divine maiesté, de voir l'Estat revenu à son ancienne beauté et premiere splendeur, de voir toutes choses restituees en leur entier. Iceluy toutesfois vous prie en premier lieu, et sur toutes choses d'effectuer et accomplir le tout sans delay et retardement ; le quel ne pourroit faillir d'estre accompagné de tres-grand danger : Et, pour vous oster toute occasion de delayer et prolonger les affaires, promet selon son ancienne amitié, de vous

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continuer la mesme ayde et secours, voire plus grand, s'il est de besoin.

C'est à vous donc tres-illustres et tres-reverends Seigneurs, et vous tres-nobles personnes, c'est à vostre pieté, à vostre noblesse, à vostre vertu et prudence de vous employer constamment de tout vostre pouvoir, au restablissement et conservation de vostre Religion et Royaume, et de vaquer à une chose si importante, si saincte, et si necessaire à toute la Chrestienté, avecqu'un coeur vrayement religieux vrayement Chrestien, et tel que desirent de vous tous le Chrestiens de l'Univers. Quant' à moy, ie ne vous manqueray en chose quelconque à moy possible, et par experience vous donray toutes les preuves d'amour, de solicitude et travail qu'on sçauroit desirer de moy en tout et par tout, où il s'agira de vostre proufit et bien commun. En foy et tesmoignage tres-asseuré de quoy, ie vous presente avec toute amitié, ces Lettres que mon Roy m'a commandé vous presenter de sa part: lesquelles ayant leuës, si vous voulez sçavoir de moy et commission m'a esté donnee; ie vous le feray entendre plus à plein, quand il en sera de besoin.

La Harangue finie, le mesme Seigneur Duc de Ferie, presenta à l'Illustrissime et Reverendissime Seigneur Nicolas de Pellevé President aux Estatz les Lettres du Roy Catholique, lesquelles il bailla à lire publiquement à Monsieur de Piles, Abbé d'Orbé, Secretaire des Estatz: dont la teneur s'ensuyt:

A Noz Reverends, Illustres, Magnifiques, et Bien-Aimes Deputez des Estatz generaux de France.

Don Philippe par la grace de Dieu Roy d'Espagne, des deux Siciles, de Hierusalem, etcet.

Noz Reverendz, Illustres, Magnifiques, et Bien-Aymez,

Ie desire tant le bien de la Chrestienté, et en particulier de ce Royaume, que, voyant de quelle importance est la resolution, qu'on traitte pour le bon establissement des affaires d'iceluy, iaçoit qu'un chascun sçache ce qui a esté cy devant procuré de ma part, et quelle assistance i'ay donné et donne encores à present, ie ne me suis neantmoins contenté de tout cela; ains ay voulu en outre deleguer par devers vous un personnage de telle qualité, qu'est le Duc de Ferie, pour s'y trouver à mon nom, et de ma part faire instance, que les Estatz ne se dissolvent, qu'on n'aye au preallable resolu le poinct principal des affaires, qui est l'élection d'un Roy, le quel soit autant Catholique, que le requiert le temps ou nous sommes: à ce que par son moyen le Royaume de France sois restitué en son ancien estre, et de rechef serve d'exemple à la Chrestienté. Or puisque ie fay en cecy qu'on a veu et qu'on voir, la raison veut que ne laissiez pardela escouler ceste occasion et opportunité, et que par ce moyen i'aye le contentement de tout ce que ie merite à l'endroit de vostre Royaume, en recevant une satisfaction, la quelle quoy qu'elle vise purement à vostre bien, i'estimeray neantmoin estre fort grande pour moy mesme.

Et pour autant i'ay voulu vous admonester tous ensemble, vous qui marchez pour le service de Dieu, de faire voir maintenant et monstrer par effect tout ce dequoy vous avez iusques à present faict profession; attendu que ne sçauriez rien faire qui soit plus

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digne d'une si noble et si grande assemblee, comme plus particulierement vous dira le Duc de Ferie ; auquel ie m'en remetz. De Madrid 2 de Janvier 1593.

Le Roy.

Don Martin de Idiaqz.

Response de l'Illustrissime et Reverendissime Nicolas de S. Prasede Cardinal de Pelleué, Archevesque de Reims, premier Pair de France, à la Harangue susdicte, au nom des trois Estatz :

Tres excellent, et tres noble Duc,

Toute ceste assemblee des trois Estatz de France congratule à vostre arrivee tres-desiree, et tres-agreable à un chascun d'icelle ; et recevons non seulement avec ioye et liesse, mais encores avecqu' honneur et reverence, tant le lettres Royales de sa majesté Catholique, que le mandemens plein de douceur, bienvueillance et charité que vostre Excellence par sa Harangue doree nous a expcsez de sa part : Estimantz que de plusieurs grands personnages qu'il y a au Royaume d'Espagne, on n'eust peu en choisir un autre qui nous eust plus agreé que vostre excellence, ou qui eust esté de plus grande adresse et suffisance pour traitter affaires. Et pour ne m'arrester à nombrer les vieux pourtraicts et tableaux enfumes de voz ancestres, ie diray seulement que vostre mere estant yssue d'une des premieres et plus illustres familles d'Angleterre, employe tres-liberalement, comme une autre Heleine mere de Constantin, ses moyens pour ayder entretenir, et eslever les Escossois, Anglois, Hybernois, et autres affligez et fugitifs, qui se sont retirez en Espaigne, pour ne perdre la Religion. Or toutes choses sont suiettes à vicissitude et changement ; et n'y a ez affaires humains rien de perpetuel rien de stable : ains semble qu'ils vont et viennent, comme par flux et reflux : de sorte que les richesses, la gloire, le sçavoir, les domaines, bref toutes commoditez ou incommoditez, sont à fois transportees des uns aux autres par la divine providence. Ce que nous touchons au doigt en ce Royaume de France, iadis autant florissant, qu'il est à present affligé. Car telle a autresfois esté la vertu de noz Roys, tandis qu'ils ont embrassé de coeur et de corps la protection de la Religion Chrestienne, qu'ils ont donné la loy à plusieurs nations, extirpé les sectes contraires à la foy de nostre Eglise, porté bien loing leurs estendards, victorieux, et de beaucoup amplifié le pourpris de la Chrestienté. Et de faict c'est chose trop aueree et manifeste que ce sont les François, qui ont les premiers prins les armes en main contre les ennemis de la foy Catholique : et n'y a celuy de nous qui ne sçache, qu'il y a environ mille et cent ans que Clovis (le quel de tous noz Roys a esté le premier baptizé, et le premier oinct d'huile sacre envoyé du ciel) desconfit à la bataille donnee en Poictou, les Visigoth tresobstinez fauteurs de l'heresie Ariene, qui occupoyent tout ce qui est entre Loire et le monts Pyrenees, faisant de Toulouse leur siege Royal : et ayant occis de sa propre main Alaric leur Roy, ramena toutes ces provinces là au giron de la foy et de l'Eglise. Laquelle victoire causa à nos François un ardent desir d'establir la Religion en Espagne, où Almaric filz d'Alaric apres la deffaicte de son pere s'estoit retiré vers les Ariens. Ce qui fust valeureusement effectué par Childebert fils de Clovis, imitateur de la pieté et vertu

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de son pere. Car apres avoir faict paix avecqu' Almaric, et luy avoir donné à mariage Clotilde sa soeur, avec ceste esperance et condition, qu'il se feroit Catholique; voyant qu'il perseveroit neantmoins en l'heresie de son pere, et faisoit à sa femme plusieurs mauvais traitremens et outrages à cause de la Religion; et ne pouvant supporter cela, non seulement le deffit, mais en outre retira de l'Arianisme les suietz d'iceluy: et outrepassant de rechef le monts Pyrenees se transporta une et deux fois en Espagne, où il restablit la foy, que l'Apostre S. Jaque y avoit semé, ia flotante et par la malice des temps presques submergee, en son ancien lustre et pristine vigueur. Et estant de retour, en memoire des guerres qu'il avoit conduites à si heureuse fin, il dressa et consacra à S. Vincent un Monastere qu'on nomme auiourd'huy S. Germain des Fauxbourgs, le quel il enrichit de la pretieuse coste du mesme Sainct, et d'autres Reliques apportees d'Espagne. L'on voit encores l'institution du Monastere, escrite de la main propre de Childebert, en la presence de S. Germain Evesque de Paris, le quel apres donna le privilege d'exemption avec le consentement du Metropolitain et de tous les Evesques de la province. D'avantage les Annales font foy que Charles Martel (le quel, s'obastardisant la vertu de noz Rois, print la charge du Royaume, et en ayant depossedé Chilperic mit son fils au chemin de la Royauté), en un seul combat donné pres Loyre, mit à mort un nombre innombrable de Sarrazins, qui avoyent subiugué non seulement l'Orient et l'Afrique, mais en outre l'Espagne: et une autre fois fit tous passer au fil de l'espee les Visigots et Sarrasins, lesquels unis ensemble avoient commencé à empieter le Languedoc, mais d'où estce que Charlemagne a aquis ces beaux tiltres de Grand, Sainct, et Invincible, si ce n'est pour avoir heureusement fait la guerre pour la foy et Religion, quand ayant dompté les Sarrazins qui habitoyent l'Espagne, il les a contraincts de se contenir, et laisser en repos les habitans Catholiques? C'est pourquoy Alphonse le Chaste Roy de Galice et des Estures se disoit et inscrivoit, propre de Charlemagne. Outre ce ayant Charlemagne prins en sauuegarde et defendu des Mores et Sarrazins les Isles de Maiorque et Minorque, il establit Roy de Guienne Louys le pieux, pour assister le plus pres aux Chrestiens d'Espagne à l'encontre des Sarrazin. Ie ne puis passer soubs silence ce que tesmoignent les histoires d'Espagne de Bertrand Guescelin, General des armes en France, le quel estant appellé en Espagne, et illec s'estant acheminé par le commandement de Charles cinquiesme nommé le Sage, deietta de son trosne Pierre Roy de Castille surnommé le Cruel, condamné de nostre S. Pere Urbain cinquiesme, et hay d'un chascun pour sa cruauté, qui favorisoit aux Juifs; et mit en sa place Henry de Transtamara, auquel se sont volontiers soumis les Castillois et Leonnois, disants qu'à l'exemple des Anciens Gots, ils pouvoyent s'emanciper de l'obeyssance d'un Roy, qui avoit changé son Regne en Tyrannie, et en establir un autre, sans avoir esgard à la succession: De maniere qu'on ne doit trouver nouveau, si de nostre temps on voit quelque chose de semblable. Plusieurs tels tesmoignages de bienvueillance ont donné aux Espagnols les Roys de France, voire souventesfois ne se sont ils contentez de s'unir à eux due lien

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mais en outre Victor son fils, qui avoit éste en son enfance constitué Auguste par son pere; pour avoir obtenu la victoire d'Eugene le Tyran, et d'Arbogaste, et deffait dix mille combattans qui les suyvoient. Qu'on estime Roy valeureux Ferdinand pour avoir contrainct les Mores, et les Juifs qui luy estoyent suiectz, ou de vuider l'Espagne, ou d'embrasser la foy Chrestienne. Qu'on chante le loz et protiesse de Maximilian pere du bisayeul de sa maiesté Catholique, qui a eslevé, augmenté, et orné merveilleusement le Christianisme. Qu'on rende immortelle la gloire et renom de Charles son pere, qui a tant de fois prins et porte les armes pour la manutention de l'Eglise, exterminé tant heresies, et veu la fin de tant d'ennemys de Dieu, et de la Religion : qui a assuietty les Allemans empestez du venin de Luther, et alienez de l'obeyssance du Pape, au ioug de Jesu-Christ et de l'Eglise.

Mais à tous ceux-la' sera à bon droit preferé Philippe vostre Roy, qui a tant et tant faict de guerres pour maintenir l'honneur et authorité de la Religion Catholique, Apostolique et Romaine : qui a employé tout son aage non tant à estendre les bornes de son empire et domaine (quoy qu'il enceigne une bonne partie de la terre) qu'à defendre et amplifier la foy de Jesu-Christ, et combattre les Heretiques : Qui s'est si charitablement employé pour delivrer ce Royaume de la tyrannie de l'Heretique, principalement ez deux sieges qu'il a faict lever, ayant envoyé secours à temps, soubs la conduite du tres sage, et tres-preux Duc de Parme : Qui n'a onc de son vivant preferé l'Estat, ou desir de regner à la Religion ; ains (comme un autre Jovinian, lequel apres la mort de Julian l'Apostat, estant declaré Empereur par la commune voix et acclamation de toute l'armee, protesta qu'il ne vouloit ny accorder aucune condition de paix, ny commander à ceux qui ne se rangeroyent à la foy Catholique, ce qu'incontinent ils advouërent de faire :) a monstré de faict qu'il ne vouloit regner en aucun Royaume ou Province, s'il n'y voyoit consequemment regner Jesus-Christ par son Evangile : se souvenant trop mieux de la belle sentence d'Optat Millevitain, qui a esté du temps de sainct Augustin, qui disoit qu'il falloit que la Religion fust en la Republique, et que la Repub. fust en la Religion, comme s'il eust dit, que de tant plus que l'ame excelle le corps, de tant plus doit estre prisee la Religion par dessus l'Estat. Ce que devroit se persuader tous Princes vertueux. Ainsi l'estimoit François premier, nostre Roy, le quel estant conseillé de faire passer son ost par l'Alemagne, et ayant à foy unies les forces des Alemans, assaillir l'Empereur (car ainsi le pourroit-il plus aysément surmonter) ne voulut acquiescer à cet avis, d'autant qu'il congnoissoit que cela touchoit la Religion, laquelle il ne vouloit nullement estre interessee. Autant en a faict son filz Henry second, non moins heritier des vertus de son pere, que du Royaume. Car au temps qu'on traittoit à Cambray les articles de pacification entre luy et son gendre le Roy Catholique, estant admonnesté de regarder plus soingneusement à tout, et pourvoir à ses affaires, il respondit qu'il y auroit assez pourveu, s'il pouvoit recueillir de cet accord le fruict qu'il esperoit, qui estoit d'arracher l'yaroye des heresies qui germoyent en son Royaume : et qu'il ne mesuroit tant la grandeur et amplitude de son Royaume à la multitude des peuples et provinces, qu'au salut des ames : n'ayant rien plus à coeur que de maintenir la Religion en

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son integrité et pureté. Au quel honneur et loüange ont eu leur bonne part les Princes de la maison de Guyse, ou plustost universellement de celle de Lorraine, lesquels (comme autres Machabees, et vrayes lumieres de la nation Françoise) en tous endroits, où il a esté question de la foy et Religion, ont tres-liberalement employé et leurs moyens, et leur vie; endurant plustost qu'on leur espuisa du coeur la derniere goutte de leur sang, que de voir faire outrage à leur mere l'Eglise. Mais ie reviens à vostre Roy Catholique, lequel, apres Dieu, la France recongnoit comme pour son garant et liberateur. Je pourrois raconter sept ou huict Papes continuz, lesquels durant ces orages d'heresie et de guerre, ayant prins le party des François Catholiques, nous ont secouru de plusieurs armees, et grandes sommes de deniers. Entre lesquels principalement nostre sainct Pere Clement huictiesment nous a faict sentir et nous faict iournellement de plus en plus experimenter le soin particulier et solicitude incroyable de sa paternelle bien-vueillance. Mais ce neantmoins vostre Roy Catholique, comme il les surpasse en richesses, aussi les a-il devancé par la liberalité et munificence qu'il a exercé en nostre endroit. Qui est la cause que, pour cet immortel et presque divin benefice, nous rendons à sa maiesté Royalle, et à vostre Excellence, qui a entreprins ceste Ambassade, action de graces, non telle qu'il seroit requis, mais la plus grande et plus affectueuse qu'il nous est possible, offrans tout office, et promettans de iamais ne tomber en oubliance d'un bien-faict tant signalé; et vous prians instamment de continuer à nous ayder et remedier de bonne heure à l'ardeur de nostre embrasement: car ainsi nous esperons de voir nos affaires reussir heureusement, au grand honneur et gloire perpetuelle de vostre Roy. Et c'est par ces degrez que sa majesté Catholique se frayera le chemin du Ciel, où elle iouyra en fin de la vision de Dieu (en laquelle git nostre beatitude) avec les esprits bienheureux. Aux tabernacles desquels quand elle sera eslevée de la main de Dieu remunerateur des peines et travaux qu'elle a soufferts pour la Religion, non seulement luy viendront au devant mille milliers d'Anges, qui assistent et servent au Roy des Roys, mais en outre une infinité de peuples, qu'elle a retiré, les uns des espesses tenebres d'infidelité, les autres de l'opiniastreté et meschanceté de leurs heresies se presenteront à elle avec liesse, portants en main leurs coronnes, qui causeront un nouveau lustre à celle que Dieu luy a preparé.

August 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

196. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have arranged for the passage on board the Galleon "Zaguri," from here to Venice, of the lieutenant, his wife, and Salvadore, his soldier. I have bargained with the master for thirty-five ducats, for passage, use of his cabin, and all expenses.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 2nd August 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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1593.
August 2.
Original Despatch Venetian Archives.

197. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The renegade who was majordomo to the Imperial Ambassador has been several times to my house to beg me to procure for him, from the Ambassador, the means of leaving Constantinople. I did what was suitable considering the nature of the applicant and the position of his master, but without success. And seeing that everywhere, and especially here, it is necessary to be on one's guard against villains, I have given him some assistance in his need. And now that, on the orders of the Grand Vizir, he is about to set out with army, he has come to me twice since the 24th, and has told me that he is a Bavarian and that he served six years as sub-lieutenant and lieutenant in Karlstadt (Carlostot) and three in Bihacs (Bicchia); and that he has full knowledge of all the frontiers of Istria, Carnia, Carniola, Friuli, where he is acquainted with the families of della Torre and Colloredo, and where he passed his best years. He has a wife, children, and property in Altenburg, and his name is Ladislaus Mertin. He told me all his misfortunes and showed real sorrow for having left the true faith. He begs me to intercede with the Ambassador that he may return to favour with the Emperor and secure your Serenity's protection. I promised to write to your Serenity for both purposes, and I do so all the more willingly because I know the man to be capable of mischief. This miserable wretch complained of the Ambassador. He says that he himself was acquitted first on the charge of an abominable offence, and then of having had a hand in the loss of Becskerck (Bihacs) with which he had nothing to do. He further declares that he was not the instigator of the search for papers at the Imperial Embassy; it was an idea of the Grand Vizir, who exacted from him this proof that he was not shamming Islam. Your Serenity will see that it cannot but be to your prejudice if this man who knows the country should go with the Pasha, and so if it please you to give any instructions I will carry them out.

The household of the Imperial Ambassador which was quartered in the Slaves' prison but almost at liberty, has all been put in irons again on the receipt of certain news which is kept very secret, but is conjectured to be that the Turks in Hungary have suffered a notable defeat; if this be true or not your Serenity will know already from the seat of the war. A few Austrian soldiers were taken after the battle in Croatia, and among them a native of Friuli who was present at the action, and declares that it was won by a miracle, there being eight thousand Christians against about thirty thousand Turks.

The French Ambassador has been to visit the Commander-in-Chief, Sinan, in his tent to give him the news. Talking of the fleet, which is his special business, Sinan assured him that unless arrangements had already been made for the despatch of two hundred galleys, the march from Constantinople would not have taken place. As to the war with Hungary the General told the French Ambassador that the English had made representations in

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favour of peace which he refused to listen to and expressed astonishment that the Queen of England, who was the enemy of Spain, should put herself forward to favour the house of Austria. Sinan declared that he feared some treachery, and showed the Ambassador the very letters addressed to the Sultan so as to assure himself if they were genuine or forged (et trattando della guerra d'Ungaria il Bassà communicò all' Ambassatore l'ufficio di pace fatto seco dall' Inglese, rifiutandolo in tutto et per tutto, et mostrò di meravigliarsi come la Regina, nemica del Re di Spagna, si intromettesse a favor di casa d'Austria, et di temer di qualche inganno; et gli feci veder le proprie lettere scritte al Re per certificarsi se erano vere o finte).

The English Ambassador has returned to the Pasha and has asked for an answer to the letters of the Queen. This will be given him. I am told, by a person who has access to the Pasha, not to be surprised if he is convinced that your Serenity supports the Imperialists, for those of our own party tell him so. This person hinted at one or other of these two Ambassadors (England or France). I cannot make out upon which the suspicion should fall; however, let the great intelligence of your Serenity decide. The fact that both of them speak Turkish allows them to carry on their negotiations with greater secrecy and more advantageously than those who are compelled to employ dragomans; the audiences are public; it will be very difficult to alter this custom which has become a rule of the Porte. (L'Ambasciator d'Inghilterra è ritornato al Bassà et gli ha ricercato la risposta alle lettere della Regina, che gli sarà stata data. Et m'è stato fatto dire da persona che è stata presso il Bassà che non mi maravigli s'egli sta impresso che la Serenità Vostra dia aiuto ad Imperiali, poiche li nostri medesimi glielo dicono; et accennò sopra uno delli due Ambasciatori predetti. Et in quale di essi cada il sospetto non so discernerlo, però il giudicio sia della molta prudenza delle Vostra Serenità. Et l'havere ambedue la lingua Turckesca causa che possono negociar piu secreti, et avantaggiosamente di quei che convengono passar per mano di Dragomano, essendo le audienze publiche, et malamente si può levar questo uso ch'è fatto Canon.)

Carlo Cicala, brother of the Capudan Pasha, has arrived. He was brought by galley from Silivri, so as to avoid passing through the camp of Sinan Pasha. He has a large train of servants in full dress livery and a complete household; more it would seem in order to maintain the dignity of his brother than for himself; for as yet he only assumes the position of a private gentleman. He has been dissuaded from calling on Sinan Pasha and Ferrad Pasha, and he has inquired whether his brother will present him to the Sultan to kiss hands. He also wishes to know how Count Juan Marigliani dressed when here. He will in all probability do nothing till the return of his brother, even if he is commissioned to negotiate about the treaty; and it is quite possible that he has no such instructions, and is here merely to secure the support of his brother in favour of Spain.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 2nd August 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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1593.
Aug. 3.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

198. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople to the DOGE and SENATE.

Sinan Pasha started on the 29th of last month. He was followed by twenty-eight or thirty thousand men. He hurried his departure quite as much because his troops were insolent as because of any fear that the Christians would follow up their victory. He has left the Spahis at liberty to make their march at their own leisure, on condition that by the 20th of September at the New Moon, they are to be in camp at Belgrade under penalty of being erased from the books and their place given to the Adventurers' Company.

There is a great dearth of bread in Constantinople; the bakers having been entirely occupied in making biscuits for the camp.

Sinan still acts as Grand Vizir precisely as though he were in Constantinople. The Grand Chancellor and the first Treasurer (Defterdar) support him, and he has the Imperial Seal.

Sinan Pasha has taken with him the Imperial Ambassador, in opposition to the advice of the other Pashas. It is thought that he will die of fatigue and hardship on the journey. The Ambassador's household is still in the slaves' prison and it is said they will be sent to the galleys. The Dragoman is in the public prisons.

I waited on Ferrad Pasha. He told me of the order for two hundred galleys for next year.

The French Ambassador tells me that until he sees the money ready he will not believe that they are arming. He admits that he has requested the despatch of one hundred extra galleys to sail to Spain with orders to harass the King's dominions; but he declares he never asked for a larger number than that. I told him he might rest assured that the fleet would be despatched for commissioners had been sent throughout the kingdom to raise money. The Ambassador also told me that he had been asked if the seaports of the King would be open to the Sultan's fleet, to which he had replied that the King would afford every assistance in his power provided that the fleet was not commanded by Cicala, whom he considered an enemy of the French nation and of the faction of Navarre.

I know that Cicala does all in his power to injure them. Ferrad gives it to be understood that if he were chosen to the command he would remove the Capudan, as there is no love lost between them.

I have had an opportunity of speaking at length with Signor Carlo Cicalla. He assures me that he has no intention of negotiating between Prince and Prince, and that he is here on his own private business alone. He says he is here under a passport from the Sultan and the protection of his brother, and so no question as to his religion will be raised. But I am informed that there are some who are seeking a decision from the Mufti on this point, whether it is lawful to use force to compel the son of a Turkish woman, born at Castel Nuovo, carried slave into Christendom, to return to Islam, which is precisely the case of Signor Carlo Cicalla.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 3rd August 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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1593.
Aug. 3. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

199. GIACOMO VENDRAMIN, Secretary to the Venetian Embassy in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Pasha of Buda has written to the Emperor expressing surprise that an Ambassador is not sent at once to Constantinople. The letter urges his Majesty to forget the past, and assures him that at the Porte he will be cordially received, and the Pasha of Bosnia will be suppressed by a violent death, fully deserved on account of his fury and insolence towards his Majesty; all the same Popel will not move from the frontier till news comes from Constantinople. The English Ambassador, after receiving an answer from Curtius, identical with the Emperor's first answer, has left. He received as a present a chain worth about four hundred crowns.

Prague, 3rd August, 1593.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

200. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English are already on the march for Dieppe, on their way home, and other foreign troops will do the same, as the lack of provisions is serious.

Chartres, 4th August 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

201. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassadors of France and England are on bad terms owing to some private differences; and that feeling is now increased by public reasons, since the English Ambassador without informing his colleague took steps to procure peace for the Imperialists. On the other hand the English Ambassador accuses the French of insisting upon the despatch of a larger fleet than is necessary to injure the King of Spain; which may end in the injury of all Christendom.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 4th August 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

202. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is news that Antonio Perez has gone to the Queen of England. His Majesty is doubly enraged against him. His wife and his children are confined in the dungeon of a tower.

Madrid, 13th August 1593.

[*Italian.*]

Aug 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

203. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

When the Duke of Feria went to congratulate the Duke of Guise on his election as King of France the Duke declared that he did not aspire to such greatness.

Chartres, 16th August 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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1593.
Aug. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

204. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Sultan's Secretary said to the Ambassador of France, who was paying him a visit in his garden, that he desired to make representations to the Ambassador once again. He saw that the Ambassador believed the Capudan Pasha to be doing all he could to force Venice into the arms of Spain; as this was contrary to French policy the Ambassador was straining every nerve to injure the Capudan, but the Secretary wished to warn him that if the Capudan were changed it would be a change for the worse as he would be succeeded by Ibrahim Pasha, who in general had the reputation of being mad. In spite of this, however, the Ambassador continues to use every effort, even in secret, in favour of Giaffer Pasha, at present Pasha of Tripoli in Syria. The Ambassador is convinced that the terror of a large Turkish fleet would suffice to detach the King of Spain from the League in France, and that peace would follow as a matter of course.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 16th August 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 17. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

205. GIACOMO VENDRAMIN, Secretary to the Venetian Embassy in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from Basel that the Swiss cantons, Catholic and heretic alike, have granted to the King of Navarre from six to eight thousand infantry, as he may choose, on the ground of their treaties with the Kings of France, thereby recognising Navarre as King of France.

Prague, 17th August 1593.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

206. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Sinan Pasha, Commander-in-Chief, owing to the violence of the soldiery, who almost put Adrianople to the sack, was forced to leave that city and to move on to Philippopolis. He complains that he has been followed by a mere handful of troops, and here very severe orders are promulgated against all who are recalcitrant; though some critics say it is undesirable to face a winter out in camp.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 20th August 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

207. POLO PARUTA, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador urges the Pope not to be too severe about the conversion of the King of Navarre. He quotes the example of England; that kingdom was lost owing to excessive rigidity. Perhaps, had Clement VII. known how to temporize, King Henry would have continued faithful to the Roman Church. Charles V. had the greatest weight in the councils of Clement, and yet Charles, a few years later, was obliged to enter into alliance with Henry, who, chiefly at his instance, had been declared schismatic.

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The Pope lent a kindly attention, and then said "Well, we will "wait a little and see what happens. If it please God to make "Navarre King of France it is not for us to oppose His will."

Rome, 21st August 1593.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

208. POLO PARUTA, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Monday morning a courier arrived from France with news which was confirmed by another courier on Tuesday night; and so there is no longer any doubt about the conversion of Navarre.

It took place in the following manner. The King, the Archbishop of Bourges,* thirteen Bishops, three Doctors of the Sorbonne and many nobles, went to St. Denis, where the church had already been nobly adorned. He was dressed in royal robes of white embroidered with purple fleurs de lys. He approached the church, and, as arranged, found the door shut. He then asked leave of the prelates about him to enter the church, affirming that he recognised his errors, deeply repented them, was most ready to embrace the Catholic faith and religion, and to live in absolute obedience to the Holy See, for which, if need were, he would not shrink from shedding his blood.

He then recanted and cursed all the opinions and thoughts which he had hitherto entertained, and abjured one by one every doctrine of Calvin which he had hitherto obeyed. The doors of the church were then opened and the King entering went straight to the High Altar, where he knelt and repeated his confession and abjuration, with tears, it is said, and refusing to be seated on the throne made ready for him: He implored the Prelates to admit him to the holy communion, and after confessing to one of them he heard mass and communicated—though there is some diversity of opinion about that.

Rome, 21st August 1593.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

209. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The fortress of Bihacs (Bicchia) was taken by treachery. The traitor became a Turk and reached Constantinople. Sinan Pasha has now sent for him and intends to use him and, I expect, the Major-domo of the Imperial Ambassador, in Croatia. Orders have been issued to-day to the officers in Volo, Negropont and the Morea to store grain for making biscuits for the fleet which is to sail next year.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 23rd August 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

* Rene de Beaune. See De Leva, "La legazione di Roma di Paolo Paruta." R. Dep. di Storia Patria. Miscel. Tom 1, pp. 278, 315, 316.

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1593.
Aug. 28.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

210. Francesco Vendramin, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

Enclosed is the invoice of the precious cargo just arrived from the West Indies, and now unlading at Seville.

Madrid, 28th August 1593.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

List of the cargo of the Western fleet, consisting of gold coin and jewels :—

	Dti.	Rli.	Mis.*
From the mainland, for His Majesty, Castilian ducats of eleven reals each -	1,806,442	8	18
For the crusade - - -	43,550	6	6
For the salaries of the Council - -	12,752	10	20
	1,862,746	3	1/10
Deduct ducats 198,292, reals 10, maravedis 15, detained by the Generals Luis Alfonso Florez, Don Francesco de Leyva, Martin Perez de Olacabal and Don Francesco della Colonna, for the cost of the fleets ; and by the Lieutenant-Governor Antonio de Puebla for the garrison of the Azores, so that there remains net for his Majesty, the crusade and the salaries - - -	1,664,453	8	19
In addition ; for his Majesty, four chests of pearls of different kinds ; 2,595 pesos† of emerald, and one loose emerald. Two chests of bar silver and bezoar stone sent by the Vice-Roy of Peru. Fifteen pesos of unsmelted silver.			
For private merchants and mortgages -	3,696,015	1	1
From New Spain			
For the King - - - -	297,018	2	16
For the crusade - - - -	102,867	5	5
From the sale of offices - - -	75,416	2	32
Total - - -	475,301	10	19
Deduct ducats 37,467, reals 9, maravedis 1, which the Generals Martin Perez de Olacabal, and Luis Alfonso Florez detained for payment of their fleet, and Antonio de Puebla, for the garrison of the Azores ; leaving net for his Majesty - -	437,834	1	18
For private merchants and mortgages -	1,445,861	10	29
Grand Totals			
For the King - - - -	2,102,287	5	3
For private individuals - - -	5,141,877	30	0

The amount of jewels for private individuals, the grain, the skins and other merchandize not known.

[*Italian.*]

* Maravedis. † See Martini, Manuale di Metrologia. Torino 1883, p. 398.

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1593.
Aug. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

211. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Imperial Ambassador is still following the march of Sinan Pasha; he is in his coach, but with a chain round his neck. Four or five of his attendants are in irons. The rest of his household is here at the slaves prison, with chains on their feet. There are people here who have let the Sultan know that the double tribute was already on the Hungarian frontier. His Majesty replied that Sinan Pasha would go to fetch it; nor would he be content with money, but would require territory as well. The Ambassador may find some alleviation of his misfortunes when he reaches the government of the Beglierbey of Greece, if that officer remembers that for the release of the Ambassador and his household he received, before his departure, four thousand thalers, besides other presents.

About eighteen prisoners, who were in the fortress of the Black Sea, have broken the floors and escaped, all but a certain Alexander, cousin of Simon, Prince of Georgia, and two Poles who were nearly impotent. About fifteen are off, and as yet no one knows where they are. The Cadi of Pera has compelled the brothers of San Francesco to proclaim excommunication against any Christian who gives them shelter.

The Grand Vizir has issued some pay in the arsenal in order to hasten the work required by Sinan Pasha and the Ambassadors of France and England.

Signor Carlo Cicala, brother of the Capudan Pasha, tells me that no sooner had M. de Lancome reached Palermo than he informed the Count Olivarez that the Capudan would compel his brother to become a Turk; whereupon orders were sent after Signor Carlo to Messina bidding him stay his departure, but he was already at Ragusa. His brother forwarded the orders and urged him to return. He says he is in no fear of danger, but wishes he had never undertaken the journey and were well out of it.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 29th August 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

212. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News has come from Lisbon that two ships of the East India fleet have arrived, and that they only saved themselves from the attack of four English corsairs with the greatest difficulty. These English ships followed them up for a long while. They report that in the China seas an Englishman seized a ship with a cargo worth upwards of a million; and that as there is no word of the two ships of last year it is thought certain that they are either sunk or captured by the English.

Madrid, 30th August 1593.

[*Italian.*]

Sept 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

213. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is news from Sinan Pasha that as he was obliged to leave Adrianople on account of the riotous conduct of his troops towards

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the townspeople, so he has been obliged to leave Sofia on account of the defect in provisions. Sinan Pasha has had a relapse that is more serious than the first illness. The Sultan has given orders that Ferrad Pasha should hold himself in readiness in case Sinan should die. In that case Sciavus Pasha would assume the post of Grand Vizir. When the last consignment of lanterns for the kiosk arrived, Sciavus said he would like to keep one or two, as his Majesty could not require them all, and that when they were ordered he had in view a particular Mosque of his own. I replied that the attendants at the kiosk were the same now as when the lanterns were ordered and that they were perfectly aware of the exact number.

The Sultan is in a furious rage on account of the escape of the prisoners from the Tower of the Black Sea. The governor of the Castle has been put to death, and a Sanjakate offered to any one who gives information on the subject. A general Inquisition has been ordered on all Perottes and Franks, and as is usual with the Turks it will be badly arranged and highly dangerous.

The English Ambassador being questioned by the Grand Vizir on this subject was the object of violent threatening language; so much so that his Dragoman fled in terror lest he should be arrested; and the Ambassador himself on his departure felt the same alarm and appealed to the Sultan. With the help of a negro, a familiar of his Majesty, the Ambassador handed in his petition at the kiosk in person, from a boat, a thing which no one ever remembers to have been done by a public personage before. The Ambassador received a favourable answer, promising that he should not be molested. The Grand Vizir, however, also presented a note in which he accused the Ambassador of disobedience, in that he refused to surrender his barber who was in the habit of frequenting the Tower of the Black Sea, and begged the Sultan to recall his original orders. The Ambassador, who was in ignorance of this note, called on the Grand Vizir to offer explanations and to secure his good will, relying on the promise of the Sultan that no ill should befall him. The Grand Vizir, however, caused the Ambassador to be arrested by a cavass and told him to surrender the barber or he himself would be imprisoned. There being no remedy for the insult, the Ambassador was forced to send for the barber, and on his arrival after a few hours, the Ambassador was set at liberty. He at once had recourse to his usual methods, and went to the chief eunuch; but as yet he has not been able to obtain the liberation of his man, who would have been cruelly tortured by this time had not the feast of Bairam been so near. It is possible that the Ambassador may succeed in arranging matters if he uses the argument that the prisoners who fled were Italians and the subjects of the King of Spain, who is at war with his mistress, and that therefore no suspicion can lie against the English.

The French Ambassador also has been subjected to the Inquiry along with some of his household. The Pasha behaved very quietly and accepted the true and simple demonstration of innocence which the Ambassador offered.

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After England and France this Embassy came under review. It has always been calumniated as the asylum of fugitive slaves (L'Ambasciatore d'Inghilterra dimandato dal Bassà per questo fu malissimo trattato di parole minatorie et injuriose che trapassaronoogni termine, in tanto che il suo Dragomano fuggì per tema di retentione; et L'Ambasciatore, partito che fu di là, dubitò del medesimo, et fece arz al Rè; et con intelligenza di un Negro, familiar di sua Maestà, glielo porse lui stesso al Chiosco, stando in una barchetta, cosa mai più non veduta da persone publiche; et riportò risposta favorevole che non fusse molestato. Ma il Bassa all' incontro fece arz, accusando l'Ambasciatore di disubedienza, che non gli volesse dare un suo Barbiero solito praticare nelle Torre, dove fu pressa sua Maestà a rivocare il primo ordine. Et non lo sapendo, l'Ambasciatore, fù egli dal Bassà per dargli sodisfattione di parole et per captar la sua benevolenza, fatto sicuro della risposta del Signor che non gli succederebbe male; il Bassà, lo fece trattenere di Chiaussi nel suo Divano, dicendo che gli desse in mano il Barbiero o che restasse lui pregione; ne potendo lui remediar allo affronto, convenne mandar per il detto Barbiero, che quando fù gionto dopo alquante hore, l'Ambasciatore fù libero; et ricorse subbito alli soliti suo mezi, et andò in persona dal Capiagà, ma sin hora non ha pottuto ottener la liberatione del suo huomo, che gia sarebbe stato crudelmente tormentato se le feste del Bairan non fussero state cosi vicine. Et potrà esser ancora che vi giovi qualche rimedio, valendosi di questa ragione che le prigioni Italiani sono, sudditi dipendenti dal Re di Spagna con il quale la sua patrona professa inimicitia et che in lui non poteva cader alcun sospetto.

L'Ambasciatore di Franza è stato anche lui dimandato con alcuni de' suoi nominati d'uno in uno, et il Bassà si portò assai modestamente, accettando la vera et ingenua discolpa che dava di se l'Ambasciatore.

Dopo li sodetti venne in consideratione questa casa, diffamata gia tanti anni di dar ricetto et scampo a Schiavi).

But thank God no reasonable suspicion can lie here. Although I hear that an officer has been sent to the Dardanelles to detain the ships "Liona" and "Silvestra" and to search them.

Messer Pasqualino Leoni is known to have had dealings at the Tower of the Black Sea about a slave. In consequence he would certainly have fared badly had he not secured the protection of the Chief Eunuch, and others. He waited on Ferrad Pasha, in company with Steffano, our Dragoman, who said in my name that of my own free will I sent him Messer Leoni to clear himself of any suspicion. The Pasha wanted to hand him over to a Cavass, but at length accepted Steffano's bail that he would appear before the Cadi of Pera.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 6th September 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

214. Francesco Vendramin, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the **Doge** and **Senate**.

His Majesty is resolved to erect a fort on one of the Azores, to protect a harbour. An engineer has already been sent out for the

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purpose. A large squadron of English was reported off Corvo, but subsequently returned; so that it is said that there is not an English ship in those seas.

Madrid, 8th September 1593.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

215. POLO PARUTA, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Pope is very anxious about the affairs of France. He sees that he will be obliged to accept the King of Navarre. He is afraid that Navarre, once established in his kingdom, will begin to plot with the Queen of England against Christendom.

Rome, 11th September 1593.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 14. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

216. GIACOMO VENDRAMIN, Secretary to the Venetian Embassy in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England, hearing that the King of Navarre has become a Catholic and has made a truce with the League, has recalled her troops from Brittany.

Prague, 14th September 1593.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

217. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Some heads have been sent from the army to the Divan; they look more like pirates (Martelossi) than anything else.*

Signor Carlo Cicala never leaves the house. It does not seem that he has any other business than his own private affairs, in which it is said he will not succeed, for his brother the Capudan will not support him.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 19th September 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

218. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Messer Pasqualin Leoni, after an inquiry as to whether he received letters from and sent letters to the Tower of the Black Sea, has been set at liberty. The Barber of the English Ambassador and the Ambassador himself were subjected to the same inquiry, and would have fared badly had not the ship bringing the Queen's presents to the Sultan and the Porte reached Gallipoli at this juncture. There are rumours that the King of Spain is in bad health, and that three of his kingdoms are in revolt. This leads the Ambassadors of France and England to urge the despatch of a fleet.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 19th September 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

* Turkish pirates of the Dalmatian frontier. *See* von Hammer, op. cit. lib. xl.

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Sept. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

219. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

An Agent of the Duke of Mayenne has arrived here with letters in which the said Duke excuses his conduct in the matter of the election of the Duke of Guise as King. He says that as he saw no army adequate to support Guise on the throne against the forces of his foes, he was obliged to suspend his action on the point; but as soon as he saw Spanish arms across the French frontier, and was assured that the Duke of Guise would receive the Infanta in marriage, not only would he willingly assent to his proclamation as Sovereign, but would be the first to do homage to his nephew as King of France.

Madrid, 26th September 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

220. POLO PARUTA, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Lancome, a person known to your Serenity, has presented a memorial to his Holiness on the subject of sending an Ambassador to the King of Persia. He offers to go in person if ordered by the Pope. He pretends that this is a most secret affair, and yet he himself has talked about it to everyone who has any interest in the matter.

Rome, 2nd October 1593.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

221. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is well known that Sinan Pasha sends no news that is not acceptable to the Sultan. In this he is following the custom of Grand Vizirs to give no news to his Majesty except such as is pleasant or to alter the unfavourable in such a way that it shall serve merely to secure reinforcements. It is quite certain that the head of a common soldier has been shown to his Majesty as the head of the general who defeated Hassan Pasha.

Sinan Pasha insists that the fleet should be got ready. The French Ambassador leaves no opportunity unused in order to secure the despatch of the fleet. He urges that this is necessary in order to concentrate the attention of the King of Spain on his own affairs. He is of opinion that the mere rumour that a Turkish fleet would put to sea must be of great help to his master.

The English Ambassador is not paying much attention to this question of the fleet. He is entirely occupied in maintaining his position over the question of Bogdania. His position indeed would be quite gone already were it not for the fact that the ship bringing the presents from England has reached Constantinople.

The Sultan from his kiosk enjoyed the spectacle of the ship's arrival. It was dressed with scarlet cloth around the quarter deck and bulwarks, and with flags and pennants. It came on with fanfares of trumpets and salvoes of harquebusses and artillery,

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arranged in the hold, which produces an effect different from the ordinary salvo. His Majesty liked it so much that he wished for a repetition of the show two days later when the ship was being towed to the customs house. The Ambassador has not been to kiss hands yet, but he will not put it off longer now. One result of the arrival of these presents is that the Ambassador has been released from a difficulty by the liberation of his barber, who was imprisoned on the false suspicion that he had had a hand in the escape of the slaves from the Tower of the Black Sea. (Et il Ré ha havuto gusto stando nel chiosco a veder la entrata di essa nave ben adobata intorno al cassaro et al ballaor de panni scarlati et de bandiere et fiamole, accompagnate da suoni de trombe et di salve di archibuseria et artellaria accommodate in buon parte solto la coperta, che fa effetto differente dalle altre salve. Et la sua Maestà se ne compiacque tanto che doi giorni dopo ne volse veder un' altra nel remurchiar la nave alla doana. L'Ambasciatore non è ancora stato a basciar la mano al Ré, ma non deverà tardare; et la occasione del dono gionto con la nave lo solleva anco da questo impaccio che ha liberato il suo Barbiero impriggionato per falsa sospitione che havessa parte nella fugga de i schiavi dalla Torre nel Mar Negro.)

In consequence of this event many have been arrested and questioned under torture as to the names of those likely to receive fugitive slaves; among those mentioned was that of a friar, a native of Spalato, your Serenity's consul at Gallipoli. I was in dread lest he should be arrested as rumour declared, but, thanks be to God, nothing has happened except that the Consul asks to be relieved from his service which he has discharged close upon ten years now. He has frequently made a similar request, but it has always been rejected owing to the difficulty of finding anyone to fill his place. I do not offer any opposition to his demand as I think it is for the good of the public service that he should retire; there is a chapel at Gallipoli, which is used only by sailors; if a chaplain be required, I will fill the post at the ordinary stipend allowed by your Serenity, namely fifty ducats a year. As to the post of Consul, which does not yield more than the fees and a solatium of fifty ducats every three years, it will not be easy to find anyone to take it.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 2nd October 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

222. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Between the Embassy of Venice and the French Embassy there is a piece of waste ground, about which no one took any trouble, until now that houses are growing so fast, the inhabitants of the quarter desire to take possession of and to occupy it. They have accordingly closed a door which gave access to it from this house and another which gave access from the French Embassy.

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Matteca, who is owner of this house, told me that when my successor comes he intends to double the rent, which at present is one hundred sequins a year and the up-keep.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 2nd October 1593.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

223. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Messer Antonio Vecchietti who is here on the matter of the free trade concessions to Florence, announces that he is about to leave. Perhaps he is afraid of the commission of inquiry into the flight of the slaves; or perhaps he thinks the situation unfavourable.

The Ambassador of France has been solemnly to church to render thanks for the conversion of his master to the Catholic Apostolic Faith.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 3rd October 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

224. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador will kiss hands the day after to-morrow. He will make a rich gift of royal cloth, cloth of gold, and silk, also various silver goblets and other presents. He has drawn up a memorial in which he mentions Don Antonio of Portugal and a son of his who was at Fez; and he asks for an armament next year against the King of Spain.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 15th October 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

225. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

All the papers of the Imperial Ambassador have been seized once more, though he had to pay six hundred thalers to recover them before.

The French Ambassador has been ordered by his Sovereign to co-operate with the Venetian Ambassador in urging the Sultan not to declare war on the Republic; pointing out to him that this would produce an alliance between Venice and Spain to the strengthening of the League in France.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 16th October 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

226. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Archduke Ernest has announced his intention of going immediately to Flanders; but he begs the King's permission to return to Austria should the Turks invade his own or his brother's territory. The Archduke is instructed to settle the affairs with the States and with the Queen of England in order to liberate all those troops against Navarre. The States and the Queen are quite

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alive to this, and their common interests have led them to render vain all efforts towards a peace.

Madrid, 20th October 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

227. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Sultan's Secretary told me that the French Ambassador had refused to visit the Grand Vizir any more on account of the Vizir's violent language, and the English Ambassador does the same because the Grand Vizir had placed him under arrest, as I reported. The Secretary has undertaken to pacify them. The English Ambassador when he kissed hands last Sunday presented a memorial in which he set forth the merits of his Sovereign, who had for so long a time borne the brunt of war against the common foe and all unsupported. She now asked for the assistance of the Turkish fleet. Probably the Ambassador used language suited to the inclination of the Turks and the position of affairs, rather than expressly ordered by the Queen. He is dependent on the English merchants who pay his salary and employ him in the interests of their trade.

The Ambassador of France endeavours to convince the Turks that the conversion of his Master does not mean a pacification with the Pope or with Spain.

The fact of this conversion has caused the English Ambassador to enjoy a larger amount of favour than he would otherwise have received. The proof is that at his audience to kiss hands he received those few robes which are only presented to retiring Ambassadors, and also received some dinners. His stipend from the Porte, which amounts to about four thalers a day and is now in arrears for many months, is to be paid to him. This sum the Porte is in the habit of paying to Ambassadors after they have kissed hands. The Ambassador had hardly time to say ten words when they asked him for the memorial which he had ready. It contained four requests, if not more; the chief request is that the fleet should be sent out under the circumstances which I have already reported; another point is Don Antonio and his son who was in the hands of the King of Fez, and was set free on the representations of the Porte. The other points are a renewal of the capitulations and questions of commerce and free trade. All this I learn from third parties. The Ambassador himself has told me nothing, though he was here three days ago on a simple visit. (L'Ambasciatore d'Inghilterra in congiunture del sospetto che hanno qui preso del Re di Franza, parendo a questi che la conformità di religion habbia gran forza di riunir gli animi, et oblighi ad haver per inimici quei di setta contraria,—ha havuto più accetto et più favore nel suo appresentarsi ultimamente a baciar della mano come Ambasciatore che per altro non lo haverebbe ricevuto, et tutt' l favore consiste in essere egli stato donato in divano d'alcune poche veste solite darsi solamente alli Ambasciatori che partono et è anco stato presentato d'alcuni viveri et se è ordinato

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che se li paghi li avanzi decorsi di molti mesi della provisione di circa 4 toleri al giorno che la porta suol dare in contanti ad Ambasciatore dopo il basciar la mano.

Appena hebbe lui commodità di esponere alla Maestà sua dieci parole che li fu dimandato l'arz, che teneva pronto, che consisteva di quattro dimande, se non piu. La principale era, mandar fuori armada colle particolarità che ho gia dinotato alla Serenità Vostra, et che accennai collo spazo passato; un altro toccava a Don Antonio di Portogallo ed ad un figlio che era in potere di Re di Fez et fu liberato di pregionia mediante il favor di questa Porta; et le altre dimande aspettano a rinovatione di capitulation et interessi di mercanti et del libero traffico, per quanto mi è stato riferito da terze persone; non havendo l'Ambasciatore communicato alcune di queste particolarità, et pur fu egli terzo giorno qui in casa per occasione di pura visita.)

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 26th October 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

228. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Sinan Pasha, Commander-in-Chief, has left the Imperial Ambassador a prisoner in Buda.

At the moment when they were consulting about sending a Giamberluch and a sword, in the Sultan's name, to the Beglierbey of Greece for his capture of the fortress Sziszek (Cisca), news was brought that the Beglierbey had been surprised and defeated by a band of Hungarians, and that Sinan Pasha had retreated two days' march. The Pasha of Buda, son of Mehmet Pasha, is held responsible for this defeat and will be recalled. The Ministers of the Porte blame Sinan for bad judgment and rashness, in having at this season taken up his ground among the marshes which are favourable to his enemies.

Signor Carlo Cicala told me that in letters recently sent to his brother the Capudan, was a letter from Sinan exhorting the Capudan to send out a strong fleet.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, the last day of October 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

229. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty has gone to Normandy to withdraw the troops about Fecamp, and then to pass on to Dieppe, from which place he can treat with the Queen of England, towards whom, on account of the diversity of religion and in order to maintain the peace, he shows considerable deference.

Chartres, 2nd November 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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Nov. 4.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

230. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The plague has broken out among the English who were detained in Dieppe, as the King does all he can to prevent them from passing the sea.

The English agent here came to visit me some days ago. He explained the great difficulty he was in, owing to the Queen's resentment at the King's action, and the King's need of the Queen's support. The Queen is not so angry at the King's conversion as because the King took this step without telling her. The agent added that the Queen was of opinion that the King might, just in the same way, have made peace with Spain and left her Majesty aside, an act out of all reason and beyond the limits of justice. If her Majesty had employed her forces on behalf of the King's particular interests and accepted for friends and foes the friends and foes of the King, it is only reasonable that she should be treated with greater confidence and regard, and also the English nation, which of its own accord took such an interest in this war that it voluntarily taxed itself for the support of France, and frequently, remonstrated with the Queen because she did not do more for the service of his Majesty the King.

All this discourse the agent uttered with great heat, in which I could catch no false note of affectation induced by a desire to explain or to exaggerate the services rendered by the Queen.

I declared to the agent that I was glad to hear what he had to say about the friendly sentiments of the Queen towards your Serenity; that this agreed with what I had always understood to be the case; and that the feelings were reciprocated. The Ministers here recognise their mistake, and admit that they ought to have informed her Majesty of the King's conversion. They are now doing all they can to satisfy her, and to make her content. They publicly say that the Queen would be doing a great injustice to her intelligence if, by this resentment, she makes the world believe that it was simply and solely for the sake of religion, and not from reasons of State nor yet from regard for the King or for this miserable kingdom, that she had loved and assisted the King of France.

Chartres, 4th November 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 6.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives

231. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I must not neglect to report to your Serenity a conversation which I had yesterday with an Italian ecclesiastic of high standing. He made certain statements as true, but I would not venture to affirm so much to your Serenity.

This personage assures me that the King is bent on the election of the Duke of Guise as King of France; that he will employ the whole forces of this Crown for the purpose; that he will give the Infanta to the Duke, and will maintain all promises made by the Duke of Feria. The same personage also told me that in choosing

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the Duke of Guise, the King of Spain has exercised profound cunning; for the Duke is without forces and is also hostile to England; accordingly, when he is King of France he will offer no opposition if the King of Spain renews his attacks on England. The King, it seems, is resolved to undertake that enterprise once again. His council tell him, more and more frankly, that if he does not make up his mind to invade England the wars in Flanders and the ravages of the fleet on the shores of Spain and Portugal may very easily reduce these kingdoms to poverty and intolerable privations. He added that the King of Spain had studied the plan of campaign against England from the basis of France. The money for this enterprise will be accumulated under the pretence that it is for Flanders. Prince Giovanni Andrea Doria is here to concert the measures for this campaign. England is said to be plague-stricken.

Madrid, 6th November 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

232. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The faction of the League are handing about a letter which they say was intercepted on its way from the English agent to the Queen. In it the agent informs the Queen that this conversion of the King was designed simply to assist his particular objects, and that his heart would always be where it had ever been. The whole letter is supposed to be a forgery, invented in order to destroy the King's popularity with the people, and to prove that the League has undertaken the war upon a just cause.

Chartres, 6th November 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 16. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

233. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is news from Antwerp that the Spanish attempted to seize Calais, on the death of the Governor. They did not succeed; but they still keep up a secret correspondence with the Governor's son, which feeds their hopes of ultimate success.

Prague, 16th November 1593.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

234. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Prince Doria is of opinion that no large Turkish fleet will sail this year. If it does it will be directed against Spain, thanks to the continued efforts of the King of Navarre and the Queen of England. They are afraid of some secret understanding in Sicily owing to the operations of Cicala. On this account Prince Doria is to be appointed Viceroy of Sicily.

News from Portugal that the ships which were sent out as convoy for the East India fleet, have returned with one ship only;

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the other two are held for lost. While off Cascaes and making for harbour, a violent squall separated them, and the English, right under the eyes of the Portuguese, captured a transport full of artillery.

Madrid, 16th November 1593.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

235. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It seems that there is still some infection in Dieppe. The King will go there for a few days as he greatly desires to meet the agents of the Queen of England in order to pacify the Queen as far as is possible.

The English troops want to cross the Channel, declaring that there is nothing for them to do in France, as the truce will merely precede a peace. His Majesty, on this score as well, is unwilling to confirm the truce for more than a month, after which he promises to send the troops into the field again.

Chartres, 19th November 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

236. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Sultan's secretary told me that among the artifices used by the French Ambassador to secure the despatch of a fleet, was this, of representing your Serenity and the King of Spain as arming to the teeth.

The English Ambassador has received the answer to the credentials which he presented on kissing hands; and the answer to the Memorial he then submitted in favour of sending out the fleet. The letters were full of praises of his person, of which indeed he stands in no small need. As to the armada, the Vizir said it would sail, but if it is to go where the Ambassador desires money is required for its support. The Ambassador promised every kind of succour in the name of the Queen and of the King of Navarre, but the Vizir did not pay much attention.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 21st November 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

237. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Ferrad Pasha observed to me that it would be well if your Serenity offered to assist the Turk in this Hungarian war, just as France and England had offered to support the fleet against Spain, although those powers were neither so close nor such ancient allies as your Serenity. Some days ago the English Ambassador, when engaged about the affairs of Bogdania, found himself in conversation with a certain Turkish woman named Razcacadun. I know her well, as I have often had dealings with her in your interests; she has great weight in the serraglio with the Sultana; and was at one time in the serraglio of Sultan Selim. This woman said to

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the English Ambassador that Sinan Pasha had embarked on this war like a furious madman, to the grave disservice of the Turk. The Ambassador then told her that he had orders from the Queen of England to offer himself as mediator of peace, and this offer he now renewed. The woman said that the Sultan had never heard a word of this, and promised to tell him at once, and also the Sultana, and added that she was sure she would secure an order to reopen negotiations; but as yet I am not aware that such an order has been issued. No word of all this is mentioned to the French Ambassador, whose attitude is considered insincere, as his master professes hatred of the house of Austria. The English Ambassador is not held in much account, especially by Ferrad Pasha; and indeed he takes little notice of either. (L'Ambasciatore li raccontò la commissione che hebbe già dalla sua Regina d'intromettersi nella pacificatione, et si offerse di nuovo, in quanto poteva, et la sudetta donna gli affirmò che il Re non haveva mai havuto sentore, et disse di rifferirlo a S. Maestà et anco alla Sultana, et che al sicuro cavarebbe una polizza per ripigliar la practica. Ma sin hora non so che sia fatta. All'Ambasciator di Franza non si fa moto de questo, poiche il suo voto non è tenuto per sincero, professando il suo patrone inimicitia con la casa d'Austria. Et l'altro d'Inghilterra e tenuto in poco conto, massime da Ferrad Pasha, che di ambe doi non fa molto caso.)

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 22nd November 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

238. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the King had seen the English and the Flemish agents in Dieppe, he summoned to Mantes the Grand Chancellor and others of his council. As far as can be discovered it seems that the English and Flemish complained bitterly of the King's change of religion, but more bitterly still because he had made a truce with their common foes; and they declared themselves deeply offended that this was done without their knowledge. They pointed out that this truce was highly prejudicial, because peace in France would allow the King of Spain to devote his attention to the attack on the States and on England. The King, who is much embarrassed, gave as fair an answer as he could. On account of their interests it is thought that the alliance will be maintained.

Chartres, 1st December 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

239. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The negotiations of his Majesty with the English in Dieppe are reported under varying aspects. It seems that his Majesty is growing colder towards the Huguenots and the Protestants of Paris. Several English have proposed to his Majesty loans to the amount of two hundred thousand crowns. No sufficient security has been found as yet; but the money will be raised to meet the expenses of

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the levies and of the troops which Montmorency is expected to bring.

Chartres, 3rd December 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

240. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I hear that the Sultana has tried to persuade the Sultan to allow the English Ambassador to mediate for peace, but that his Majesty would lend no ear to her.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 4th December 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 21. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

241. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from France that all desire peace but prepare for war; and that the King of Navarre is going to send his sister to England to strengthen his bonds with the Queen.

Prague, 21st December 1593.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

242. MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador, not satisfied with the report that his mistress had helped the Imperialists, took steps to contradict the rumour. He declares that the Queen has sent an Ambassador to the Imperial Court, and that her object is peace, not war; and the Ambassador offers to negotiate a peace. In this matter the Transylvanian representative is his confidant.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, last day of December 1593.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

1594. Jan. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

243. POLO PARUTA, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As regards the forces of Navarre, his faction here declare that in a very short time he will be at the head of at least twelve thousand foot and four thousand horse; that is to say, four thousand French and three thousand Swiss now in his camp; other five thousand Swiss that are being raised in his name at this moment, and a magnificent cavalry, the flower of French nobility. Add to those the four thousand English infantry which the Queen of England is said to be sending to his Majesty.

Rome, 1st January 1594.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 4. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

244. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Palfy, one of the captains of Lower Hungary, has been ordered to inform the Beglierbey of Greece, who was the nearest of the Turkish generals, that his Majesty was much pained by the rigorous

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imprisonment of his Ambassador, as it was not the custom of war to treat prisoners with such severity; and when war broke out between the Porte and any other power it was usual to leave the Ambassador of that power at Constantinople, and not to take him along with the army; or if he was taken along with the army it was usual to treat him as befitted his rank. Palfy has orders to negotiate with the Pasha for the better treatment of the Ambassador, and for permission to send him some money for his maintenance. The Beglierbey replied that he would gladly have done all that lay in his power, only the Ambassador was already dead; put to death by orders from Constantinople. There are not wanting those who affirm, however, that the Ambassador is still alive, but so crushed by sufferings of mind and body that there is but little hope of saving him. The said Ambassador was one of the great Barons and had always been a Calvinist, but just before he started on this Embassy, partly thanks to the influence of some clerics, partly through the reading of Bellarmine, he joined the Catholic faith. He was a man of profound learning, and so in the course of his debates he found himself convinced.

Prague, 4th January 1593 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

245. POLO PARUTA, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After communicating the news from Constantinople, his Holiness explained his desire to unite Spain the Empire, and the Republic in a league against the Turk.

I set forth the reasons which would cause the Republic to hesitate.

Rome, 8th January 1594.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

246. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The accounts of the failure of Alvise Vezato, all agree with one another. I enclose a letter received from him, and have taken steps to fill his post of Consul till your Serenity makes provision.

Madrid, 8th January 1593 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

Your Lordship will have heard of my troubles; but I think it right to send you full information.

You must know that in the year 89 a company was formed to take over the tunny fisheries of Algarve from the Government, at a price and on terms so favourable that the company was envied by all the Spaniards, and it was calculated that the profits of the company would amount to upwards of one hundred thousand ducats.

But it has pleased God in his justice to ordain that out of the six years during which the company has been in existence, five have been the most sterile ever known.

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An examination of the royal registers for the ten years before the formation of the company, shows an average take of one hundred and seventeen thousand *atuni*, whereas ours for five years was one ninety-thousand.

We have lost in these five years ninety thousand ducats. But by the terms of our contract we are not bound to pay beyond our takings; and his Majesty is under obligation to deduct all losses caused by English, French, or Moorish corsairs. We estimate the damage at fifty thousand ducats.

Outside Lisbon, 28th December 1593.

ALOISE VEZATO,
Venetian Consul.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

247. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty, at the request of his good subjects of Meux, resolved to go to that city, though the weather was most unfavourable and the country under flood. He crossed the river at S. Denis at the risk of his life and with the loss of several of his gentlemen, who were drowned as well as their horses.

Many governors are coming to Paris to renew the oath of allegiance. The King gains over some one every day, not only because he has become a Catholic, but also because the conditions on which he receives even those who have most deeply injured him are taken to be the result of an indescribable clemency and extraordinary humanity.

On the advice of his Ministers the King has resolved not to admit the neutrality of the cities, on the ground that it would constitute a diminution of the royal prerogative; but the war which the King of Spain is really waging upon him, and the condition of affairs in France compel him to endure numberless indignities, and will oblige him to adopt the advice of those who urge him to consent to the neutrality for a limited time, a year or less.

Chartres, 10th January 1593 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

248. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of Spain is continually massing troops with the intention of thwarting the action of the King of France; but Turkish successes against the Emperor give some hope that Spain will be hampered.

Here it is thought that Spain will do all she can to form a league against the Turk, and by the help of other Princes will hold the Turk in check in Hungary, thus gaining time to effect the ruin of this country, which is the only obstacle to that enormous preponderance in Christendom which is generally supposed to be the real object of the Spanish nation.

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The French are supposed to have an understanding with the Turk for the molestation of the house of Austria.

Chartres, 11th January 1593 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 18. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

249. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of Navarre has an army of six thousand Swiss, six thousand French, three thousand English, and three thousand Dutch.

The States of Holland have sent an English Colonel to England, to raise two thousand five hundred soldiers from the Queen.

Prague, 18th January 1593 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 25. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

250. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is a rumour that Sinan Pasha has been strangled by order of the Sultan, and Ferrad Pasha appointed in his place.

Prague, 25th January 1593 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

251. FRANCESO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Prince Giovanni Andrea Doria has lately had a long audience of the King. The subject was the affairs of England, and the way in which an Armada might be created of sufficient power to warrant an attack on that Island, with greater prospect of success than on the former occasion. It is well known that his Majesty likes to discuss this subject with his commanding officers. Everyone is agreed that at this juncture England is shaken by religious feuds, by plagues, and other internal troubles; and the Spanish being, to a certain extent, masters of the ports of Brittany, the attack on England could be made with every hope of success.

The Ministers add their usual suggestions about Flanders and France; declaring that, unless England is attacked, it is evident that both France and Flanders will continue to be a source of exhaustion for the treasury of Spain. This argument incites his Majesty to make one more supreme effort to conquer England.

Prince Andrea Doria, on being asked when he intended to leave Spain, said he should like to start in April, but was afraid his Majesty would detain him all the summer. When it was remarked that if the Turkish fleet put out he would be obliged to go to look after the Italian squadron, the Prince replied that no Turkish fleet would sail this year, though the Venetians thought the contrary.

A Genoese sailor here has been experimenting before the King with a secret invention of his own for preparing pitch in such a way as to resist fire. The Adelantado of Castile, writing to the Council of State, highly commended the invention as very suitable for all kinds of shipping, and especially for resisting the English, from whose artificial fires the Spanish had always suffered enormous

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damage. The Genoese has been sent to Seville to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who is instructed to make a variety of experiments at once.

Madrid, 26th January 1593 [m.v.]

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

252. MARCO VENIER and MATHEO ZANE, Venetian Ambassadors at Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In the time of me, Zane, the English Ambassador instituted proceedings against a certain Charles Elman, who is subject to the jurisdiction of my court. As I could not compel the Ambassador to accept the findings of my court, I suggested arbitration. This suggestion was accepted. But new quarrels broke up the arrangement and now, with the help of Ibraim Pasha, the Sultan's son-in-law, the English Ambassador cites Elman before the Turkish courts. Ibraim Pasha has sent a cavass to me, Venier, to explain this point; and I sent Borisi to the Pasha to uphold the jurisdiction of this court. The Pasha was readily convinced; but seeing that the English Ambassador is a party, I would gladly refer the matter to arbitration.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 13th February 1593 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

253. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A special messenger from Seville has reached his Majesty with news that a large force of English had landed from twenty ships on Ile Marguerite, which is unfortified, and lies forty leagues distant from Peru. They sacked the island, made the Governor prisoner, and seized a certain quantity of pearls, as the pearl fisheries are situated off that island.

Madrid, 15th February 1593 [m.v.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

254. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

An Ambassador from the Queen of England has come to this city to conclude his negotiations with the King. In her Majesty's name he has asked the King to grant her a small rock off the coast of Picardy. The King has ceded the island, which is quite barren and uninhabited. It seems that the English intend to build a fort in order to facilitate the transport of troops into those provinces which are seriously threatened by the understanding which the Spanish maintain there.

I waited on the Ambassador and, in the course of his remarks, I easily discovered that the Queen is not very well pleased that the King has changed his religion, not because she belonged to the religion he has left, but because she does not think that he has done himself any good by the change. Apropos to that, the other day I was talking to M. de Bellièvre and he told me that his Majesty

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knowing quite well what the Ambassador would say, resolved to see him in the presence of his Council. The Ambassador declared that he was ordered by her Majesty to ask the King what city he had won by his conversion; and the King replied that the sole motive which had induced him to take that step was to be found in his own conscience, for long his conscience had urged him to this resolve, and was the one most powerful cause of his conversion.

Chartres, 17th February 1593 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

255. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Huguenots having failed in their demand to be admitted to the Magistracy and to offices under the Crown as are the Catholics, have appealed to the Queen of England to intercede on their behalf. The English Ambassador has made strong representations on the subject. The King does not like this request, and has replied very curtly that he would speak to his Council on the matter, and would give such an answer as might seem best for his subjects. His Majesty disliked the request only because it showed the solidarity of the Huguenot party in the kingdom; which might on occasion upset the King's designs.

The Queen of England further excused herself from supplying any more money to France, on the plea that she had spent so much that for the future she must look for some return on the outlay.

The King replied by thanking her Majesty for all she had done in the past; and proposed a league between them. England to maintain four thousand infantry in Brittany, pay for those troops to be charged upon the salt of Bordeaux; with obligation on France to furnish a like number of men should the Queen require them. The King added that in these last few days God had so favoured him that he was now able to be of service to his friends.

It is clear that the English are jealous of the King's prosperity; and it is more from that reason than from any other that they now refuse further succours; and further the Lord Treasurer has always urged her Majesty not to be lavish of her money; these reasons, and the dislike to the aggrandisement of France, will induce the English to act as spectators of the King's operations, and to come to his aid only if he is in urgent need of it.

Chartres, 27th February 1593 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

256. GIOVANNI MACENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The day after his coronation, at the hour of Vespers, the King took the habit of the order of Saint Esprit as Grand Master, and swore, in the hands of the Grand Chancellor and in presence of twenty knights, to observe the rules of the order as framed by the late King of glorious memory. His Majesty was to have given a fête to all the Court that evening, but being attacked by a violent

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toothache, it was put off. His Majesty passed the evening in listening to Don Antonio, to whom he promised all the aid that his forces would permit him to give. Don Antonio was highly satisfied. He is thinking of returning soon to England; where he can live in safety.

It was thought that the Spanish must by this time have been driven out of Beauvais; but news from that city shows that they are still in occupation to the great discontent of the inhabitants.

The Queen of England has promised a thousand infantry to help the King against Count Mansfeldt.

Chartres, 7th March 1594.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

257. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from Lisbon that many English ships are infesting those shores and plundering the Portuguese. It is rumoured that the English fleet will put out in strength to ravage the coast of Spain. Off Cape S. Vincent the despatch boat of the flotilla has been captured with the despatches declaring the route the fleet will take this year.

It is said that Don Antonio and Antonio Perez have crossed over into France, where they will treat with Navarre for a supply of ships, with which, supported by English activity and maritime power, they will harass the King of Spain.

Madrid, 12th March 1594.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 15. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

258. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Archduke Ernest has summoned the States in Brussels and proposed terms of peace. The States have referred the matter to the King of France and the Queen of England. The Queen is ill. She has taken a Portuguese doctor* out of prison to attend her case.

Prague, 25th (sic, but 15th in rubricario) March 1594.

[*Italian.*]

March 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

259. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has ordered all the horse guards down to the shore to protect the coast from Biscay to Seville, and more especially the kingdom of Portugal, where they fear that Don Antonio may effect a landing. There are rumours of vast preparations in England; *it is supposed that his Majesty has information, but it is kept a profound secret.*

* Dr. Lopez. Cf. "The English Historical Review," No. 35, 1894.

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Meantime they are enrolling the infantry for Italy. Unless some fresh development takes place they will be sent there to the number of seven thousand. Owing to the famine the enlistment is easier than it usually is.

Madrid, 18th March 1594.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

260. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The news from Flanders and England is so serious that the question of the ambassadorial etiquette is being put off as far as possible by merely complimentary phrases.

Madrid, 20th March 1594.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 22. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

261. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is news from London that a conspiracy to poison the Queen has been brought to light; so her doctor confessed under torture. He is said to have kept up secret relations with Spain for the last ten years.

Prague, 22nd March 1594.

[*Italian.*]

March 26. Deliberation of the Senate. Original Minute, Venetian Archives.

262. To AMBASSADOR VENIER in Constantinople.

We learn from your despatch of February 13, that the English Ambassador wishes to sue the heirs of the late Charles Elman before the Turkish Courts. As this would prove injurious to the party sued, and would also be an infringement of the jurisdiction belonging to you, our representative, we instruct you that, in pursuance of your present prudent policy, you are to use all means in your power to secure that the hearing of the case shall take place in your court, unless, as you advise, the question is settled by arbitration.

You are to forward to us the petitions you have received on this subject.

[*Italian.*]

March 29. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

263. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Some English regiments have reached Middelburg. The King of Navarre is prospering in France.

Prague, 29th March 1594.

[*Italian.*]

April 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

264. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador came to tell me that I had a bad neighbour in Cicala, brother of the Capudan Pasha, who was here on the King of Spain's business, to induce the Turk to attack

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Venice, in the belief that this would force Venice, the Pope, Florence, Savoy, and other Italian Princes to ally themselves with Spain. Yesterday morning in public divan the Polish Ambassador asked for an audience of the Sultan; the Grand Vizir enquired whether the Ambassador had brought a present with him; on receiving an answer in the negative, the Vizir told the Ambassador to apply again when the present had arrived. I have heard that subsequently the English Ambassador went to the Grand Vizir to beg an audience for the Polish Ambassador, whereupon the Grand Vizir flew into one of his usual furies and sent a Cavass to the house of the Pole, with orders to take the Ambassador into custody.*

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 3rd April 1594.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 12. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

265. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English have sent one thousand four hundred men into Holland; picked troops, well armed, used to war.

Prague, 12th April 1594.

[*Italian.*]

April 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

266. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Turks wish to attack Apulia and Calabria, and therefore enquire whether the Venetians will raise opposition if the Turkish fleet enters the Adriatic; if it does not attack Apulia then it will have to be sent to Gibraltar as the French and English Ambassadors wish.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 14th April 1594.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

267. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Polish Ambassador had had audience at last, and without making a present, though he received two robes. The Grand Vizir wished to make him hand over the letters addressed to the Sultan; but the Ambassador, who is more a soldier than a man of the long robe, answered that he would die first. He was placed in custody, but the English Ambassador insisted on the unadvisability of alienating the Poles at this juncture, and the Grand Vizir abandoned his haughty attitude. Three days ago the Polish Ambassador and the Agent for Transylvania came to pay me a visit; he spoke Latin, used many expressions of regard for the Republic, and declared that though the Poles could not be the first to attack the Turks, yet, if others took up arms they would certainly not be the last. I thanked him for his confidential communication, although he was very merry owing to the dinner he had just had at the English Ambassador's. His face is a mass of huge scars;

* Jean Savius Zamoyski, Chancellor of Poland.

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in his speech and his manner he looks like a soldier of mettle and of experience.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 14th April 1594.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

268. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News is constantly arriving from Portugal that the English are doing great damage in those waters. They recently captured a carvel of the Indian fleet, and fought an engagement off Cape St. Vincent. The Portuguese are fortifying the coast and strengthening the guards in case the English should attempt a descent on that country. It is thought that no such attempt will be made, *though the ill will of the Portuguese causes grave doubts as to their loyalty.*

Madrid, 20th April 1594.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

269. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday evening one of the foremen in the Arsenal came to me and told me that just before he left the Arsenal a violent squall broke the cables of the galleys and drove them on to each other to the destruction of their bulwarks, bows, and sterns, and undoing the work of many months. At this there rose a great cry to heaven, for the storm seemed to portend the ruin of the fleet.

Ibraim, who is a prisoner in the Tower of the Black Sea, has been spared his life alone. All his fortune, which amounts to two, or more likely to three, millions in gold, has been confiscated. It is rumoured that Sciavus Pasha was plotting to become Grand Vizir again, by the help of Ibraim's money. When Ferrad Pasha learned this he took this step by which he not only stripped Ibraim of all his goods, but also searched the house of Sciavus where Ibraim kept much of his money, and though some was found, Ferrad declares that there must still be more, in order to have an excuse for pillaging Sciavus.

This I learn from my great friend Achmet Djelebi.

The charges against Ibraim are based on a memorial presented to the Sultan by the Chief Magistrate of Diarbekr, in which he is accused of peculation.'

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 22nd April 1594.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

270. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After my last despatches on the subject of my secretary, Carazza, the Coadjutor; it has fallen out that the latter is paralyzed in his left arm and threatened in his left leg owing to the descent of a humour from the head to the weaker part of his frame. In addition to this he is suffering from a slow, phlegmatic fever which is certain to be

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long as is the nature of phlegm. Accordingly he is in such a state as to be of no use to me, and he lives in continual dread that he will die here. The air of this place is very unfavourable to his complaint, as the certificate of doctor Valentino testifies.

My secretary has a continual fever which consumes him; and his melancholy humour is now seen to have a real cause, and not to be mere caprice.

I am therefore left alone with Alberti, who can hardly manage to cipher the numerous despatches and register them in the Chancery. All the rest falls on me, for in order to allow Borisi to leave for Venice, all the work of the Embassy now passes through my hands; with the result that I have been up for two whole nights. I say nothing of the fact that Alberti, who has been moved to the Chancery to fill the post of Coadjutor, in which he acquits himself well, is beginning to forget his Turkish, which he has learned at such an expense of time and labour to himself and of money to your Serenity, and so the public service is likely to suffer on occasions such as the present, when Borisi is leaving us. I have sent him to Venice most unwillingly, for he is very valuable here as being able to speak and write Turkish thoroughly. Accordingly I humbly beg that your Serenity on the return of Borisi, will send me some one who is able to assist me in the Chancery. I am without a secretary and without Coadjutor; the labour is beyond my strength, even were I much more able than I am. Therefore, I pray your Serenity, leave me not for long in this oppression.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 22nd April 1594.

[*Italian.*]

April 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

271. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have, as desired by your Serenity, sent Marc'Antonio Borisi to accompany the Cavass Giafer to Venice.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 22nd April 1594.

[*Italian.*]

April 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

272. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This last news from France that the King has entered Paris has caused great anxiety to the ministers. It is clear from the way the news is received in Spain that while some desired the division of France and the annihilation of the house of Bourbon, still others, and chiefly the grandees had no wish to see the King of Spain further exalted. In Aragon they are especially bitter about the loss of their liberty; and the whole of Portugal has shown great contentment at the successes of Henry IV.

Madrid, 23rd April 1594.

[*Italian.*]

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May 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

273. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I hear that the Capudan Pasha goes about publicly, saying that news has been brought from Messina that at Venice a great fleet is being fitted out which will join the King of Spain and the Pope and thus the peace may be considered as broken. It seems that it is Signor Carlo Cicala who has spread this rumour of a rupture, as I am informed by the English Ambassador, to whom Cicala had said that an agent of his had brought the news of this league of the Pope, Spain and Venice against the Turk, and for the assistance of Navarre. Public rumour even went so far as to say that I had been shut up in the Embassy, while others said I had fled. To prevent accidents which might arise from this rumour I resolved to show myself publicly, though the city is full of soldiers who seize and rob right and left. And so at the most crowded hour of the day, I waited on the Grand Vizir and lodged a serious protest against the spread of such rumours.

That was on the Vigil of St. Mark's, a day on which the Venetian Ambassador is wont to give a banquet to all the Venetians and to some other people of importance. Accordingly, I invited the Ambassador of France, and also Signor Carlo Cicala; they both accepted. The day following, when going to church in the morning, *I saw the galley of the Capudan which had just been launched, to salvoes of artillery that were heard all over Pera. At that moment I was talking to a gentleman who was very intimate with Signor Carlo Cicala, and he told me that Signor Carlo had passed all that night in the arsenal with his brother the Capudan; eating and drinking and sleeping in the same bed. He was also present at the casting of lots to discover the hour most favourable for the launch. The Capudan has frequently told his brother that their house has no enemies in the world like the Venetians. I returned from mass accompanied by various merchants and other guests; and while we were waiting for the Ambassador of France and Signor Carlo, the latter sent a servant to inquire which place he would have at table, as he had no intention of walking after the French Ambassador, whom he did not recognise as an Ambassador, for he was not aware that there was a King in France. I replied that the French Ambassador would have his usual place at the head of the table, but that I would willingly yield my place to Signor Carlo as a guest in my house, and as a public proof of the high esteem in which I held his person. He, however, would not accept my courtesy, but sent to say that he was going to bed; he had been up all night with his brother in the arsenal, and had upset his stomach at supper and required rest.*

On another occasion the Capudan Pasha finding himself in the arsenal, seated among a number of seamen and captains, he turned round on them and said with a loud voice, "There are a lot of spies among you." They all looked at each other and then, in the midst of a great uproar, some voices were heard to say, "You are the real spy, for you keep your brother here, a Christian

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and paid subject and spy of the King of Spain." The Capudan bowed his head and presently withdrew into an inner chamber.

I cannot make out the meaning of this great intimacy between these brothers; but they use the same expressions; for example, the Capudan when speaking of the French Ambassador said he did not recognise him as Ambassador, and was not aware that there was a King in France.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 3rd May 1594.

[*Italian; the parts in italics deciphered.*]

May 4. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

274. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By letters from London, of March 11, it is clear that the conspiracy of the Portuguese doctor had its origin in Spain. He was promised fifty thousand crowns. The bills of exchange and their bearer, a Portuguese, are in the hands of the Queen.

Two Irish are accused of being parties to the plot.

Prague, 4th May 1594.

[*Italian.*]

May 4. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

275. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

An Agent of the Queen of England at the Diet promises that the Queen will support the Emperor. Not believed.

The Queen is very ill.

Prague, 4th May 1594.

[*Italian.*]

May 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

276. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In the case of the heirs of the late Charles Elman, the English Ambassador has submitted himself voluntarily to this court. For myself I should have desired to free myself from this difficulty; for as far as one can see the Ambassador is debtor to the Elmans, having gone surety for the Vaivode of Bogdania, and is now seeking some grounds for avoiding payment. I cannot fail in the administration of justice, and I fear the Ambassador will be little pleased with my action, and that through no fault of mine. In his household is a certain Paul Mariani, his partner in these operations of his, a man of great sagacity, who has gone so far as to induce the Ambassador to enter himself as his legal agent before this Court. He fills his head with extravagant ideas, for he seeks to override justice by authority. This Mariani holds the French Consulate in Cairo, is a Venetian; taxing master and consul for England as well.

(*Nella causa degli heriedi del quondam Carlo Elman, il Signor Ambasciatore di Inghilterra è venuto a questo foro voluntariamente; per me haverei voluto poter liberarmi da questo impaccio, poiche l'Ambasciatore per quanto si vede e debitor delli Elmani per sicurtà fatta al Vaivoda di Bogdonia et cerca attacco per non*

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pagare. Io non posso mancar di amministrar giustitia, et temo che egli sia per rimaner di me, senza mia colpa, mal sodisfatto. Egli ha in casa un Paulo Mariani, compagno con lui di questi suoi intrichi; persona sagacissima; in tanto che ha sedotto l'Ambasciatore a farsi scriver qui in corte suo procuratore; et gli mette in capo strane inventioni per che egli cercha con l'autorità di opprimer la giustitia. Questo Mariani tien il Consolato di Francia al Cairo, è Venetiano et si è fatto carazaro et è consule ancora d'Inghilterra.)

The French Ambassador is very ill pleased with him and has sent me a memorandum in order that upon the lines therein suggested I should examine, here in the Chancery, certain witnesses who are within the jurisdiction of this Court. In reading one paragraph of the memorandum I observed that the Ambassador accused Mariani of being a spy of Spain under the guise of French Consul. On this I remarked to the Ambassador that I could not interfere *between Princes equally friendly to your Serenity*, and begged him to excuse me. The Ambassador agreed; removed that clause and rewrote the memorandum. That done I consented to the examination of witnesses, here in Chancery, upon the other charges contained in the memorandum, and all the more willingly that if they had been examined in the Chancery of the French Embassy they might have been interrogated upon *points which it is against our interests to have raised in any conceivable form.* When Mariani heard of this examination he broke out with all manner of impertinences, and finally insisted that at his request I should take proceedings against the Ambassador, to whom he declared himself to be equal as far as authority from France went. I dismissed him with the assurance that I and everybody recognised the Ambassador as Ambassador, and Mariani as his Consul could have no ground of procedure against him, nor I to open such a case. I advised him to write to his superiors in France where, if accused, the Ambassador would doubtless produce his defence. *But Mariani gave vent to his humour in the presence of the English Ambassador, who is in the same difficulty as he is about the debt, and did all he could to poison the Ambassador's mind against me.* I, however, make every effort to accommodate him, as for instance recently when I allowed him to cause to be examined, in the Chancery of the Embassy, two Venetian subjects who had signed affidavits. He desired me to verify the affidavits, accounts, and invoices, &c., but I declared that to do so was beyond my powers, as indeed it is. At this very moment the Bostangi Pasha, the Sultan's chief gardener, who sits at the helm when his Majesty goes out in his caique, a person of charming manners and high authority, has sent to ask me *in the Sultan's name* to write to your Serenity to send at least two great sporting dogs, and the sooner he gets them the better he will be pleased. *The Sultan, like all great princes, no sooner conceives a desire for a thing than he insists on possessing it.*

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 4th May 1594.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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1594.
May 4.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

277. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador highly indignant with Messer Paulo Mariani, has sent the enclosed letter; on which I make no remarks beyond what I have already written; I would only observe that the affection towards the Serene Republic which the Ambassador displays, merits every legitimate favour at your Serenity's hands.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 4th May 1594.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

278. To my most honoured Lord.

I have received from Paul Mariani many grave affronts both to my private reputation, and, what is of more moment, to the authority of the Crown of France.

I beg you to ask the most Serene Republic to instruct its Ambassador at the French Court to approach his most Christian Majesty upon the strength of genuine information which I will supply to him, so that these annoyances may be made to cease. By doing so the Republic will prove how much it has at heart the interests of the Crown of France.

With this I kiss your lordship's hand.

From the house of our residence, 4th May 1594.

Your most affectionate servant,

BREVES.

[*Italian.*]

1594.
May 16.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

279. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There was a Prelate in this city who for the last thirty years has borne the title of Scottish Ambassador; he always favoured the league; he was even admitted to its councils and took a part in its most important deliberations. The King of Scotland, however, is of another religion, and a friend to the King of France; and so for these reasons and also to be able to dismiss the agent of the late Queen of Scotland, this Prelate has been dismissed and will leave in a few days; likely for Rennes, to follow the fortunes of the Duke of Mayenne.*

Paris, 16th May 1594.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 18.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

280. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty has given orders for fifteen galleys to sail as soon as possible for Portugal, under the command of the Adelantado. The coast of Portugal is more harried than ever by English corsairs. There is a universal report that a large English fleet has sailed towards Havana to attack the West Indian flotilla. The convoy

* The Archbishop of Glasgow.

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of that fleet is very strong, however, and if the two squadrons meet there must be a very bloody battle.

Madrid, 18th May 1594.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

May 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

281. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Grand Signor gave orders that an answer to the letter of the King of France, which his Ambassador recently presented, should be returned.

This answer was enclosed in a pouch of brocade, which was wrapped in a sheet of white paper. Inside a fold of this paper, as if left there by accident, was a document in Turkish. The moment the French Ambassador, who speaks and reads Turkish, saw the paper, he sent it on to me that I might instantly cause it to be transcribed that same night, as I did. The Ambassador desired, as a proof of confidence, to return the paper early next morning. From the transcript, Alberti made the translation I enclose ; from which your Excellencies will see how bold and threatening is the Persian, how remiss and timorous the Turk.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 19th May 1594.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

May 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

282. MARIO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

My secretary has at last been declared consumptive by five doctors. He lives in constant suffering, and is so worn, that nothing remains of him but skin and bone ; he cannot even move himself in bed. As his fever is mounting steadily it seems likely that he will quickly abandon this life and its sufferings.

This has added greatly to the depression of my coadjutor, whose paralysis is no better, but rather worse. He has implored me to allow him to go, and I have consented.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 21st May 1594.

[*Italian.*]

May 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

283. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from Corunna that the English have landed on an unfortified island and sacked it. *Here they have resolved to continue to maintain the Spanish garrisons in Brittany, and they propose to send troops through by Biscay. There is a report that the Queen of England, by sea, and the King of France are sending troops to attack those forts and to drive out the Spanish.*

Madrid, 26th May 1594.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

284. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Having now to report on naval matters, I must inform your Serenity, that the Ambassador of France, in spite of all his efforts,

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backed by the English Ambassador, by the Sultan's Secretary, by most of the Pashas, has not succeeded in his object of securing the despatch of a large fleet this year.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 26th May 1594.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 1. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

285. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French and English Ambassadors at the Porte are pursuing a policy hostile to his Imperial Majesty.

Prague, 1st June 1594.

[*Italian.*]

June 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

286. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The West India fleet which is expected, will most certainly bring to his Majesty about seven millions of gold in bars. Half of this sum has been received from the Indies as a donation towards a war against the heretics; just as on the same pretext in recent years, large sums have been raised in Spain; some of the rich gentlemen in the West Indies were so ready in response—*be it from charity, be it from ambition*—that at a single coup they subscribed fifty thousand ducats in gold.

His Majesty has further published an edict in which he announces the alienation in perpetuity of many fiefs which have hitherto been let out for one life only. The consequence is that a large sum of money will be raised, and Treasury bonds will go up, not down as many expected.

Madrid, 6th June 1594.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

287. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Almost from the beginning of my Embassy I have been without a secretary and without a coadjutor, owing to the serious illness of both. Now I am quite alone. The coadjutor has sailed for Candia; the secretary, there being no more oil in the lamp, went out quite suddenly on the evening of the 2nd.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 6th June 1594.

[*Italian.*]

June 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

288. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Eight ships of Biscay are said to have captured six Englishmen; while on the other hand from Portugal one hears that six Portuguese ships have fallen a prey to the English who are growing daily more numerous in those waters.

The Adelantado of Castile has arrived at Lisbon with fifteen galleys for the protection of the coast.

Madrid, 17th June 1594.

[*Italian.*]

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1594.
June 20.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

289. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The difficulty in the case of the heirs of the late William Elman, which your Serenity instructed me to keep in my own hands unless arbitrators were accepted, has been settled thus.

Charles Elman sold to Aaron, Prince of Bogdania, a girdle, of the kind called here a Mastul, composed of ten emeralds in a jewelled crystal case, for 25 sums (*somme*) of money, amounting to twenty-five thousand crowns; he received a declaration from the agents of the Prince. The sale was effected on the request of the English Ambassador and on his surety and that of Paul Mariani, who placed in Elman's hands, as guarantee, a crystal casket, containing emeralds, a jewelled sword and a jewelled dagger, such as is here called a *chankiar*, and further they formally made themselves sureties and debtors in chief to the said Elman till the complete satisfaction of the said sum, which was to be effected within six months. All these conditions were set forth in a deed executed by the Ambassador and by Paul Mariani. Various questions have arisen over this deed. The agent of Charles Elman claims that the Ambassador and Paul Mariani are bound to the full satisfaction of their obligation. The Ambassador and Mariani claim the return of the securities and the cancelling of the deed without coming to payment in full. I did all I could to induce the parties to accept arbitration, and the agent of Mr. Elman agreed to the appointment of one arbitrator on each side with power to elect a third, in case of disagreement. The Ambassador would not accept this proposal and insisted on the appointment of a sole arbitrator, and named first the Patriarch Miletio, and then the French Ambassador; it was impossible to bring the parties to an accord on this point.

The English Ambassador then had recourse to the Turkish Courts; and twice Ibraim Pasha has sent a cavass to me at the Embassy, to ask me to send him Mr. James Mahew (Sr. Giacomo Mahiu), who is Mr. Elman's agent. I openly and vigorously refused to do anything of the kind. The Ambassador then endeavoured to affix seals on the house of Mr. Mahew, but he, by the use of certain gratifications, provided against this attempt. Mahew, seeing himself attacked thus, in his turn had recourse to the Turkish Courts, and pressed the Ambassador so hard that he, finding himself in a difficult position, came to me to beg that I would use my influence to induce Mr. Mahew to refer the matter to Christian Courts only. But the original difficulty about the selection of arbitrators rose again; and the Ambassador sent the Consul in Algiers, an intimate of his, to me, begging me most earnestly to act, not as arbiter, but as judge in the case. This I declined to do, on the ground that the Ambassador had on other occasions, spoken harshly and slightingly of the quality of Venetian judges. But the Ambassador and Mr. Mahew proceeded both of them to sign a paper abundantly witnessed, in which they declared that as Mr. Charles Elman was a Venetian subject, both parties agreed to submit to the jurisdiction of the Venetian Ambassador, and to accept his judgment without appeal. Then came your Serenity's instructions as above, and so I

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have been forced to drain this bitter cup, more bitter than any I have ever known.

The English Ambassador put in the first demand, which was, that the Court, in his interest and in that of the Prince of Bogdania, for whom he said he was acting, should cancel the contract on the ground that it was illegal and usurious, and declare it null and void for other reasons.

Over this arose a great struggle. The Ambassador rested his request chiefly on the usurious nature of the contract; Mr. Mahew said that if the Ambassador claimed to act for the Prince of Bogdania, he must show his power of attorney, or produce the Prince's agent, who is resident in Constantinople on purpose to attend to the Prince's affairs, and who is called the Ban. Elman also insisted that Mariani should be heard in Court, as he was an interested party.

I ruled that the demand could not take effect without the presence of all parties mentioned in it, or of their legal representatives. This decision gave great offence to the Ambassador, and to Mariani, who is the steersman of that ship, as they had taken great pains to say nothing on this subject to the agent of the Prince, because they had given the Prince and his agent to understand that the price of the girdle was forty thousand crowns, and because the Prince appeared as debtor for that sum in the declarations, whereas the agreement with Elman was for twenty-five thousand crowns, and that sum and no more Elman was to receive as payment in full; the balance, therefore, would go into the pockets of the Ambassador and of Mariani. And so, in order that this fraud should not be brought to light, they withdrew at double quick time from their first demand and asked me to hand it back to them, though I had already given my ruling on the point. Mr. Mahew opposed the restitution of the document, and I, in the interests of justice, refused to allow it to leave the Chancery.

The next step was that Mariani caused the English Ambassador to be entered as his legal representative and attorney before this Court. The Ambassador presented a fresh demand and statement of his case; which, unless I am mistaken, is full of quibbles and inventions, framed with a view to avoid payment of the debt as required by the deed.

The case was opened and discussed in two addresses on each side. Mariani spoke at great length. When the moment came that I should deliver judgment, Mariani insisted on making a third address, and after the reply of the other party, which was very long, he called for the production of certain documents, and asked for an order from the Court that they should be put in. After reading his adversary's reply and seeing quite well that he had no ground, he abandoned that position, and came forward with the offer of a composition, which the other party refused with contempt. In an immensely long memorandum he proposed another composition. I patiently endured all his outrageous conduct in silence so as to avoid affording to the Ambassador the smallest grounds for complaint. He was present in person at each hearing.

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Finally, after the reply to Mariani's third address, he wished to deliver a fourth in the midst of indescribable uproar and of opposition on all sides. I will only quote one episode in the case, which will, however, allow your Serenity to judge of the whole.

Among the papers is a certain affidavit sworn by the Ambassador and given to Mahew, which throws great light on the case in favour of Elman. Well, Mariani, while arguing the case, frequently declared, and the Ambassador confirmed him, that although he had made the affidavit, it was falsely sworn. They told how the affidavit had been made in order that Mahew might use it in another suit, but not against the Ambassador. I was amazed at such a confession: and I thought to myself: "How my judgment and perhaps my person, will be torn to bits by a man, who, while Ambassador of a crowned head, is yet capable of coming into Court and entering himself as Attorney for Mariani, and then publicly admitting that he is a forger, unless the sentence be to his liking."

Nevertheless, I did not fail to administer strict justice; calling on the name of God, I delivered judgment, with some comments which were rendered necessary by the papers put in and the evidence given, and by the general nature of the case. Seeing, however, that a large sum of money was at stake, and to avoid all malicious criticism in this country, alas too free, I declared that from my judgment, which both parties had agreed to accept as final, an appeal should lie to the Court of the Forty (in Venice). Not even so did I escape slander. For on the pretext of entering his appeal the Ambassador sent me a most scurrilous document, quite incompatible with the position of Representative of the Serene Republic which I hold, and demanding that I should register this document in the Chancery, and give him a copy.

I was determined that the fault of others should not lead me into error; so I contented myself with forbidding the registration, on the ground that the document contained libellous expressions, and refusing to return the same to the Ambassador. He tried to get it out of my hands by a lying trick, declaring that it was written by Pietro Mariani, nephew of Paulo Mariani, the man who had the effrontery to unroll it before my face. This Pietro, also holds six thousand sequins, the property of your Serenity, as my predecessor will explain.

I enclose a copy of the documents as requested by Mr. James Mahew, so that your Serenity may be fully informed of the whole state of the case and may procure some help for Mr. Charles Elman towards the recovery of his debt.

I, who would naturally have been brief over such an affair, have written at some length. Mr. Charles Elman will appear in person before the College, and he may be interrogated more fully and clearly if these papers are to hand.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 20th June 1594.

[*Italian.*]

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1594.
March 28.

DOCUMENTS relating to the SUIT of EDWARD BARTON.

Orignal in the Archives of the Venetian Ambassador's Court at Constantinople.

290. Rule in the suit between James Mahew and George Sanguinazzo *re* a contract between the Prince of Moldavia and the said Mahew of the one part and the English Ambassador of the other.

A question having arisen between Signor Antonio Timone, representing Mr. James Mahew, agent for Charles Helleman (*sic*), of the one part, and of the other Signor George Sanguinazzo representing the illustrious gentleman Edward Barton, Ambassador of the Queen of England, as to the persons who shall be allowed to appear in the case which is pending between the said parties:

The Venetian Ambassador having seen and read the contents of a document which passed between the illustrious Aaron, Vaivode and Prince of Moldavia and Mr. Mahew, dated April 23rd, 1592—made in Arapacmat—having also seen the petition lodged on the 18th of this month by the afore-named Ambassador, having heard what both parties have to say, rules as follows;

That the said petition shall have no effect in the present case unless all parties named in that petition are either present in person, or represented by a duly qualified agent; principals and guarantors alike, whose interests may be affected by the consideration of the above-named petition, and so let it be registered (*et sic annotari juisit.*)

[*Italian.*]

April 1.

Original in the Archives of the Venetian Ambassador's Court at Constantinople.

291. PETITION of PAULO MARIANI that the ENGLISH AMBASSADOR may be allowed to appear on his behalf in the SUIT between him, MR. JAMES MAHEW, *re* CERTAIN SECURITIES.

Signor Paulo Mariani appeared in the Chancery of the Ambassador of Venice and petitioned that in the suit between the Ambassador of England and Mr. James Mahew, which arose out of a guarantee, made by deed of April 23, 1592, the said Ambassador might be allowed to act for and to appear for the petitioner in the said suit; without prejudice to any other claims he may have against the said James Mahew.

[*Italian.*]

Last day of May.

Original in the Archives of the Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople.

292. DOCUMENT REGISTERED at request of MR. JAMES MAHEW.

Mr. James Mahew presented himself at the Chancery of the Venetian Ambassador, and prayed that the following document might be registered:—

In view of certain differences between the illustrious gentleman Edward Barton, English Ambassador, and James Mahew acting for Charles Helleman, and seeing that the said Helleman is a Venetian subject, both parties agree to submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the illustrious Ambassador of Venice, and bind themselves to abide by his judgment which shall be final; in pledge of which the said parties have signed the present document before the witnesses herein-after named on the 12th of March 1594.

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I, Edwin Barton, English Ambassador, affirm what is here written.

I, James Mahew, affirm what is here written.

Witness: William Fuc.
Witness: James Guitard.
Witness: Marc' Antonio Vidali.

[*Italian.*]

June 14. [n.s.]

293. SENTENCE in favour of JAMES HELLEMAN against the illustrious EDWARD BARTON, English Ambassador.

Original in the Archives of the Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople.

The illustrious Ambassador of Venice:—

Having heard the illustrious gentleman Edward Barton, Ambassador of England, on the one hand, suing (in his own name and in that of Signor Paulo Mariani,) Mr. James Mahew for the restitution of the pledges and goods by them consigned to him before they had knowledge of the last contract made between Mr. Mahew and the agents of the illustrious Aaron, Vaivode of Moldavia, and also suing that he and Signor Paulo Mariani may be released from their obligation contracted by deed of April 23rd, 1572, as is fully set forth in the petition:—

And having also heard, on the other hand, Mr. James Mahew, on behalf of those he represents, pleading that he should be absolved from an unjust claim:—

Having also heard what the advocates of both parties have to plead:—

Having heard and seen all that they have to say, produce, or allege;—

Having seen all the papers put in by one side and by the other:—

Having seen the document, dated April 23, 1592; also the affidavit of Niciforo Parasio, dated Constantinople, July 10, 1593; also the affidavit of the Ambassador of England, dated June 16, 1593, dated in Arapacmat; also a schedule of goods, put in by the said Ambassador; also copies of various documents alleged to be taken from the originals in the possession of the Vaivode of Moldavia; also a letter of Lodovico Vidali to Mr. James Mahew, dated Giassa, May 20, 1593; also the copies of several letters from Signor Paulo Mariani to Mr. James Mahew; also the copy of an affidavit sworn in Pera, July 1593; also a letter of Signor Paulo Mariani to M. de Breves, Ambassador of France; also the copy of a letter from the English Ambassador to Mr. James Mahew; also a memorandum, dated Pera, May 20, 1594, and signed by various merchants setting forth the terms of the documents held by the creditors of the Princes of Moldavia; also the order of May 2, 1594, and a reply thereto made by the English Ambassador on June 1 and June 10, 1594:—

Having, finally, studied the case from every side, and invoking the name of God from whom all just judgments come we pronounce sentence as follows:

That Mr. James Mahew and those for whom he appears, shall be and are absolved from the claim of the English Ambassador, on this condition that should the English Ambassador, within a period to be determined, prove to the satisfaction of the Court that Mr.

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Mahew has received the 25 thousand crowns due on the purchase of the girdle in the crystal casket, on the surety of the said Ambassador and of Paulo Mariani, then the said Mr. James Mahew shall restore to the Ambassador all the securities named in the deed of April 23, 1592, with all that he has subsequently received from the said Ambassador or Signor Paulo Mariani in regard of their surety, and such restitution shall cancel the deed of April 23, 1592:—

To the credit of the English Ambassador shall be placed all the acknowledgments of debt for the girdle and casket, which may have been made by the Vaivode of Moldavia:—

But if within the term assigned to him the Ambassador does not produce proof of such payment as aforesaid and in the manner aforesaid, then Mr. James Mahew is at liberty to proceed against him and against Signor Paulo Mariani for the entire payment of the sum due:—

The plaintiff in this suit (the Ambassador) is cast in costs. And though by a contract between the parties, registered in this Chancery, the sentence of the illustrious Ambassador of Venice is accepted as without appeal, nevertheless the Ambassador grants leave to appeal to the High Court of the Quarantia in the noble City of Venice, which shall decide the case, but the appeal must be lodged in the Chancery of the Embassy within three days after the publication of the sentence; and within a second term of three days the appeal must be recovered from the Chancery and sent to Venice by the first post which the Ambassador despatches for Venice. Notice of this shall be served on both parties, and eight days after the appeal has safely reached Venice the parties must present themselves at the proper place to carry out the appeal; otherwise the present sentence remains final, as agreed to by both parties.

And so let it be registered.

1594. On the 17th June in the Vineyards of Pera, the present sentence was published in the presence of Signor Demosthenes Carerio, the Reverend Bernardin Brunori, Signor Nicolò d'Elia of Venice, and of many others in the open Chancery of the illustrious Ambassador.

1594. 20th June. At the instance of Mr. James Mahew, we inform your Giorgio Sanguinazzo, attorney for the Ambassador of England and also representing Signor Paulo Mariani, that within to day you must have paid or secured the costs of the trial, and lodged your appeal, if you intend to make one, against the sentence of the 17th inst., in favour of Mr. James Mahew, otherwise execution will be granted.

The above notice was served on Signor Giorgio Sanguinazzo in the presence of the English Ambassador, who declined to receive it until the Ambassador of Venice shall have registered his appeal and given him a copy; the Ambassador of England declared that as for the costs he declined to pay them as the sentence was arbitrary.

[*Italian.*]

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1594.
Enclosed in Despatch of June 20.

294. My Lord Ambassador,

Your Lordship and your Lordship's predecessor, Zane, are both well aware of all that the illustrious gentleman, Edward Barton, English Ambassador, and his favourite Paulo Mariani, have done at the Porte in order to rob me, James Mahew, agent for Charles Helman (*sic*), of the property which was deposited as security for a diamond ring presented to the Sultan, and an emerald girdle in a jewelled case presented to the Sultana Isachi, by the said Ambassador in the name of Aaron, Prince of Moldavia, whose agent the Ambassador was, as the person by whose favour the Prince was first placed and then replaced in his principality. I repeat your Lordship knows well what the said Ambassador has attempted in the Turkish Courts to his own disgrace, and so does the French Ambassador, and in fact all Constantinople. And when I thought that your most equitable judgment of the 14th instant would have put an end to all these persecutions, the said Ambassador, instead of entering an appeal, as you have allowed him to do in spite of an agreement entered into on March 12th, by which both parties voluntarily bound themselves to accept your judgment as final, has presented to you through Pietro Mariani, nephew of this *avano** Paulo, a memorandum, or rather, I should say, a libel attacking your Lordship; and threatening to continue the suit in the Turkish Courts. As your Lordship will understand, I cannot take any steps here against the Ambassador on account of his office, nor can I exact my legitimate debt. I, therefore, as a Venetian subject, appeal to your Lordship for protection and for defence against these vexatious proceedings, should the Ambassador carry out his threat of suing me in the Turkish Courts.

I further beg your Lordship to report the whole state of the case, and how matters really stand, to his Serenity, in order that my principal, Charles Helman, may present himself in all humility to his sublimity and humbly sue for a just representation to be made to the Queen of England for the recovery of his debt; for these jewels, the Ambassador says, were required in order to facilitate and consummate the policy of the English Crown at the Porte.

To your good graces I recommend myself.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Despatch of June 20.

295. In the Name of God, 20th June 1594, at the Vineyards of Pera.

Giorgio Sanguinazzo, in the name of the Illustrious Edward Barton, Ambassador of the Queen of England in Constantinople, appeared at the Chancery of the Illustrious Ambassador of Venice.

Be it known that the Illustrious Ambassador of England and Mr. James Mahew submitted themselves to the judgment of the Venetian Ambassador upon the differences existing between them; as appears from the agreement dated March 12th, and registered in the Chancery of the Venetian Embassy. The English Ambassador sought to cancel a certain bond of security dated 23rd April 1892, relating to a girdle of emeralds and a jewelled crystal casket, sold

* *See* English Historical Review, Oct. 1890, No. xx., pp. 660, 661, and North, Life of Sir Dudley North. London, 1744. pp. 71 *et seq.*

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to Aaron, Vaivode of Moldavia, for twenty-five purses of gold, on three grounds:—

First. Because the said contract was changed by Mr. James Mahew and the agent of the Prince; the words "thirty-eight" being substituted for "twenty-five"; as is proved from the authentic registers of the Prince, who has never denied it, and also by the papers put in by James Mahew himself.

Second. Because he has been already part paid by the Prince, his debtor in chief, as can be proved, if denied, which it is not.

Third. Because the registers of the Prince show that the declarations in the contract of April 23, 1592, were cancelled.

It seems then that justice requires the restitution of the objects deposited as security. But James Mahew, in order to avoid having to do this, has invented a calumny and declared that the declarations of the contract were altered by the Ambassador with a view to putting the difference in his pocket.

In order to close the case and to free the securities, the English Ambassador demanded that the declarations of April 23rd, 1592, and the others to which Mahew referred should be put in. The Ambassador based his demand on the law of September 9, 1280,* Maggior Consiglio.

The Venetian Ambassador then ordered Mahew to present the declarations. But Mahew has not done so, and the Ambassador has taken no steps. The cause is unknown. No one can doubt the good faith of the Emglish Ambassador in his dealings with Mahew; and to remove any suspicion he has offered two compositions, on the 1st and on the 10th, each so ample that they ought not to be refused.

If Mahew can prove the contrary in the case of the three points raised above he will meet with no opposition from the Ambassador in the recovery of his money up to twenty-five purses, as the Ambassador stated in his offer of composition, dated the first of this month.

The Venetian Ambassador pronounced sentence on the 17th (*sic*) instant, and notwithstanding the agreement reached by the parties, he announced that appeal from his judgment might lie. His conscience was evidently uneasy, as is shown in the passage of the judgment where he declares "that for just causes which move him," &c.

It was in order to avoid taking the oath as arbiter that he declared his judgment to be open to appeal. The whole of this judgment shows a partial spirit and is defective in all its clauses; especially in the three reasons alleged for the cancelling of the contract of 23rd April 1592. Of these he makes no mention, but absolves Mahew without declaring his innocence, and wishes to compel the English Ambassador to prove what is already partly proved. The English Ambassador has recently received letters from Signor William Alduich (?) in Moldavia, declaring that James Mahew has been paid in full by the Prince.

Moreover the judgment does not compel Mahew to produce the declarations, although it is certain that no one else but himself

* Cf. Statuta Veneta, Venetiis, 1665, p. 142, verso. "Judices Palatii possint cogere quemcunque ad exhibendum omnes scripturas pertinentes causæ."

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has had them in his keeping. James Mahew has never claimed payment directly from the English Ambassador, for it was to his interest to keep such excellent securities in his own hands; and indeed in some of his letters he has enquired where he is to go for the full payment of his debt, even perhaps to England. Yet the Venetian Ambassador has condemned the English Ambassador to the payment of the full twenty-five purses. There has always been a suspicion that this cause of Mahew's has been recommended to the Venetian Ambassador from Venice, for from the very first the Ambassador would not allow the English Ambassador to proceed against Mahew on the ground of the usurious nature of the contract.

Therefore on the ground that the judgment is faulty in form, and contrary to the agreement made between the two parties, the English Ambassador appeals from it to the competent Court in the noble city of Venice; on condition that this appeal shall not prejudice any claims for damage on the score of an illegal judgment which the Ambassador may be able to make good. The Ambassador will submit to the judgment of the Venetian Court. But as that Court has no jurisdiction over the Prince of Bogdania, the Ambassador will appeal to the Sultan in all that regards his claims against the Prince; provided always that whatever is established here in Turkey shall not be the prejudice of any judgment issued in the Courts of Venice.

[*Italian.*]

July 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

296. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

While Giovanni Andrea Doria was on the coast at Cartagena attending to the embarkation of his troops news was brought that some English vessels were lying becalmed a short way off. He at once set out with the full number of his squadron. A frigate was sent on ahead to reconnoitre, and brought back this answer from the ships that they were English, hailing from the Levant, and that if Doria wished for further information let him come for it.

Accordingly Doria moved ahead in good order; and just then a slight breeze sprang up. He was saluted by so hot a fire from the English that presently he was obliged to go about and retire, for a few volleys from the English killed some sailors, wounded a commanding officer, and broke the rudder of Doria's own galley, against which the English directed their warmest fire. And the end of the engagement was that they were obliged to let the English go free on their way to England through the straits.

There is news from Seville that ships are to be sent from Biscay to meet the West India fleet.

Madrid, 5th July 1594.

[*Italian.*]

July 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

297. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The trouble caused by the English is felt more acutely every day at Lisbon. A ship, the richest that ever sailed from East India port, was lost the other day.

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The affair happened thus. This ship, the largest of the four or five that were expected from the East Indies, and also the best armed, was laden with a cargo worth upwards of two millions of gold, not only in pepper and drugs, but in a large quantity of oriental pearls and jewels and other precious goods. The ship made out her journey happily, when the captain, tempted by greed, took on board four hundred blacks, whom he intended to sell in Spain. The heat and overcrowding brought on the plague, of which upwards of five hundred persons died in ten days; for besides the blacks above mentioned there were on board three hundred passengers, chiefly Italian and Portuguese merchants. After this terrible mortality, the ship began to draw near to the Azores, where she was exposed to the fire of three English corsairs, who followed her up for two whole days with a heavy cannonade. The English drew close and managed to board her with twenty-five men, but these were all cut to bits. Seeing that there was no hope of capturing her, as she was now in sight of the Azores, the English resolved to fire her with Greek fire, which was applied to many parts of the ship at once, and then uniting made a tremendous flame, in the midst of which she went down with crew and cargo, and not a thing came into the hands of the English. I hear that the loss of four only among the merchants amounts to six hundred thousand ducats. His Majesty's loss is three hundred thousand ducats, and the total reaches two millions.

Madrid, 28th July 1594.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

298. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador has offered me, and I have not refused, a sequestration order against the goods of Paul Mariani in Egypt, where he is French Consul, to the amount of six thousand sequins, which he owes your Serenity,

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 6th August 1594.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

299. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is confirmation of the destruction of the Portuguese ship by the English; and the ministers of the Treasury calculate his Majesty's loss at seven hundred thousand ducats.

Madrid, 13th August 1594.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

300. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England has recently urged the King to summons the Prince of Condè to Court, declaring that this would be a guarantee for the personal safety of the King, and that the plots against his house would cease. His Majesty replied in very

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gracious terms, but pointed out that her Majesty was not inclined to follow a similar course in her own case, for she still refused to name her successor.

Paris, 17th August 1594.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 25. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

301. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English are sending eighteen ships with five thousand infantry into Brittany.

Ratisbon, 25th August 1594.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

302. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have received the accounts of the moneys disbursed by the late Ambassador Lippomano for the purchase of grain, and, in particular, of the six thousand sequins paid over to Paulo Mariani, but all these documents were to be found here already, though without any specifications, as are these which have now been sent to me. The originals are missing, so are the statements of obligation and of caution on the part of Mariani. It seems that he was not mentioned by name, but represented by the letter N. The documents are said to registered in the Chancery, but in the Chancery there is no trace of them to be found.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 2nd September 1594.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 8. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

303. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassadors of France, England, the States of Holland, and some German Princes are to meet in Scotland, at the baptism of the King of Scotland's son. The occasion is considered important on account of the understanding which may then be reached.

Ratisbon, 8th September 1594.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

304. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There has been an action off the Straits between fourteen Spanish galleys, commanded by the Admiral, and ten English hulks. Two of these were captured, but the Spanish lost many men, both rowers and soldiers.

Madrid, 10th September 1594.

[*Italian.*]

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1594. Sept. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

305. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Enclosed will be found some reports just arrived from Lisbon. They come from a good source, so I send them.

Madrid, 24th September 1594.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

306. From Lisbon, 17th September 1594.

On the 11th September six hulks from Flanders reached this port, after a journey of twenty-three days, having sailed on the 18th August. They report as follows:—

Nothing new after the capture of Grœningen by Count Maurice.

The States have sent deputies to Scotland to act as proxies for Count Maurice at the baptism of the King of Scotland's son.

Rumour declares that Count Maurice will wed the daughter of the King of Denmark, sister-in-law of the King of Scotland.

In many English ports ships have been seen embarking infantry for Brittany. The ships number, perhaps, twenty; there are no ships of the royal navy among them, nor is there any other fleet ready in England.

Eight ships have sailed from la Rochelle and Bordeaux, to protect the merchant marine against the Biscayans.

In Flanders and in England there is a dearth of grain; the whole crop is lost because of the heavy rains. The same is the case in France. Accordingly a general order was published in Notre Dame that, on pain of death and confiscation of goods, no one might export grain or any other munitions to the Spanish kingdom.

On the 13th December (? September) a ship reached Lisbon from Brittany, and reports as follows:—

Don Juan d'Aquila with his troops has retired to Blauet.

The Duke of Mercœur, after the landing of the English has retired to Nantes.

The French in Brittany, who hold for Navarre, are said to contemplate an expedition to Brazil.

The King of Navarre is negotiating a marriage between his sister and the Prince of Condè; the only difficulty is the question of religion.

The King of Spain has sent orders to the Adelantado that on the smallest sign from the governors of Lisbon that an English fleet is threatening, he is to return at once to this port.

On the 15th a man arrived from Cape St. Vincent, sent by Don Francesco Colom, commander of the Seville squadron. He reports that on the 19th of July the West India fleet sailed from Havana. It numbered one hundred and fifty sail. Every night four galleons sailed round the fleet and suffered no vessels to drop behind. The fleet is coming on well.

Not more than seventeen millions will be brought, for the tithes and the salaries had not yet reached Cartagena.

No sign of the enemy.

[*Italian.*]

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1594.
Oct. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

307. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Although there is no news as yet that the Turkish fleet has inflicted any damage of moment on his Majesty's dominions, yet every one says that the appearance of that fleet has greatly hampered his Majesty's designs, hindering the massing of his Italian troops and changing all his plans in view of the need to stand on the defensive. *Add to this the bad news after Count Mansfeldt's retreat from Picardy, and the difference of opinion between the Archduke Ernest and the Count of Fuentes, on account of letters from Fuentes to the King, containing sharp criticism of his Highness. This difference has led to an open rupture between the Count and the Archduke, who has written to his mother the Empress and his brother the Cardinal, to complain that his dignity is compromised, and that there is no money for the war. He demands leave to withdraw from Flanders.*

Madrid, 8th October 1594.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

308. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

While everyone was expecting the arrival of the West India fleet day by day, news came from Seville that the fleet, having reached Havana, found itself obliged to winter there, both on account of the late season and because victuals were wanting. The fleet will wait till it can make a junction with next year's fleet, and sail together. Its cargo is worth exactly sixteen millions of gold.

On receipt of this news all the Spanish merchants were greatly disturbed; the money market is pinched, and there is no cash for payment of the operations at the Fair of Medina del Campo, the settling day for which is twenty days off.

Madrid, 11th October 1594.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

309. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As the Queen of England has frequently urged the King to pay attention to the defences of Brittany, and as his Majesty is unable to undertake so many operations with his own forces alone, he has begged the Queen to send three thousand infantry into that province, and has promised to supply on his side four thousand foot and a thousand horse under the Duke of Monpensier and the Marshal D'Aumont. But seeing that the Queen has so often lost some of her best troops owing to their possessing no place into which they could retire, the King has consigned to her the town of Morlaix, which is near the shore and can be easily held. The town was in the hands of the League, so the English had to capture it; which they did before the Duke of Mercœur could arrive with all his forces.

The English Agent who came to visit me the other day showed but small satisfaction with the King, because he has not sent the Duke

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of Monpensier as he was pledged to do, and complains that the Queen has always had many promises but few deeds. I think she will end by losing patience and will recall her troops.

Paris, 13th October 1594.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

310. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Two Englishmen have been arrested in Calais. They confess that, seduced by Don Diego Dovara, Spanish Ambassador to the League in this city, they conspired with others to kill the Queen. They were taken to England, where their confession was confirmed by the discovery of papers. A gentleman sent by his Majesty's Ambassador in Constantinople has arrived with letters from the Grand Signor full of warm expressions towards the King; at the same time comes news of the victory of the Turks in Hungary. The King said "God knows how these misfortunes afflict me; but the ambition of Christian Princes wills it so; the League made me King, the Turk may make me Emperor."

Paris, 14th October 1594.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

311. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Capudan Pasha is reported to have landed at various points of Calabria. The blame for the losses he has inflicted is assigned to the Spanish fleet, which withdrew after garrisoning the seaports. The cause of the withdrawal was the need for meeting the English fleet, which was in the waters of Brittany.

Matheca Selvago, Dragoman, has died after six days suffering from an old rupture. His son is in doubt what to do about the will, in which his mother-in law is better left than the children. If he challenges the instrument in the Turkish Courts it will be cancelled, as the Turkish law does not allow a bedridden patient to make a will.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 14th October 1594.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

312. LETTER from the people of Marseilles to the SULTAN MURAD.

We understand that you wish us to declare ourselves subjects of the King of Navarre, claiming to be King of France, and you threaten, if we refuse, to ruin our commerce.

We beg you to believe that we are all resolved to live and to die Frenchmen of Marseilles, but never Spaniards, still less Savoyards. We have always been Catholics, and therefore cannot become subjects of Navarre, who is a heretic and Huguenot.

M. de Breves is Ambasador, not of France, but merely of the King of Navarre.

Marseilles. 8th June 1594.

[*Italian.*]

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1594.
Oct. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

313. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Some captains and officers have recently been appointed to man ships at Corunna to serve under Don Alonzo de Bazan, merely for purposes of coast defence or against the English.

Three German vessels have arrived in Portugal with eight Portuguese on board who have been exchanged for so many English.

Madrid, 21st October 1594.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

314. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England, after discovering the plot of some of her subjects seduced by the Count of Sifontes and Don Diego Dovara, wrote to the Archduke Ernest complaining of the conduct of Spain.

There is a rumour of an accord between England and Spain; but the English agent assures me her Majesty will take no step without informing the King.

Paris, 26th October 1594.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

315. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Letters have been received from Sinan Pasha in which he states that the Venetians have supported the Imperial troops.

In audience with Ferrad Pasha I complained, but the Grand Vizir interrupted me, saying that Sinan Pasha was a vain, feather-brained man, whose object now was to enhance his own successes by declaring that he had against him Spain, France, England, Transylvania, Poland, Moldavia, Germany, Venice—the whole world in fact.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 29th October 1594.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

316. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is considered of great moment to maintain the Spanish in Brittany; but it is held to be difficult, more especially if it is true that the Duke of Mercœur is coming to terms with the King of France. Certain funds here will be applied to resisting the English, who number about five thousand in France.

Madrid, 10th November 1594.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

317. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The recent events in Walachia and Bogdania happened thus. Aaron, Vaivode of Bogdania, and Michali, Vaivode of Walachia

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with the knowledge of the Prince of Transylvania and of the Poles, resolved to rebel. Aaron and Michali held a large number of harquebussers in readiness, and many horse. Sinan Pasha called on Michali to surrender his artillery, which the Pasha required in his campaign. Michali then cast about fifty new pieces; and then on the arrival of the Cosack troops, the Vaivode of Bogdania passed into Walachia. The Vaivode of that country having summoned all his creditors to meet him in divan on the promise of paying his debts, a large number of Turks, Greeks and Jews appeared and handed in their bills; at a given signal they were all cut to pieces by some four thousand troops who had secretly surrounded the divan. The Vaivode then summoned all the people and publicly burned the bills, declaring that as he thus freed himself from debt so he freed his people from all taxes; and those who would might follow him. In this way he drew the mass of the people to himself. In conjunction with Bogdania and Transylvania he has marched towards the Turkish camp, whose supplies are now intercepted. Yesterday war was declared in Constantinople against Bogdania and Walachia.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 29th November 1594.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

318. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Two Scotch gentlemen came here this month on pretext of private affairs. They have had various interviews with the King, and, in the name of the King of Scotland, they have explained that his Majesty is afraid of treachery on the part of some of his powerful Catholic vassals. He is afraid to make an open enemy of the Queen of England, otherwise he would declare himself a Catholic, both because he is so inclined and in order to save his person from these treacherous attacks. He asks for advice from the King of Spain.

At first the ministers were suspicious of this mission, thinking it highly probable that it covered some ruse of the Queen of England; especially as it is known that the English intend to attack the India fleet next year. Finally they resolved to send a private emissary to Scotland, as indeed was done last week, to speak to the King and to throw more light on the matter.

Madrid, 10th December 1594.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

319. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The affairs of Bogdania and Walachia are going steadily from bad to worse. Those princes are in excellent order. Every day support arrives from England and from Warsaw. They are so thoroughly masters of all the towns on the Danube and all its shores that there is no fear that the enemy can cross that river.

Every Turk in those countries has been killed; the population is devoted to the Princes and resolved to die rather than again to pass under Turkish yoke. Those who arrive from that quarter, and more especially a dragoman of the English Ambassador, declare that the Chancellor of Poland has been cut to bits by the Poles on

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account of his close relations with the Turks. The French Ambassador sent to ask the loan of two thousand crowns. I replied that in the well-ordered Government of the Republic no public moneys could be spent except on a vote of a large majority, that personally I could not help him, but if he liked I would write to Venice. The Ambassador inquired what was the method of voting public money, and was informed that the vote must first pass the Cabinet (Collegio) with a majority of six to one, and must then pass the Senate with the same majority, in a house of not less than one hundred and fifty.

The Ambassador replied that he thought I could have disposed of so small a sum on my own responsibility; and that he would not trouble me to write, as before the answer could reach me he would have supplied himself.

I am sorry that this has happened, for it may lose me the friendship of the French Ambassador as I have lost that of the English, because I would not violate my conscience to please him.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 10th December 1594.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

320. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

One of the two strong places which his Majesty held in Brittany has been taken by the English, who cut the garrison to pieces. This is a heavy blow, for the Spanish still had hopes of making some progress in that country. Don Juan d'Aguila, commander of the other strong place Blauet, is held responsible for the misfortune because he repeatedly informed his Majesty that the place could hold out for four months more.*

The English have seized a Flemish vessel which the commandant of some galleons was bringing into Lisbon.

Madrid, 28th December 1594.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

1595.

Jan. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

321. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the attempt on his Majesty, the guards will allow no unknown persons to enter the royal antechambers, and all foreigners who desire to approach the King must prove their identity.

At the Jesuits a large number of papers belonging to Don Bernardino de Mendoza, who was Spanish Ambassador, have been found. From these papers it appears that the Jesuits maintained intimate relations with Don Bernardino, and also were in receipt of a certain pension. This renders the Jesuits more than ever suspect, and confirms the resolution of the Council to expel the order from France. His Majesty is of this view, and has actually said that this evil has overtaken him from those whom he sought to support and defend. No one is to be allowed to send their children out of the country to the Jesuit schools.

Paris, 4th January 1594. [*m.v.*]

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

* Morlaix.

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1595.
Jan. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

322. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England has for long been asking that the town of Morlaix in Brittany should be given to her, in order that her troops might always have a safe place of retreat. The King intended to satisfy her, and sent orders to hand over the town; but the Marshal d'Aumont is doing all he can, and rightly, to dissuade his Majesty from such a step, on the ground that it would disgust the Bretons and render his Majesty unpopular.

The Queen, annoyed at this, has given orders that her troops are to return to England as soon as possible. At this Court she announces that she is compelled to take this step on account of the Earl of Tyrone's rebellion in Ireland; he is at the head of a large number of Irish, and is in relation with the Orkeneys for a rising there also.

The soldiers who mutinied last year, and were quieted by receiving their pay, have mutinied again, being afraid lest they should be punished when they got home. They have written to the States of Holland to say that if there is any opportunity they are ready to take service there.

Paris, 5th January 1594 [*m.v.*]

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

323. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have been told by a person of importance that the agent of the Duke of Mercœur, after making official representations for many days in order to obtain pecuniary support from the King, has at last laid before the Ministers a letter from the Duke declaring that if he is not immediately supplied with a large sum he will come to terms with the King of France, and will accept the liberal proposals which are made to him by that Sovereign.

As the West India fleet is sure to be delayed, the King intends to send, with utmost secrecy, two light galleys to bring in, at all risks, two millions of gold. Meantime Ambrogio Spinola is furnishing money to private individuals who in their turn supply the King. *But as the Genoese would like to deal directly with his Majesty, this procedure is much criticised; they say that Spinola has acted rashly and cite the example of Nicolo Grimaldi, once called "the Monarch," but now reduced to beggary.*

The King is in bed with a pain in his side and a little fever.

Madrid, 8th January 1594 [*m.v.*]

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

324. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This is the third despatch of this post, but it is to be read first because the news it contains will not brook delay. I made use of every means in my power to find out whether the Sultan were really dead; and, among other steps, I sent Borisi to Memi Pasha, who

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assured him that the Sultan died on Monday the night of the 16th–17th of this month, at the hour of the first cry (al cantar del primo Turco). Ferrad wished to send Memi Pasha in his galley to bring back the Prince Mehemet. But the Sultanas declared that this sudden departure would waken suspicion. Accordingly they resolved to send the Bostangi Pasha (chief gardener), in the middle-sized caique, as he was accustomed to go every day to Akbunar (Acbaba) to fetch water for the Sultan's use. His caique has a double relay of rowers, and so it is expected that he will be back in seven or eight days.

As to the details of the Sultan's death bed, Memi Pasha said that before his Majesty died he ordered his son Mahmoud, as graceful and charming a lad of twelve or thirteen as you could see, to be placed in safe keeping, so that the women of the harem should not make away with him.

Had the death of the Sultan not taken place a week would not have passed before the dismissal of the Capudan Pasha.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 21st January 1594 [*m.v.*]

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

325. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday Signor Giovanni Francesco Albobrandino (*nephew of his Holiness*) made his entry. He was received with the highest honours. *I waited on him to-day, and he remarked that his business would surely go well if it corresponded to the nature of the reception he had met with; I replied that it was the way of Spain to lavish honours in order to cover the rebuffs administered in the course of negotiations.*

Madrid, 27th January 1594 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

326. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The rumour of the Sultan's death has spread down to the very children; and a riot is expected, accompanied by a sack of shops and houses as usual. I have hidden the Embassy archives, and brought armed men into the house to protect it and to see that it was not set on fire.

The new Sovereign arrived this morning at the hour of salaam. I saw him arrive and disembark at the Kiosk. In the eleven days which have elapsed since the death of the Sultan Murad, several executions have taken place in order to keep the populace in check. Inside the serraglio there has been a great uproar, and every night we hear guns fired—a sign that at that moment some one is being thrown into the sea.

As regards the death of Sultan Murad, I must repeat that he was attacked by his old epilepsy while receiving the Capudan in audience. He was carried inside and suffered all night. Next day he began to mend and progressed so favourably that they almost thought him out of danger, when a second fit came on; this kept him for two days and two nights languid, feeble, like one

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dead. It was followed by a retention of the urine which caused him to call out in pain, and on the top of the other illness carried him to the grave. He refused all medical attendance and all medicine; even when in health his habit of life was strange; and they say, though it is hardly credible, that he eat no bread, but lived on solid meats, thick soups, sheep's marrow, and other aphrodisiacs, for he lay immersed in lust. His funeral was a sad sight; nineteen unhappy children, strangled as is the law of the land, followed their father to the tomb. He leaves twenty-nine daughters and six wives with child; if males are born they will share the fate of their brothers.

The French Ambassador, in order to magnify his Sovereign, declares in the Porte and also in the Serraglio, where he finds ready access, being acquainted with Turkish habits and the Turkish tongue—that, while the King of France was at open war with the King of Spain, the Republic sent two senators of great importance to congratulate him on his victories and on the conquest of his kingdom.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 27th January 1594 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 28
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

327. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spaniards declare that the affairs of Flanders are going from bad to worse. The Queen of England is vigorously strengthening her position against Spain, and, in addition to helping Flanders, is helping the King of Navarre as well. While the affairs of France are in such disorder the King of Spain should seize the favourable occasion, so as to prevent the danger menacing this crown if the King of France recovers that kingdom and draws closer his alliances with Flanders and England; and this would be all the more formidable should the King of Spain find himself engaged in a distant war with the Turkish power. Others point out that the Emperor and the German nation show so little regard for the Spanish that there is no likelihood that they will abandon their own interests to serve the King's. Others again urge that the King of Spain cannot abandon the struggle with the Turk.

Madrid, 27th January 1594 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 31.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

328. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Cicala has been deposed from the office of Capudan Pasha, and Halil Pasha has been named in his stead.

The new Capudan will not, in my opinion, be any better than the last. He has no experience in seamanship. He is married to the Sultan's sister, and she will not willingly let him leave her. He is a man of quiet disposition, and is held to be simple rather than otherwise; his court is composed of excellent men, not rapacious like those shameless thieves who surrounded Cicala. All

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this makes it unlikely that he will take the sea with a large fleet. He is very poor, and so to win him it would be judicious now at the beginning to be rather open-handed with him.

The new Sultan seems to be a resolute man, and terrible. The moment he arrived at the Serraglio he went to look on his father's corpse; then his nineteen brothers were brought before him, one by one. They say that the eldest, a most beautiful lad and of excellent parts, beloved by all, when he kissed the Sultan's hand exclaimed, "My lord and brother, now to me as my father, let not my days be ended thus in this my tender age"; the Sultan tore his beard with every sign of grief, but answered never a word. They were all strangled, all the nineteen; and that same day late in the evening the dead Sultan was carried to the tomb with less pomp than usually accompanies persons of even low degree. The new Sultan, dressed in purple cloth, followed the corpse to the first door of the Serraglio; Ferrad and the other Pashas, dressed in black, attended it further. On the bier, which in this country is borne head first, was placed a small turban with aigrettes. The bier was covered with cloth of gold with a jewelled belt of gold across it. It was placed on a piece of ground near St. Sophia under a great magnificent military tent; and round it will soon arise the mortuary chapel, where the coffin will repose on a lofty platform in the middle, and all round lower down will lie the nineteen sons, who were not carried in procession that day owing to the late hour, but were taken out the day following. At present they are all in plain wooden coffins, but later these will be covered and adorned.

The day of his brothers' funeral the Sultan placed in Divan his tutor, Mehemet of Mecca; a man held in high esteem, wise, and not avaricious. Ferrad is in great favour with the Sultan for the way in which he kept the city quiet during so many days of interregnum. The Sultan has given his seal to no one yet. Sinan will soon be here, in spite of a false rumour of his death. His Majesty has made great changes in the Serraglio; he has expelled all the buffoons, the dwarfs, the eunuchs, and the women; they were all sent to the old Serraglio; the amount of goods they carried out with them was incredible, the carriages, chests, and baskets of the whole city hardly sufficed.

They say that the secretary to the late Sultan will retain his post. The present to the Janizaries is one hundred and twenty purses of ten thousand sequins per purse.

The Sultan is about medium height, strong and well made, and wears a black beard and two huge moustaches.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 31st January 1594 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

329. The AMBASSADORS EXTRAORDINARY and GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

We have arrived safely, and the value of the large escorts which accompanied us was proved by the fact that the English Ambassador

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and another important person were both captured at Soissons, five leagues from here.

Paris, 2nd February 1595 (*sic*).

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

330. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Signor Giovanni Francesco Aldobrandino has been received in audience by his Majesty, He explained that in view of the danger from the Turk, his Holiness desired to form a league between the King of Spain, the Emperor, and the Italian Princes.

The King replied courteously; touching on all the points raised. He attributed all his troubles to the war in Flanders and his zeal for the faith in France.

The whole question was subsequently discussed between Sig. Giovanni Aldobrandino and all three ministers. As regards an accommodation with France they showed themselves opposed.

As regards help from Spain to the league, they said that the King was so hampered that he could not do all that was desired of him.

I remarked that even if terms were made with France there would still be the expense and the trouble of England.

Madrid, 8th February 1594 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

331. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The report that war has been declared against Spain by France is treated with the usual silence by these ministers. But at Court there are all sorts of discussions; some speculating as to the cause, others as to the probable effects of this war, as ordinarily happens.

As to the cause it is generally thought that the King of France was driven to take this step in order to divert the attention of the nation from internal affairs, to crush the chiefs of the opposition who are dependent on the King of Spain, and, finally, to drive the Spanish to conclude a peace, as is desired by the French Crown.

As to the results of the declaration of war, some say that it is impossible that the King of France should put together a sufficient number of troops to conduct an offensive as well as a defensive war at one and the same time in various localities, to furnish the requisite garrisons and to hold his domestic foes in check. Again, grave doubts are expressed about the attitude of Flanders and the Queen of England, and stress is laid on the possible appearance of a Turkish fleet.

In short, one gathers from such speculations that public opinion is much disturbed on this subject. Two personages discussing the attitude of the Italian Princes and the question whether they would hold for France or Spain, expressed grave doubts as to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Madrid, 17th February 1594 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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Feb. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

332. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have heard, from a trustworthy source, that Ferrad Pasha sent for the Dragomans of France and England and told them that the Venetian Ambassador had shown that his own heart and that of his masters was full of sincere benevolence towards the Turkish Empire by going to kiss the Sultan's hand and by making a declaration which gave the highest satisfaction to the Porte and with which his Imperial Majesty was quite content, for he learned from it that the Venetians had instructed their representatives to display complete friendliness on all occasions. The Pasha added that this was an example which the Ministers of other friendly powers would do well to follow. But these two Ambassadors keep delaying the ceremony because neither of them is able to support a becoming retinue nor to buy presents. The French Ambassador said to me that he was aware that it was advisable to make himself personally known to the Sultan by kissing hands, but seeing that he had no information as to precedents, as I had, he thought he had better wait for instructions from France. But these excuses are not admitted here.

To my great joy Ferrad has been named Grand Vizer. The Sultan sent him the seal just at the moment when rumour declared that he was to be strangled. So the wheel of fortune spins.

Sinan Pasha is to be sent into retirement at Damascus.

The day after I kissed hands I paid a visit to the Secretary of the late Sultan Murad. Another instance of the fickleness of fortune. I found the house which once was thronged by the greatest in the land, now quite empty, and there in a ground-floor chamber I was received.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 18th February 1594 [m.v.]

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

333. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Signor Carlo Doria urgently begs that the galleys should be sent to Genoa to reinforce the fleet; but it is thought that he will not gain his point, at least until the India fleets come home, on account of the English corsairs. The Spanish galleys number eighteen, not counting those in Brittany, and another eighteen might possibly be put together and that would be the limit of the naval forces of this Crown.

Madrid, 24th February 1594 [m.v.]

[*Italian.*]

March 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

334. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The late Sultan's Secretary told me that the English Ambassador had a claim against Cicala for an English ship which the late Capudan had seized; and they had exchanged abusive language on the subject. The Ambassador had appealed to the Sultan, but

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in vain, as the Sultan declared that he was not satisfied that the ship was really English.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 7th March 1595.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

335. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Secretary promised that the ships and goods of the Venetians should be respected by the Turkish fleet, though the Republic was not such a good friend to the Porte as were France and England; who to please the Porte were making war on Spain. I could not resist remarking that Sovereigns make war in their own interests and not to please other Sovereigns.

The Secretary said that the English Ambassador had brought to him many letters from the Queen of England in which she reported her victories over Spain.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 21st March 1595.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

336. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

No preparations for the fleet of any moment are going forward. In spite of what the Capudan Pasha told me, the number of galleys will not exceed twenty, unless the intrigues of the French and the English succeed, and that is hardly likely.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 22nd March 1595.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

337. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

They are mustering troops to the number of eight thousand; part will be sent to Italy, part on board the fleet that is to convoy the Indian flotilla, and the rest will go to garrison Portugal, *whence they write that alarm is daily increasing on account of the English fleet, which is rumoured to number upwards of one hundred sail. This fleet will be divided into two squadrons, whose chief object is to harass the India fleet, either by attacking it, if it has sailed, or by preventing it from sailing through fear of an attack. The intention is to cause embarrassment to this Crown.*

Madrid, 25th March 1595.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

338. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England has embarked her troops which were in Brittany. Every day it is made more evident that not the revolution in Ireland, but the King's refusal to give Morlaix to the Queen, is the real cause of this step. She has always affirmed that she desired to hold Morlaix merely as a guarantee that she could disembark reinforcements and provisions for her troops.

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The Queen begged that the Duke of Monpensier, a Prince of the blood and held in high esteem, might be sent to raise troops in Brittany, where he would have had a great following. The King refused, and this has awakened a suspicion that he desires the war to be carried on at the charges of England, not of France.

I have also been told that the French Ambassador in England is on his way home. Although it is true that the Ambassador has been for long in that post, still the suspicion arises that this recall may be connected with the strained relations between England and France.

The French are very much afraid lest the Queen should make terms with the King of Spain, of which there is some rumour; but it is thought that all this is merely intended to facilitate the success of the Queen's demands here.

Paris, 25th March 1595.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

339. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The dread of the English fleet is on the wane. It seems that advices just received place its strength at a lower figure.

Madrid, 30th March 1595.

[*Italian.*]

April 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

340. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have been advised to see that the present to the new Sultan is worthy of him, and not inferior to that which the other Ambassadors will make. I enquired which nation gave the finest presents, and the answer was, France.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 5th April 1595.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

341. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador of France granted me a sequestration order on the goods of Paulo Mariani in Egypt, on the ground of Mariani's debt to your Serenity. Mariani now goes about saying that the order was not made at my request, but that the Ambassador, moved by hatred and wishing to annoy him in every way, issued the order by himself. The Ambassador now wishes me to write to your Serenity to beg you to bear evidence of the truth to his Majesty through M. de Maisse, French Ambassador in Venice. I promised to oblige him. As regards Mariani, I foresee that he will deny the debt, as he is aware that no proof of it exists in this Chancery. How he has this knowledge I cannot imagine; but there is no document except the one I enclose in which no debtor is named but merely the letter N written.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 7th April 1595.

[*Italian.*]

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April 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

342. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A colony of Hollanders has been sent to the Indies; this will cause great annoyance to Spain, which, up to the present, has enjoyed pacific possession.

In England forty ships are ready to sail for the West Indies, twelve belong to the Queen and the rest to private individuals. It is known that sixty Portuguese ships are out to protect the gold ships, and the English are resolved to fight. There is a rumour that the English at Panama have captured a great number of mules which were bringing gold from the Pacific to the Atlantic.

Paris, 8th April 1595.

[*Italian.*]

April 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

343. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I received the other day a letter from the noble gentleman Zuanne Bassadona in England, dated the 18th of last month. He enclosed a letter for the Ambassador Vendramin in Spain, asking him to seize at San Lucar, a Dantzig ship laden with corn, belonging to your Serenity. I received the letter on the 8th of this month and I hope that in four days it will have reached Lyons.

Paris, 15th April 1595.

[*Italian.*]

April 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

344. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On all sides I hear that the English fleet was to sail in the first days of this month. Its route lies for the Azores and thence to Havana. Some recommend that the India fleet should be stopped at Havana, where it can lie under cover of the fortress, until the English are forced to withdraw. Others hold that the fleet must have sailed already, and as this will throw out the English calculations, it is certain that the fleet will escape the enemy. The betting among the merchants is a hundred to thirty that the fleet does not reach Seville within the month of May.

The marriage of the Infante to a Princess of the house of Austria seems assured. It is said that the Duke of Medina Sidonia will be sent to bring the bride to Spain. His journey will likely be delayed till autumn because of the English fleet.

Madrid, 21st April 1595.

[*Italian.*]

April 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

345. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

While the news is insistent here that a large English fleet will be sent out, Lisbon was thrown into a panic and the city has been abandoned for the last two weeks; a great number of the inhabitants have removed inland with their wives and goods, in dread of a sack. The report is that the English fleet has orders, after

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attempting to capture the gold ships, to effect a landing in Portugal with a view to doing all the mischief it can. His Majesty has given orders that all the Portuguese nobility is to assemble in Lisbon during the present month, and there is to be a muster of foot and horse militia as well as of the Castilian lances, in addition to the infantry that is already on the march. Munitions and provisions are being collected with all speed.

Some Flemish vessels which were off the port of Setubal to lade with salt, having learned that other vessels in port were under an embargo, sent to demand a safe conduct. This was refused, and they sailed away to the open sea, all except eight, which, being driven close in by the wind, were forced to enter the port and were seized at once. The King intended to release them all, but it was presently rumoured that Holland and Zealand, in concert with France and England, were going to send out a large fleet to harass the gold ships and the kingdom of Portugal, and his Majesty gave orders to detain the vessels. The depositions of the sailors show that after agreement between England and Flanders had been concluded the matter fell through, owing to certain difficulties, and so the Dutch ships proceeded with their ordinary traffic.

A few days ago Don Alonzo de Vargas, one of the finest officers of this Crown, died here at Court; he died of sheer grief at seeing that his services were neither employed nor rewarded.

Madrid, 22nd April 1595.

[*Italian.*]

May 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

346. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I am informed that every one here desires peace, and, apropos to peace, I will tell you how the English Ambassador declares that he has orders from the Queen to treat on that subject, and also letters from the Emperor instructing him to take no steps at present, as the Imperial word has been pledged to many of the allied Princes.

How the matter really stands I do not know; but competent judges affirm that when war was declared against Poland and then abandoned in fear of a rising in Walachia and Moldavia, the English Ambassador was the person who acted as intermediary.

All I know is that Mocato, the Jew doctor, begged me to recommend him to Ferrad as a person of confidence well suited to act as intermediary in negotiations of moment. But I did not do as he wished.

The French Ambassador has been to the Secretary of the late Sultan with news that the King of France has declared war on the King of Spain. The Ambassador pointed out that it would be impossible, at the present moment, to confer a greater benefit on the Porte. He has drawn up a statement in the Turkish tongue and sent it to the Sultan; in it he urges the Sultan to make himself master of the Spanish dominions.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 5th May 1595.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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May 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

347. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Count Fuentes is to have all the charge of affairs in Flanders till the arrival of the Cardinal Archduke. The arrival of the India fleet is delayed. The people of Seville are alarmed, for the whole month of April has been stormy. Although it is said that the English are not as strong as reported, yet forty ships have sailed from England; and as it is known that two thousand persons have died on board the Spanish fleet owing to the hardships of the journey, they say it will be no such easy matter to resist these forty.

Madrid, 9th May 1595.

[*Italian.*]

May 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

348. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After long labour and great danger of going to the bottom, the West India fleet has safely come to port. It is very rich. It sailed on the eleventh of March last, and numbered fifty-four sail. On clearing the Bahamas, and in fifty-eight degrees of north latitude, a great storm swept down and the fleet scattered; each one choosing his own route. In this disorder they ran great danger from the corsairs; and more than once they fell in with Englishmen, who fortunately could not come up with them. The total brought by the fleet, reckoning all the goods, certainly reaches the value of twenty-two millions of gold; to the amazement of every one. Six and a half millions belong to the King, and the rest to private merchants. If the King satisfies his debts he will only have one million and a half left for himself. (*La summa di tutta questa flotta, computate le merci, è cosa certa che ascende a xxii milliona d'oro, con stupor de cadauno. Sei millioni et mezzo sono di Sua Maestà, il resto de particolari. Di quelli di Sua Maestà non resterà lei padrona libera di più che d'un million et mezo d'oro mentre che voglia sodisfar, come conviene, diverse obligationi.*)

The King's health is still causing alarm. The doctors say that his body is so withered and feeble that it is almost impossible that a human being in such a state should live for long.

Madrid, 13th May 1595.

[*Italian.*]

May 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

349. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is no certain news of the eight ships belonging to the West India fleet, which are still missing. It is hoped that they have made some island; others think they have returned to Havana; many fear that they have sunk or been captured by the English. This fleet has brought in the revenues of the years 1593 and 1594, and this autumn the revenue of this year in expected. If this reaches home safely they reckon that in the course of five or six months thirty millions of gold will have been brought into the country. This

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is amazing, and surpasses any record in the memory of man. Meantime in order to secure the safe arrival of these fleets, orders have been sent to Seville and a million of gold has been appropriated each year for the purpose.

Madrid, 19th May 1595.

[*Italian.*]

May 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

350. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from Flanders about the negotiations for peace, which is greatly desired here. The States of Holland have informed the Council at Brussels that they cannot treat with the Spanish Ministers without the consent of the King of France and of the Queen of England, but that they could treat with representatives of the provinces subject to the King of Spain, and that among them might be a special representative of the King. But it is thought that this proposal is intended either to arouse the Princes, their allies, or to lay the Spanish preparation to sleep.

Prague, 23rd May 1595.

[*Italian.*]

May 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

351 FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King, after twenty-seven days of continuous fever, recovered, and as his seventy-ninth birthday fell on the first day that he was free of fever, he insisted on assisting at a procession, being carried to a window in a chair. He has had a relapse, and is in bed now for five days.

Madrid, 26th May 1595.

[*Italian.*]

May 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

352. POLO PARUTA, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The question of the rebenediction of Henry IV. is being debated. The Pope is reminded that the kingdom of England was lost through the too great rigidity of Pope Clement VII.

Rome, 27th May 1595.

[*Italian.*]

June 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

353. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN and AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In Portugal the fear of the English fleet is causing them to take many precautions. Five colonels have been appointed to drill the militia, as in the time of Don Sebastian.

Madrid, 17th June 1595.

[*Italian*].

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June 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

354. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have received your Serenity's letters informing me that the French Ambassador at Constantinople has sequestrated the goods of Paulo Mariani to be found in Egypt, at the instance of the Venetian Ambassador. The first time I have an occasion I will speak to the King on the subject.

Paris, 24th June 1595.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

355. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN and AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News has lately been received that twelve galleons belonging to the Queen of England landed four hundred harquebusseers at Pernambuco in Brazil. They harried the country and sacked a ship belonging to the West India fleet, and made themselves masters of a small fort near Pernambuco. The booty amounts to seven thousand cases of sugar, six thousand hundredweight of pepper, and other goods to the value of about two millions of gold. Many English ships have been sighted off Madeira, and rumours from England affirm that within this month a hundred ships will be ready there.

Madrid, 25th June 1595.

[*Italian.*]

June 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

356. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN and AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The twelve Ragusan ships, which the King has hired, have arrived. They will do the provisioning service for the Ocean fleet; and it is firmly believed that the Spanish are going to augment that fleet beyond all expectation, so as to employ it at some favourable moment in another attack on England.

Madrid, 25th June 1595.

[*Italian.*]

July 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

357. POLO PARUTA, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Prior of England* has arrived in Rome. He has been sent by the new Grand Master of the Order of Malta to announce his elevation to that rank, and to offer the due and wonted obedience. It is not known yet whether he has any commission to negotiate.

Rome, 8th July 1595.

[*Italian.*]

July 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

358. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople to the DOGE and SENATE.

As the satin for the Sultana Mother has not arrived I shall abstain from making any excuse about the London and Flemish

* Andrew Wise. cf De Leva, La Legazione di Roma di Paolo Paruta, III. 197, note.

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broadcloth for the Mute and Halil Pasha, so that she may not feel that she is neglected in comparison with others.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 9th July 1595.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

[July 11. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

359. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A few days ago there arrived at Court two English nobles, one, son of a Baron who is at present Councillor to the Queen, the other of the house of Arundel, a gentleman of great importance both for his birth and for his other qualities. They have come as soldiers of fortune to serve under his Majesty. The Councillor's son has brought letters of recommendation from the Queen. The other, having made the Emperor's personal acquaintance on the occasion of another visit, simply presented himself. Both were courteously received by his Majesty and commended by letter to the Archduke Mathias and to Count Charles Mansfeldt. There are not wanting those who urge that these men should not be allowed to go to the camp on account of the Queen of England's friendship for the Turk, and her intimacy with many Princes of Germany who are far from well disposed to the house of Austria. But all things considered they have resolved not to show their suspicion, though warning will be sent to the camp.

Some suggest that these Englishmen hold a mission to arrange a peace, and it is most true that the Queen has already offered to mediate. But though noble, they do not appear to be suited for such a negotiation. One of them said that when they went to take leave of the Queen, certain of her council opposed their departure on the ground that there are many English merchants in the Levant and much English property in Turkish territory which would be exposed to danger.

One left yesterday, the other will follow this week, for Vienna and Hungary. Both came to visit me and brought letters from Signor Giovanni Bassadonna, who is in London, whom they praise. Both have been in Venice. As far as I could gather, they have come to these parts merely as young men anxious to follow the wars. One of them told me that they had not gone to the wars in France, because those were civil wars, though one of his brothers had been killed in action when with the King of Franco. This war they thought greater and better worth seeing. They were sorry that an Englishman, who called himself a Jesuit, and was sent into Lower Germany on a commercial mission from the Queen, should have given poor satisfaction to his Majesty on account of his interference in politics; and they added that the Queen too was displeased, and if he had done what was charged against him he had certainly exceeded his instructions. They said they wished to speak to the Ministers on this point in order to remove suspicion and to prove that the Queen was most ready to oblige the Emperor. As a matter of fact, the Englishman under discussion was present at some Protestant meetings where they discussed the question of attending the Imperial diet at Ratisbon, and is suspected of having, in the

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Queen's name, dissuaded them. The Imperial Ambassador in Denmark has been ordered to proceed to England. It is difficult to understand the meaning of what is going on.

Prague, 11th July 1595.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Despatch from Madrid of July 30, Original Venetian Archives.

360. REPORT FROM LISBON, dated July 22nd.

News has been brought from England by a galleon, which sailed on the 24th June, that on the 12th of July eight vessels, large and small, were to leave the port of London. The large ships numbered sixty, including twelve royal ships, and the flag ship was of seven hundred tons with sixty pieces of artillery. Between soldiers and sailors there were about sixteen thousand men on board. It was a current opinion among merchants that the fleet would be joined by Scottish and Dutch ships. It left London so well found in all respects that it would require neither wood nor caulkers for its repair. The troops were considered excellent and fully armed. Its destination was unknown. Some conjectured Havana, some Brittany, some the Azores where it would await the Portuguese Indiamen. Many gentlemen of importance were embarked aboard. It would wait the first fine weather, which it seems had not arrived yet, and so it had not put out.

Drake had come by land from his house, which was three miles out of Plymouth.

It was rumoured in England that a truce would be concluded for eight months between the Duke of Mayenne and the Prince of Bearn.

His Catholic Majesty has sent orders to Don Juan d'Aquilla to retire and not to attack the Bearnese. The Spanish army will not march on Plouay.

It is long since German or Dutch galleons have entered Portuguese ports owing to the embargo imposed by the Spanish Ministers.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

361. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

An event has recently happened in Portugal which at first had its origin in feminine frivolity and the superstition of the populace, but ended in matters of moment.

In a certain convent was a nun called sister Anne, sister of Don John of Austria; she opened relations, by means of an Augustinian friar, with a pastry-cook, son of a canon in Lisbon of very humble birth. The friar gave out that this pastry-cook, on the strength of his likeness to Don Sebastian, was in fact the King who was erroneously supposed to have fallen in Africa. Matters went so far that a marriage contract was drawn up, and the pastry-cook calling himself King Don Sebastian, and signing himself "I the King," exchanged rings. The affair came to light, and his Majesty, seeing that there was a nun in the case, requested the Nuncio to appoint a judge. The Nuncio chose one of his Majesty's chaplains, and in drawing up the case it was discovered that the friar was in

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correspondence with Don Antonio of Portugal and many leading Portuguese. Their scheme was to seduce the populace under the leadership of this pretended King; an idea which has been tried before in Portugal. The result is that many arrests have been made and some prisoners, including the friar and the pretended King, have been sent here for examination. The nun has been condemned to five years of rigorous confinement in her cell. *The suspicion was deepened in the minds of the Ministers by the possibility of the English fleet appearing to harass Portugal,* as your Serenity will have seen from the report I recently forwarded. Two carvels have been sent up towards the English Channel to reconnoitre. Some however are more anxious about the India fleet than about the Kingdom of Portugal.

Madrid, 10th August 1595.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

362. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In the affair of the Archbishop of Toledo's property, the Nuncio is acting moderately and refrains from coming to those acts of severity which characterised the collector's conduct at the beginning of the affair, which led to high words between him and the president of the council, who declared that as the Holy See continued in this sinister attitude, it was no wonder that it had lost England, the greater part of Germany, and now France. The Pope on hearing this instructed the Nuncio to make strong representations to the King, and to point out to him that his Ministers, by their extravagant ideas, would one day become the plague and ruin of Spain.

The two carvels which were sent towards the English Channel have returned, bringing with them some fishermen as prisoners. They report that the Queen's fleet is on the point of sailing. It numbers one hundred and twenty sail and its destination is uncertain.

The son of Don Juan d'Idiaquez, Don Alonzo, who was made prisoner by the French, and who agreed upon a ransom of twenty thousand crowns, has been set at liberty by his Majesty on the payment of eight thousand and his mere word for the rest. This action causes the highest praise of the King's generosity.

Madrid, 18th August 1595.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

363. POLO PARUTA, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the question of the rebenediction of the King of France, I pointed out that it must be an advantage for the church, for it would alienate the Queen of England, the German Princes, and the Huguenot party in France.

Rome, 19th August 1595.

[*Italian.*]

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Aug. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

364. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The carvels which I reported as having been sent to England to discover the intentions of the English fleet, bring news that rumour affirms, that the fleet is to be employed this year against the King of Spain, and that Don Antonio of Portugal and Antonio Perez are opposed to Drake as to the nature of the operations to be effected. They wish to make an attempt on the kingdom of Portugal where, they affirm, the larger part of the population is very ill affected, and is waiting this attack with extraordinary longing and desire so that they may declare themselves; in order to be successful they insist that the attack should be made at the beginning of winter when all the crops are in, which will allow them to provision themselves. Drake, on the other hand, points out that the unsuccessful attacks of previous years ought to banish any such plan of campaign. His great desire is to go the Indies, to build a fort there, and to make himself master. He thinks success easy, for if the King of Spain wishes to oppose him, he will be put to such excessive expenses to do so at so great a distance, that the value of the fleet will not nearly recoup him.

(*Don Antonio di Portogallo et Antonio Perez sopra il modo d'esseguire l'impresa erano discordi con il Draco; perche quelli volevano che si tentasse il Regno di Portogallo, ove dicono che si ritrova la maggior parte di quei sudditi malissimi satisfatti, i quali con estraordinario desiderio et affetto di scoprirsi aspettano quest' aggressione, la quale concludono, che per condurla a buon fine, bisogna tentare nel principio del futuro inverno, in tempo a punto che tutti li raccolti saranno fatti con i quali potranno haver modo di sostentarsi; per l'altra parte Draco si lascia intendere che l'esempio di quello che successe gli anni passati quando infruttosamente assalirono quel Regno, doverebbe rimoverli da cosi fatto pensiero, sentendo egli vivamente di voltarsi verso le Indie, et ivi, fabricandosi un forte, di quelle impatronirsi; et che spera che li riuscirà assai facilmente, perche se il Re Cattolico vorrà impedirgli, converrà per la tanta distanza et lontananza farlo con eccessive spese, che di gran longo supererà l'utilità delle flotte.*)

Here preparations are being made for the protection of the fleet, and the safety of Portugal.

As I was closing this despatch, news came from Lisbon that forty ships, between large and small, had sailed from England. They were fully armed and provisioned for two years.

Madrid, 31st August 1595.

[*Italian; part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

365. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This morning news has arrived that Don Antonio of Portugal is dead. I saw him the day before I left, quite well, in a carriage in Paris. The poor gentleman died in great poverty, and frequently collections have been made on his behalf at Court. Although the King gave him certain revenues, yet as these were not paid

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regularly, Don Antonio was obliged to throw himself on the charity of others.

Lyons, 31st August 1595.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

366. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News that four galleys of his Majesty in Brittany, under command of a valorous captain, went to reconnoitre off the English coast. Being driven close in by the wind and tide they landed and burned three villages. Then retiring they fell in with six Englishmen. Of these they sank some, and the largest, to avoid falling into their hands, was fired and sent to the bottom.

Madrid, 14th September 1595.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 19. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

367. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Some days ago a Scotchman came here with the offer of 10,000 Scottish troops to march with their King's consent. But as they want money here more than troops, the matter fell through.

Prague, 19th September 1595.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

368. POLO PARUTA, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In conversation with the Pope about the rebenediction of the King of France I remarked that as the Pontificate of Clement VII. was held to have been calamitous on account of the alienation of England, so his Holiness would be lauded because a great king and a noble kingdom, all but separated from the Church, had returned to their obedience and devotion.

Rome, 23rd September 1595.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

369. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A galleon of the Lisbon squadron, which was with its consorts at Azores, having parted company, by some accident, fell in with the Earl of Northumberland (*Conte di Tomerlan*), an Englishman who was cruising about with two other vessels besides his own. They fought for a whole day, and the Portuguese defended himself bravely, so that at last the English, who had never been able to board him, abandoned the fight. The Portuguese has gone to join his consorts. The Lisbon squadron has been recalled and ordered to join the ocean fleet which will be sent to Port Ferrol, near Finisterre, to protect the kingdom should the English make an attack, or attempt to harass the West India fleet.

There are rumours *that the Queen of England is far from well; and this fleet is held in readiness so that if any one should succeed*

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to the throne of England, the Spanish may make a dash for that country, where they hope to find many disaffected Catholics in revolt. The Spanish would aid in fomenting the confusion; and for this purpose they say that his Majesty is spending large sums of money in fostering secret relations in England. There are many English and Scottish here at Court; and they are all plotting and designing how to employ the unrivalled power of this great sovereign not merely for the protection of his dominions, but for their aggrandisement.

Madrid, 23rd September 1595.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

370. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England has offered to assist his Majesty, and for that purpose the English Agent has been summoned to Paris.

In Paris a plot to kill Antonio Perez has come to light. It was designed by an Aragonese.

Paris, 27th September 1595.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

371. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A few days ago the English Ambassador had a long audience of Ibraim Pasha on the affairs of Poland. The Pasha told the Ambassador that as his mistress had been the intermediary in the conclusion of peace, she was bound to use her offices to prevent the Poles from abandoning their friendly attitude towards the Porte. The Sultan ordered a letter to the Queen to be drafted, but it seems that this will fall through.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 12th October 1595.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

372. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English reinforcements will number four thousand.

Before the King left Paris he had long and intimate conversations with Antonio Perez. I have not been able to discover the subject.

Paris, 14th October 1595.

Oct. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

373. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from Portugal that the Lisbon squadron has returned with nothing accomplished but the capture of two little English ships. News has been brought that eight English ships have landed men at Trinidad. With the guidance of an Indian they have made themselves masters of one of the forts on that island. While the English were carelessly collecting information about the gold mines, they were surpised by the garrisons of the two other forts, routed, and compelled to fly on board ship again.

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Drake has put to sea at last, in spite of opposition. His fleet consists of forty sail, and they fear that he means to carry out his design to build a fort in the Indies, *where his Catholic Majesty's fleet could not reach him before March. The King is negotiating a loan of three millions with the Fuggers.*

The news of the death of Don Antonio of Portugal, which took place in Paris on the 12th of August, was communicated to the ministers by a Portuguese, who hoped for a reward which was promised him if the news proved true. He admitted that he had been in Don Antonio's service. The King shows great satisfaction at the news, and thinks that the ill humours in Portugal which survived during Don Antonio's life, will now die away.

Madrid, 17th October 1595.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

374. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Antonio Perez came to visit me. I treated him as became his character and my position. He says the King has summoned him to Picardy and wishes him to become entirely a Frenchman, giving me to understand that his Majesty will find a post for him. He is always accompanied by a guard of two Swiss. He confirms the departure of Drake from England a few days ago, with about seventy ships all well found, *and declares that Drake is bound for Cape St. Vincent, where if he arrives in time, he may have the good fortune to fall in with the (Indian fleet). Perez said that the Low Countries had committed a grave error in refusing to assist the King of France through jealousy of his growing power, for the weight of Spain was such that even had his Most Christian Majesty conquered all his own kingdom and possessed it for twenty years in peace, he would certainly still be no match for his Catholic Majesty of Spain, who was, perhaps, the most powerful monarch the world had ever seen. And the States ought to be all the more ready to help the King of France at this juncture, in view of the news which was constantly arriving that the Austrians were defeating the Turks—the sole power capable of counter-balancing Spain, which rendered it desirable to encourage the growth of another power capable of discharging that duty. He told me that he had expressed these views to the Queen (of England).*

Paris, 21st October 1595.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

375. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

They are thinking of despatching about thirty ships, some say to Ireland, some to Brittany. The majority, however, think that they are destined for Peru, to divert, if possible, the attention of Drake from landing and fortifying himself and pillaging the gold which was stored there a year ago.

Madrid, 27th October 1595.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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1595.
Oct. 28.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

376. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The moment the Queen of England heard of the fall of Cambrai she ordered her troops not to cross the Channel. Although this will not matter much to his Majesty this year, especially as the winter is now so near at hand and the enemy is withdrawn into his winter quarters, while Picardy is void of victuals and full of maladies,—still, her action has made it clear that she furnished these reinforcements more to please the States of Holland, who were interested in the preservation of Cambrai, than to please the King, between whom and her the roots of ancient rancours are still alive. The King in these circumstances has resolved to send M. de Lomennie to England. M. de Lomennie is the King's private secretary and can imitate his Majesty's hand and is his most confidential servant. His mission will be to arrange for a conference of French and English with a view to meeting the wishes of the Queen. The King is aware that without the help of England and of the States of Holland which are allied with England, it will be very difficult for him to resist the power of Spain; all the more so next year, when, owing to the arrival of the Cardinal with so much money and so many men, a great effort may be looked for on the frontier. And although it was the Queen of England, acting through the Huguenots who have weight with his Majesty, who was the principal cause of the declaration of war against Spain, still, as she thinks the King, whom she was bound by every consideration to assist, has been too prosperous this year, she has not only not supported him, but has withdrawn her troops which were in Brittany under Colonel Norris. The French complain loudly of this act. Her agent here seeks to justify his mistress not merely on the ground that upon no single point have the French kept faith with her, but also because she is compelled to employ the better part of her forces in Ireland.

News has come that recently there has been a great engagement between the troops of the Queen and the Irish rebels; and that although the royal troops won the field, upwards of a thousand men fell, while Colonel Norris has been badly wounded. The enemy's loss is three thousand. The rebels it seems have sent to beg pardon, promising to lay down their arms and to live as faithful subjects to the Queen. Her agent here says it is very unlikely that pardon will be granted them, as the whole matter must pass in the usual course through the hands of justice. All this will have serious consequences for France. His Majesty wishes to raise a loan of one hundred thousand crowns a month from the French merchants for the campaign in the coming year. The terms have been settled for the amount of eight hundred thousand crowns; three hundred thousand are secured on the octroi of Paris; two hundred and fifty thousand on the general revenue of the kingdom, and two hundred and fifty thousand on the salt monopoly. Another four hundred thousand will be raised on the fees for exemption from military service.

Paris, 28th October 1595.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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1595.
Oct. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

377. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I hear that the Count Fuentes has taken Cambrai. He was brought into the town by the inhabitants, who hate the French. The King of France went to the rescue. He has not received the promised infantry from England, for the Queen sent Antonio Perez to excuse her on the plea that so many men had been sent out with Drake, and to put down the Irish rebellion.

Madrid, 28th October 1595.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Despatch from Spain. 4th Nov.

378. Lisbon, 28th October 1595.

News has been brought from Ireland by a carvel which sailed on the 21st September and reached Lisbon a few days ago. In that island General Norris, for the Queen, found himself, near the city of Antrim, opposed to the forces of that great Prince, O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone, the most powerful man in Ireland and chief of the Catholics who are in revolt. Norris, in the name of the Queen, offered a pardon if the Earl would lay down his arms and pledge himself never to go to Court. O'Neil replied that he would never treat for peace unless both he and his friends were pardoned and permitted to practise their own religion free of any hindrance, and unless the Queen promised not to molest the Bishops, to free those who were in exile, and to restore their property and revenues.

After negotiations on this point were abandoned, an engagement took place on the 19th of last month. The scene was a great plain, and the heretics to the number of eight thousand were routed, and broken. Norris himself was wounded by a shot in the arm, and his brother dangerously in the thigh. One thousand five hundred trained troops fell. They say not an Englishman escaped, except a few fugitives who took refuge in a fort where are four hundred wounded and dead. O'Neil has captured the heavy guns and the baggage. At the same time another officer of the Catholic League has routed three hundred English in Connaught.

O'Neil is said to have burned four of the principal officers of the heretics, though General Norris offered large sums for their ransom, but O'Neil replied that he would never exchange a heretic for gold, though he would gladly spare their lives if they would abjure and live Catholic, without taking arms again against the Catholic religion. The prisoners, however, declared that they would die in the religion of their Queen.

In consequence of this defeat the Queen has sent four thousand troops to Ireland; but it seems that the Irish thought little of them, and so it is concluded that the Queen has no seasoned troops at present.

A carvel which has come from the Canaries in twelve days, has brought news that on the 6th October twenty-eight English ships appeared off the Grand Canary, and the next morning seven more. They landed many men, but were repulsed by the islanders and

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driven on board. They sailed next day; destination unknown. It is conjectured that these are the ships that left London a month ago under Drake, with four thousand men on board.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

379. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A thousand Scottish, who are paid by his Majesty, have arrived. He is doing his best to employ French infantry as little as possible. He is unwilling to disgust his subjects by the violent conduct of his troops.

There is news from England from a trustworthy source that the Queen is thinking about naming her successor. It seems that that successor will be one of her nieces, my informant could not name her, who will be married to some great English nobleman, whom popular affection should indicate. In this way the King of Scotland would be absolutely excluded. This has caused great excitement, though the Queen has not yet made any open declaration on the subject; but only discussed it with some of her principal Ministers.

Paris, 4th November 1595.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

380. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Negotiations are on foot with the States of Holland and with England for ten thousand infantry. The Queen wishes to attack Dunquerque with these troops, and that, if it is captured, it should be given to her. The King will hardly consent, for that place belongs to his family property, although it always acknowledged the superiority of the Counts of Flanders, and also because he does not wish to see the English in possession of ports so near his kingdom.

Antonio Perez has joined the King and has been made a member of the Council of State, with one thousand francs a month as salary.

Paris, 9th November 1595.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

381. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In all the shipyards of the kingdom, in Biscay, in Portugal, and in Andalusia, they are proceeding diligently with the construction of new ships besides those already laid down. It is certain that his Majesty intends to have on the ocean next year a larger fleet than any previous fleet, except the one which attacked England. He probably intends to carry out the plans which I have already indicated to your Serenity. And even if it did nothing else, this preparation, *by keeping the Queen of England in alarm, will*

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compel her to think of her defences rather than of spending her money and her forces in molesting or assisting others.

In Lisbon and in Seville they are arming thirty galleons and other transport ships. These will be sent immediately to New Spain to hold Drake in check. But there is great fear that they will reach the Indies too late. It seems that Drake has met with opposition in the places where he has appeared, thanks to the timely warnings sent out.

At Cezimbra, a place seven leagues from Lisbon, an English ship has been driven on shore by the storm and the crew made prisoners. At Porto Ricco, where a landing by Drake is most dreaded, fresh veins of gold have been discovered. Samples have been sent here, and a friend of mine who has seen them tells me that, on testing, it was found that 91 peso of earth yield 81 peso of the purest and finest gold. He assures me that the vein runs for forty leagues.

Madrid, 17th November 1595.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

382. GIORGIO DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Pope began to make complaints that at Venice there was an open Exchange, full of heretics, who live as they like, to the scandal and danger of all Italy; that the English are freely admitted in Venice, and, in short, that in matters of religion things are managed with indifference.

I sought to reply with all modesty that the Exchange house was of very ancient standing, and it had never given rise to any scandal. As to the English, the cause that brought them there was deplorable, but their coming was a pure blessing from God, for they had saved Italy from famine.

His Holiness replied that the English went here and there about the city as they pleased.

Rome, 2nd December 1595.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

383. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Lomennie, who was sent on a mission to the Queen of England, had an audience of her, in which it would seem that he spoke somewhat too sharply, when he told her that if his master did not receive help he would be forced to make peace with Spain. This not only angered the Queen but roused her suspicions. This has compelled the King to send M. de Sanci to England; he will pass through Holland on his way. It is said that the Duke of Monpensier is to accompany him.

It is said that the Irish rebellion is at an end, the Queen having been forced to grant the Irish liberty to exercise the Catholic religion.

Paris, 2nd December 1595.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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Dec. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

384. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Sanci, who, as I informed your Serenity, was destined for England, told me that he would certainly go there. But a few days ago I had a conversation with the English agent resident here, and he said that letters newly arrived from England have caused M. de Sanci to postpone the journey, and in the meantime he has gone to the States of Holland. The cause of this delay he tells me is this, that if M. de Sanci went to England just now he would not find the Queen very well disposed towards the policy of his Majesty, not merely on the grounds I have so often explained, but also because of the line of conduct which the French ministers are following at present, a line of which she does not approve. The chief reason, however, is this, that there reigns a division in the councils of the Queen; and her two principal ministers are secretly in disaccord; and this fact is confirmed to me by Cardinal Gondi. One of these great ministers, the Lord Treasurer, is very ill disposed towards the Crown of France, and uses all his influence to prevent the Queen from taking an active part in this direction. There is a strong suspicion that he has been bought with Spanish gold. The other great nobleman, a prime favourite with the Queen, is of the contrary opinion, urging that every effort should be made to extinguish the fire in one's neighbour's house so as to prevent one's own from being burned.

These facts cause the Queen the greatest perplexity. The Lord Treasurer, in addition to all his other arguments, urges the plea of economy, to which women by their nature are more inclined than men. All the same no efforts are being spared so to dispose her mind that, should de Sanci go to England, he may easily obtain all he asks for.

The Queen is quite well aware that the French will be beaten if they are not helped; on the other hand, she is very much afraid that if she declared herself entirely on the French side, the only result in the end would be that, under the pressure of necessity and of their actual poverty, the French could make peace or a long truce with Spain, and so divert the full force of the tempest upon her, leaving her with no result except that she would have spent her money and would not have it to use at a pinch.

She has recently asked the King to give her Calais; and the French think it a strange request, almost indicating that she would like to make herself mistress of the country. She, however, knows quite well that if the Spanish attacked Calais in force the French are incapable of holding the place as she could do. This daily demand for help, without making any equivalent return, is not the way to obtain their end. The Queen is seriously alarmed lest the great Spanish fleet, which is already at Corunna, one hundred and sixty strong, is intended for Ireland. At first it was conjectured that Calais or Ostend was its object, both of which have been adequately provided for; but it was not likely that they would really enter the Straits of Dover, for as often as they did, so often would they be broken and worsted. (Doveva il Signor di Sansi passare, come

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scrissi con le precedenti, in Inghilterra, et egli mi affermò che così sarebbe stato, ma havendo havuta occasione uno di questi giorni di parlare col'Agente di quella Regina, che si ritrova qui, mi ha affermato che per lettere havute di fresco doppo da quel Regno, era suspesa la sua partita, per qualche giorno et che in questo mentre detto Signore se ne sarebbe passato in Olanda. La causa di questo interpositione di tempo mi disse nascer perchè se andasse non trovarebbe ancora la Regina troppo ben disposta verso li affari di questa Maestà, non solo per le cose le quali tante volte si sono scritte, ma anco per veder le maniere di questi usate nel governarsi, le quali troppo non le piacceno. Ma il punto più importante essere che il consiglio di quella Maestà era diviso, et li due grandi tra se stessi discordi; il che anco mi fu affermato uno di questi giorni dal Signor Cardinal Gondi. L'uno di loro che è il Thesoriere generale del Regno, mi disse che sente vivamente contra questa Corona et dissuade ad ogni suo potere la Reina di non ingerirsi nelli affari di questa parte, et però forte si dubita che questo non sii stato guadagnato con li denari di Spagna; et l'altro ch'è favoritissimo ancora lui della Reina esser stato di contrario parere, et che si doveva far ogni cosa per amorzare il foco nella casa del suo vicino perche non ardesse la propria. Queste cose fanno stare la Regina in grande perplesità, et massime il gran Thesoriere oltre tutte le altre ragioni, si persuade per la via del' isparmio, al quale suole per l'ordinario inclinare le donne più per loro natura che gli huomini, che però di la si fà ogni cosa per combattere et vincere l'animo di lei o disporlo in modo che se Sansi haverà da passare, possa facilmente ottenere quanto pretende. Conosce benissimo la Reina che questi si siano a perder quando non siino aiutati, ma dall' altra parte forte teme che quando essa si mettesse tutta da questa parte, che il frutto in fine non sarebbe altro se non che ridotti dalla necessità, et dalla povertà nella quale sono, facesse o pace o tregua longa almeno con Spagnoli, et per questa via si rinversasse tutto l'impeto della tempesta sopra di lei, et ella non haverebbe avanzato altro che haver consumato il suo, del quale poi non si potrebbe servire nelle sue necessità. Che ella ultimamente domandò Cales al Rè, et che questi lo trovorono strano, parendo che essa havesse pensiero di impatronirsi del loro paese, ma che ella conosce benissimo che se Spagnoli vi anderanno con molte forze, che questi non saranno atti di poterlo difendere come ella farebbe, che il voler ogni giorno esser agiutati senza dare qualche sodisfattione, questa non era la strada d'ottenere l'intento loro. Essere la Reina in molto sospetto che l'armata grandissima la quale è tuttavia alla Corugna in Spagna di 160 velle, et più, sia fatta per le cose d' Irlanda, et se bene si dubitò in principio come anche mi disse il Signor di Sansi, che fosse fatta o per Cales o per Osten, dalle quali due piazze erano stati dati buonissimi ordini, che però non era ragionevole che entrasse in quel stretto tra Cales et Dovera, dove quante volte fosse revenuti sarebbono altre tante stati rotti et mal trattati.)

M. de Sanci also told me that the English knew very well that the Spanish in Brittany were doing all they could to induce the

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Duke of Mercœur to make a truce with the King and to include them, a fact admitted by M. de Villeroy. The Queen was also well aware of the subtle policy which the Spanish were following in the Low Countries, where, after finding that the States declined to treat with them, they used every effort to induce them to come to some accord among themselves. It is clear, therefore, from this Spanish policy of bringing about peace everywhere except with England, that the King of Spain was entirely bent on the ruin of that country, and that this Armada, in particular, was intended for Ireland. And all these considerations keep the mind of the Queen in grave perplexity. She has at present a fleet ready which is far more powerful that the one that routed the Duke of Medina Sidonia; she has armed the whole kingdom; every day there are musters and reviews; all the ports are placed in a state of defence. He said he hoped for an accord between the King of France and England, but he feared that the Spanish were only waiting the arrival of the Cardinal of Austria in Flanders in order to send the Armada to Ireland, which would prevent the Queen from sending land forces to France; and then the danger on the one hand and on the other is obvious.

The English agent told me that there is news that Drake has burned Cadiz, and that now he will go to the Indies to fortify the positions captured from the Spaniards last year, in order to prevent the arrival of so many gold fleets. A design they have often projected with ease but effected with difficulty.

Paris, 9th December 1595.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

385. Piero Duodo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

M. de Sanci has been indisposed and was unable to leave till three days ago. He has gone to Soissons, where he will meet the Duke of Mayenne and will accompany him to the King. *He is to go first to Holland and then to England, after the arrival of an English Ambassador in France. His mission is to point out that, as the assistance given hitherto by the States and by the Queen was both temporary and voluntary, it has been now offered, now withdrawn, now increased, now diminished, as pleased the States and the Queen. M. de Sanci is now to endeavour to establish a solid convention in which the amount of the assistance shall be defined and the length of time for which it is to be available; and so to avoid the repetition of the loss of Cambrai, which would undoubtedly have been saved had reinforcements been landed in Picardy when called for.*

The troops under the Cardinal of Austria are beginning to move. They are reckoned at less than ten thousand foot and six hundred horse.

They say here that they will have at least ten thousand men from the States and the Queen of England, but they don't believe it.

Paris, 16th December 1595.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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Dec. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

386. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is some news, not quite certain, that Drake is off Havana; and the Spanish are more afraid that he will sack the city than that he will make himself master of the forts, especially as his Majesty's fleet cannot be in time to stop him. For although it is quite ready, the bad weather hinders it from sailing from Lisbon.

Madrid, 23rd December 1595.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

387. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is a proposal to attack Dunquerque with the help of the large fleet which the Queen of England has ready just now. This proposal is supposed to form the object of the mission of the Ambassador whom the Queen is going to send to his Majesty.

Paris, the last day of December 1595.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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Jan. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

388. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Count de Berlamont has had an audience of his Majesty and is anxious to conclude his mission, but the habits of this court will hardly permit him to do so as rapidly as he desires.

He has, he tells me, presented a long memorandum in which he points out the way in which his Majesty might carry on the war against the rebel States of Holland, without spending such a vast treasure as he has hitherto done. In the course of the last twenty-eight years his Majesty has consumed ineffectually one hundred and twenty-five millions of gold, besides having ruined that country. *He added that it was almost impossible to place matters on a sound basis if it was resolved to make war on the Queen of England; and he frankly told me that if his Catholic Majesty should attempt it once again he would come out of it with little honour on account of the natural difficulties which beset such an enterprise* (*ricordando appresso che non era quasi possibile ordinar cosa buona quando si volesse far la guerra alla Regina d'Inghilterra; dicendomi chiaramente che sua Maestà Cattolica tentandola di nuovo, per le difficoltà grandi che porta seco, ne riuscerebbe con poco honore*). He remarked that if war was to be continued in Holland, the frontiers must be protected against France while surpressing the rebellion among the subjects of this Crown. If his Majesty did not feel inclined to come to terms with France, there were several ways by which, in a year's time, those provinces could easily be reduced. But in order to effect this it was necessary that his Majesty should see to it that his army was real and not fictitious; he was paying for fifty thousand men, but there were hardly twenty-five thousand in service, and those ill-affected, ill paid, and

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in partial revolt. His Majesty, he said, requires every man of his army although the States have no more than twelve thousand, for they can choose their ground, which is advantageous, and can by water carriage effect a march which would take three good days by land; and when his Majesty's troops do come up the natives are very quick at retiring, and thus they keep his troops perpetually on the move.

He recommended that the conduct of the campaign should be entrusted to the native officers under the general orders of the Cardinal, or if his Majesty will not consent to this, at least to allow their council to be heard and their advice adopted; for it is impossible that officers just arrived from Madrid should understand this business. The Dutch at the present moment are not in accord with the Queen of England because she will not allow Dutch ships to carry food or other munitions into Spain, where, in spite of their being rebel vessels, he understands they are freely admitted; just as his Majesty will not permit free trade with the English, and without their consent the Dutch cannot carry on trade, as the Queen holds Ostend in security for money lent to them. Besides Ostend, which is one of the biggest ports of Flanders, the Queen holds Middleburg and another fort on the same island; as well as the famous fortress of Flushing, which may most justly be called the key to those waters. It was for this reason that, although it was fully garrisoned, Charles V. warmly recommended its safety to his most Catholic Majesty in his secret instructions. It is so situated that all the ships which sail east, west, or south, must pass that way.

He added *that civil discord in the States offers an opportunity to his Majesty to seduce some one of the leaders, hinting at Count Maurice of Nassau;* who, at a meeting held recently, threw his sword on the ground and declared he would not serve any more, and they had no small difficulty to quiet him. *It would be possible to open secret negotiations with him in camp, and some valuable results might be looked for if he lent an ear, for although he held no one of the strong places in the country, yet if the two armies came in contact it would be possible for him to change sides with a following of some three or four thousand men.*

M. de Berlamont said that the arrival of the Prince of Orange in Flanders would do little good, for the States were governed like a Republic, and their officers had very limited powers; it would, therefore, be difficult to win over any one who could be of service. Nor is it possible to open negotiations with the States, for they declare that they are allies of the King of France and the Queen of England.

In conclusion, he thought that the Ministers would not be very rapid in coming to a decision, and when they had it would be to the Cardinal and not to himself that the result would be communicated.

Madrid, 1st January 1595 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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Jan. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

389. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Two Ambassadors, uncle and nephew, have arrived here from a King of the Congo provinces, to renew their obligations towards his Majesty, as King of Portugal, and to beg him to prohibit the Portuguese in the region of Cape Verd and along that whole coast, from buying the negroes who are Christians. Some of the Portuguese, stimulated by the ease with which these negroes could be sold as slaves owing to their natural qualities, have been making large purchases; and this has led the neighbouring princes to capture these negroes in order to sell them again.

Furthermore, for their better education in the Catholic Faith, the Ambassadors desire leave to build a cathedral church and demand the appointment of a bishop of their own, for at present in their spiritual affairs they are compelled to go to the Bishop of St. Thomas. (*Qui sono giunti due Ambasciatori, zio et nepote, mandati da un Rè della provincia di Manicongo per rinovar gli obblighi che ha con sua Maestà come Rè di Portugallo, et ricercarla insieme che al Capo Verde et a quelle altre marine vicine, si prohibisca a Portughesi la compreda de i loro negri, poichè sono Christiani; imperochè alcuni di quelli sudditi eccitati dalla commoditià di venderli, ne fanno di essi, come negri migliori et più disposti degli altri, grandissima contrattazione; oltre che per il medesimo rispetto anco gli principi vicini procurano di prenderne molti, vendendoli poi come schiavi. Di più per meglio educarsi nella fede et religione Cattolica ricercano di poter eriger una chiesa catedrale; concedendose un vescovo particolare, convenendo hora nelli bisogni spirituali, ricorrer al vescovo dell' isola di S. Thomè.*

His Majesty, after Vespers on Christmas Eve, went to bed with the gout.

Madrid, 2nd January 1595 [m.v.].

Jan. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

390. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At length M. de Sanci will leave for England in three or four days. It is thought that there is hope of a favourable issue after the mission of the Queen's Ambassador; for without good ground for hopes de Sanci would not undertake the journey.

Paris, 6th January 1596 [*sic*].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 9. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

391. TOMASO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

That English nobleman* who stayed here many days on his way home from Hungary, has left for England. He has, to his great satisfaction, been made a Count of the Holy Roman Empire.

I can gather no information about the English mission to negotiate a peace with the Turk. As to the treaty between England, Spain and Holland, the Emperor declines to take the first step;

* Thomas Arundel, cf. "Cecil Papers," part VI. p. 129.

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he told the English gentleman that the parties must move of their own accord, and that then he would bring the matter to a good conclusion.

Prague, 9th January 1595 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

392. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have had in my hands the whole contents of the despatches sent by Sinan Pasha to the Chancellor of Poland by means of a dragoman, Sinan's autograph letters, sealed with his own seal, and all the other papers of which I enclose translations. I will only say that on the subject of the arrival of a Polish Ambassador, for whom passports are prepared, nothing is known here as yet; nor in all the papers which were shown me by him who had charge of them, is there a word about the Bey of Boydania or the King of Poland.

The truth is, the whole of this affair is a scheme of the English Ambassador, who, at the time when they were afraid here that the Poles would join the rest against this Empire, spread a rumour that he held a commission from the Queen to intervene to secure peace, and that on previous occasions such intervention had resulted in the reconciliation of Poland and Turkey. One sees, however, that the Ambassador, pushing further than this, wishes that the Poles, Moldavians, and Tartars should unite to assist the Turks.

Thus two letters, the one from the French Ambassador I sent in my last despatch, and the one expressing the views of the English Ambassador, which I now enclose, both show how little these two powers can rely on each other in cases where their interest is concerned.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 12th January 1595 [m.v.]

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

393. Letter from the PORTE to the GRAND CHANCELLOR of POLAND.

Urging him to join with the Vaivods of Moldavia in attacking Transylvania and Wallachia, and adding that the English Ambassador has abundantly guaranteed the goodwill of Poland towards the Turks.

(Signed) SINAN.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

394. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Holiness has for long been urging the release of those two English ships, with a cargo of alum, bought from the Pope, which were seized by the Adelantado in the Straits of Gibraltar. The Nuncio has succeeded in securing the value of the alum which had been sold, but the ships are still under arrest.

Don Francesco Viglianeda, who is in command of twenty-five ships which sailed from Lisbon for the West Indies on the 2nd instant, is said to have special orders from his Majesty to meet and attack Drake. The Spaniards declare that Drake is inferior, both

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in ships and in men, to the Spanish squadron. The delay of three months between the sailing of Drake and the departure of the Spanish fleet leads people to fear that it cannot arrive in time to prevent Drake from inflicting severe damage. All the same, they hope that it will at least secure the safe arrival of the gold flotilla.

The alarm is augmented by the rumour that a large number of ships will shortly put out from England. These are to effect a junction with ships in France, not merely to hinder Spanish commerce, but also to harry the territories of his Majesty. His Majesty is pushing on the construction of one hundred ships in Biscay, Galicia, Lisbon, and Seville; some of them are quite ready. *Whether the result will correspond to the preparations I do not venture to say, for the first flush of preparations here in Spain usually promises much more than is eventually accomplished.*

Madrid, 15th January 1595 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

395. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is news that Drake has landed at Havana and captured the town. The governor has withdrawn into the castle which, the Spaniards say, cannot easily be captured, especially as the fleet under Viglianeda will soon be there. Drake has fortified himself. The Ministers conceal the news in the hope that it may prove false.

Madrid, 21st January 1595 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

396. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

About fifty Spaniards who were prisoners in England have arrived in Lisbon. They were captured by English corsairs. In return the Queen of England has obtained the liberation of her subjects who are prisoners of the Portuguese fleet. About the remaining English prisoners captured by other fleets of his Majesty no decision has yet been reached.

The English Commissioners who came to Lisbon about this business have informed his Majesty that if he will not allow the same freedom to English ships as is accorded to the Dutch, the Queen will deal severely with all Spanish shipping. She has probably made this representation more to satisfy her subjects than with any hope that she will obtain what she demands.

The Queen, in accord with the King of France, has renewed the orders which forbid their subjects to trade in the ports and territory of his Catholic Majesty. This will be a serious blow to the Portuguese.

As regards the news from Havana there is nothing beyond what I have already told you. This silence causes anxiety, though the Ministers take it as of good omen.

Madrid, 27th January 1595 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

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Jan. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

397. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The departure of M. de Sanci for England has been delayed by the arrival here, in great state, of another Ambassador* from the Queen of England. The object of his mission is to secure that the King of France shall not come to terms with Spain to the exclusion of England. This will very likely have a good effect on the question of support from England.

Paris, 27th January 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

398. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A letter has been intercepted, addressed to the Cardinal Archduke, urging him not to attempt the relief of la Fére, but suggesting that he might attack Ostend, which is held by the English. They hope that he will do so, for Ostend is garrisoned by one thousand five hundred veteran English troops, and can easily be supported by sea, and so they think that the Archduke would come out of the affair with little honour.

The Queen of England is ready to succour the King, provided she is not molested by the Spanish Armada.

She promises from three to four thousand troops.

It seems that the King of Spain has given up his scheme for an attack on England now that the Queen has settled her Irish and English affairs. He is well aware that neither at Corunna nor in Flanders are there troops sufficient to harass the English, even if they could effect a landing. However, an English Catholic who is here in exile says that there are frequent conspiracies among the English Catholics.

The English Ambassador who came here on an extraordinary mission, will continue to reside, and M. de Sanci will not go to England till an answer to a letter addressed to the Queen has been received.

Paris, 3rd February 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

399. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England is really desirous for a truce, but the states of Holland and Zealand will never consent, as that would expose them to peril. They demand the departure of all Spanish, the dismantling of the forts, freedom in matters of religion. The Queen has come near to breaking with them on this point, and it seems that she would conclude a truce if no mention were made of the States. She is tired of these wars, and would like to pass the short remainder of her days in peace.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany will not advance any more money to the King of France, and so he will appeal to your Serenity for a loan of two hundred thousand crowns on the security of some

* Sir Henry Unton, cf. "Cecil Papers," part VI. pp. 2, 11, 13.

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jewels, among which may be the famous Sanci diamond, valued at one hundred thousand crowns.

Paris, 3rd February 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

400. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French, who are very anxious for peace, have sent to Flanders to inquire whether the Cardinal Archduke has authority to treat. The answer was that he had authority to treat with England, with the States, and with France, but separately. This rouses suspicion.

News from Nantes that Drake has taken Porto Ricco, fortified it, and left one thousand soldiers in it. He has returned to England.

Paris, 10th February 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

401. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At this present juncture the arrival of an English ship with tin tallow, and a vast quantity of swords among her cargo, has given great satisfaction. She brings news that another ship with a like cargo will soon be here.

The Ambassador of France, holding it for certain that Marseilles has been captured by the King of Spain, is of opinion that the city cannot be recovered without the assistance of a very large naval force. He has obtained an order for the seizure of all vessels from Marseilles that touch Turkish territory.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 10th February 1595 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

402. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Nuncio asked me if I was aware that the Turks were proposing to renew the truce with Spain. He remarked that although such an event would undoubtedly be of some relief to his Majesty in certain quarters, meaning Marseilles, still he thought it unlikely that his Majesty would consent at the present juncture, for his example would point out to the Emperor the way to cure his own troubles by taking the same course.

Madrid, 12th February 1595 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

403. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Next to the war itself nothing occupies the King's attention so much as the formation of a league between France, the States, and England.

The Queen and the States are deeply suspicious of the King. The Queen sent to offer him help, and at first he said he did not need it now, as it was too late. He did not wish to be asked for

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Calais or Boulogne as security. The King and the English Ambassador, however, have come to terms that a close alliance shall be formed, and despatches on the subject have been sent to England; they await the answer. The causes of the Queen's suspicions are the terms of the truce which the King has made between all the provinces of France and those held by the Spanish, such as Brittany.

Paris, 17th February 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

404. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador, on invitation as he affirms, and honourably supplied by the Sultan's orders with all that is necessary for the journey, has already raised a great tent in the courtyard of his house. He intends to join the Turkish camp in order if need be to arrange the terms of peace, or at all events to keep the Poles to their duty. The French Ambassador, on his side, wishes to sail with the fleet. He says, however, that he will not go unless provision for his journey is made by the Turks, and all his credits are paid in. They are many and large, especially one for a famous diamond of great value, bought by Sultan Murad from a certain Rucellai.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 24th February, 1595 [m v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

405. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In addition to the information about the truce which I gave in my last, I must add that a person of great importance at this Court has informed me that Don Juan d'Idiaquez told him that on board a galley of the Neapolitan squadron, which was driven into Majorca by stress of weather, there was a Jew who had left Constantinople with letters for his Majesty. I am also informed that this Jew has passports from Prince Doria and other Ministers of the Crown. His business is the renewal of the truce between Turkey and Spain. He has shown letters addressed to the King. The Imperial Ambassador confirmed this news. The Nuncio told me that he had informed Don Christoforo de Mora that the Pope would show himself opposed to any such negotiations; for the King of Spain, after receiving such lavish support from the Holy See, was morally bound to continue the war against infidels.

Madrid, 28th February 1595 [m.v.]

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

406. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Drake is said to have been sighted off Porto Ricco with a fleet of fifty-six small ships. It seems that he attempted to land there, but was repulsed with great loss, especially through the death of John

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Hawkins [*Jackines*], who was in command. Drake is said to have sailed further on. He has a quantity of bricks on board, and other material for fortification. The rumour that he had sacked Havana is dying away. The Venetian consul in Lisbon informs me that a vessel is being got ready to convey harbequebusses to the Irish Catholic rebels, and a certain number of infantry is also being mustered to man the said ship. A vessel which left Ireland at the end of last month brings news of the progress which the Irish are making against the heretics. The ship which is to go to Ireland is waiting for a pilot. Orders have been sent to Biscay, Galicia, and Lisbon, that vessels are to sail for the English Channel to report on the Queen's preparations, which are causing no small alarm here.

Madrid, 28th February 1595 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

March 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

407. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Discussing the prospects of peace between the King of France and the King of Spain, the Pope said that many difficulties blocked the way. I replied that God had reserved the honour and glory of such a consummation for his Holiness. The Pope replied "We shall certainly ascribe all the glory to Him. But we cannot make any progress in this matter till these blessed French arrive here."

Rome, 2nd March 1596.

[*Italian.*]

March 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

408. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As regards the Jew, Judas Serafatin, who arrived here four days ago, I have found out something from his servant David Sael, whom I tempted to my house and who gave me an account of his journey. He says that he and three others left Constantinople in the month of September. They were in the service of a Jew named Judas Serafatin, of Portuguese blood. Two of the three embarked on a galley which it seems was lost. The journey took about five months and a half, and in the Gulf of Spain they were all in great danger. From Constantinople to Ragusa they took thirty-eight days. At Ragusa they waited ten, and then embarked on a caramusal for Venice. In that city they lodged at the Spanish Embassy for about ten days and then set out for Milan, where they passed four days in lodgings. At Genoa they had to wait forty days in an inn till the galley sailed. I asked where his master was. He replied that he had gone to Aranjuez to confer with the King on business about which he said he knew nothing.

Madrid, 7th March 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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1596.
March 9.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

409. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

*Rumour ran that a Polish Ambassador was about to enter the city. This delighted the people. But presently a private Polish gentleman * arrived, bearing two letters, one for the Sultan and the other for Sinan Pasha. I have had the original of the letter to Sinan in my hands; it is written in Latin. The letter was brought me by the man who translated it. He only intended to let me read it, but I had a copy made as fast as possible, and I enclose it. Your Serenity will gather from it the tenour of the letter to the Sultan and the nature of the negotiations between Poland and the Turkish Empire.*

The Pole was admitted at one of the last Divans and presented the letter and kissed the Sultan's hand. He and three or four of his suite received robes from his Majesty, as usual; but no other signs of honour were bestowed on him, except that the English Ambassador has paid perpetual court to him.

This gentleman, a few days ago, sent two of his suite to visit me and to bring me two letters addressed to me, one by Cardinal Radziwil, the other by the Vice-Chancellor † of Poland. I enclose copies. The Pole informed me that he would like to pay me a visit as befitted the friendly relations between Poland and your Serenity. I sent to make my excuses that I had not forestalled him, and settled the day of his visit, which took place three days ago. He spoke Latin very fluently.

I endeavoured to discover the object of his mission; he told me it was simply and solely to present the letters to the Sultan and to Sinan Pasha; and as there was a doubt that he might meet with a difficulty about his presentation, he was instructed to have recourse to me if need were.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 9th March 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 16.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

410. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The emissary of the Queen of England‡ has passed through here on his way to the camp with the Queen's answer to the question about the truce. The Queen has also sent a son of Horatio Palavicino to find out from an intimate friend of his whether his Majesty is really in treaty with the King of Spain for the conclusion of peace, of which the Queen is very suspicious. This intimate of Palavicino's, who is in the King's service, replied that it was true that his Majesty was invited by the King of Spain to come to terms, but that his Majesty was little inclined to do so unless he were driven perforce, and that the real way to keep him in this excellent disposition was to assist him vigorously. The ground of the Queen's suspicion is this, that some days ago the ministers invented the existence of a letter purporting to be written

* Adrian Remboroschi. † Georg Tarnaroscki (? Tarnowski).
‡ W. Paule, "Cecil Papers," VI. p. 112.

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by Signor Lomellino to Signor Alessandro dal Bene, in which it was made to appear that the Pope was secretly endeavouring to arrange terms between his most Christian and his Catholic Majesty. Of this fictitious letter a copy was shown to the English Ambassador, to whom it was read, and all to induce him to believe what has been explained above. I enclose a copy for your Excellencies, and I humbly recommend it to your profoundest secrecy; for although it is well known what artifices are in use here, still if it became known that I had received this copy, it would be the ruin of the person who conducted the affair, and hurtful to your Serenity's interests as well, for he is the sole person from whom I could possibly have obtained it. (Questa gelosia è nata perche alli questi giorni passati questi Ministri del Rè finsero una lettera come scritta dal Mons. Lomellino a Signor Alessandro dal Bene per la quale pare che il Papa tratti secretamente di accomodare questo Christianissimo Rè col Serenissimo Rè Cattolico. Ne diedero di essa una copia all' Ambasciatore d'Inghilterra, al quale fu letta, et tutto non ad altro fine che per fargli credere quanto è sopradetto. Mando di essa una copia alle Eccellenze Vostre et le supplico humilamente che sia raccommandato al loro profondissimo silentio; perche si come bene quelle conoscono gl' artificci che qui si usano, col risaperlo che l'havessi havuta, non potendo io haverla havuta che da quel solo che ha maneggiato questo negotio, sarebbe la rovina sua congiunta con interesse della Serenità Vostra.)

Paris, 16th March 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

411. *Copy of a letter written by Mons. Lomelino to Signor Alessandro dal Bene.*

My most illustrious and right honoured Lord,

I received, now many days ago, your thrice welcome letter from Bologna. That I have not answered sooner is due to the lack of a sure occasion. I am to give you instructions about the cipher which has been sent you by another route; you are to acknowledge receipt thereof and to take care in writing to make the characters quite clear. I reported your observations on the difficulties you foresee in the way of separating ourselves from our neighbour allies. The answer was that they are not of the fold; only to sons do we offer paternal solicitude, and our intervention in order to unite them. Do not prefer the interest of others to your own. Peace will heal your domestic sores, and restore strength, nerve, health, and then you will be capable of defending yourself without the help of neighbours; and it may even be that, to your great renown, you will be in a position to enter as arbiter among the others who are exhausted by war. Embrace the opportunity which paternal affection and authority has prepared for you; your adversaries will not make the path difficult; and thus you will recover at once your ancient possession which your own arms, and those of your neighbour allies as well, could scarcely hope to regain after a long time.

I am instructed to lay these considerations before you and to invite your attention. I am also to add that the way is smoothed,

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as far as your adversaries are concerned, by the large armament of the Turks, and by the Sultan's presence in Hungary. They are forced to assist the Emperor, at least with money, and they are obliged to protect the coast of Italy, Naples and Sicily. Our Lord offers as large assistance as is possible, but he demands an armament in full and not one like last year's. Spain is inclined, both in view of the assistance offered by our Lord, and because she is urged from Prague, whence she is begged to divert the impending storm by an attack on the islands of the Archipelago. Spain will be forced to leave you alone, and this opportunity now serves you to obtain, and us to procure, an accord either for a certain period or complete. If that period were only for two years, it would be of more service to you in recovering your position than ten years of war; and, your position recovered, you can be of service to your neighbours as intermediary or as ally. What cannot be done at one stroke must be done by two. Your Lordship is to explain and insist on these points, and to report what you see and foresee. We ardently hope that no time will be lost in so good a cause, and that there is every hope of a successful issue if good sense exists on your side I must not omit to tell you that when the news arrived that Mercœur offered to mediate, everyone laughed hugely at the notion of this flea making peace among the old clothes men. (Quasi che un pulsino tratti d'accordo delli strazzaruoli).

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

412. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have learned nothing further about the Jew than what he himself freely states; namely, that he was sent from Constantinople by a Jew of great importance at the Porte, and his mission was to arrange a universal peace with the House of Austria; the Grand Vizir approved the mission. The Ministers of the Sultan are disposed for this peace and wish to effect it through his Catholic Majesty. But the facility with which this Hebrew talks about so grave a mission causes many to have doubts about him and his statements. The Jew has been in Spain before. He is very shrewd: speaks several languages fluently, so no wonder he chatters. He says he has travelled much, and has been in England, where he has had dealings with Don Antonio of Portugal, and with Antonio Perez.

Madrid, 22nd March, 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

413. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Six Spanish galleys have seized in these waters one Englishman and one ship of Rochelle returning to their respective countries from the Levant.

Madrid, 23rd March 1596.

[*Italian.*]

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1596.
March 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

414. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England and the States of Holland are gathering a large armament. She will have one hundred ships, they say, and Holland thirty; all destined for Dunquerque.

The Irish rebellion, which had broken out afresh owing to the capture of a fort by the Earl of Tyrone, has been suppressed. The Queen has already sent Sir Henry Wallop (*Henrico Vallot*) and the Lord Deputy* to the borders, there to confer with the said Earl and with the Earl of O'Donnell (*Conte di Oduuel*), who is also a rebel against Queen; and after making submission they will receive pardon.

Francis Drake and John Hawkins (Joanni Haulkinge) have done much damage at Porto Ricco, and then pushed on to Havana, where they took the castle with all the treasure that was in it. They are expected home in England about the end of April.

The King of Scotland is under arms, more by sea than by land, as he is disgusted with the King of Spain for the protection he gives to the rebel Scots, in the north, and in the Orkneys; also because of a book published in Spain, wherein all claims to the Crown of England are discussed, and the King of Scotland absolutely excluded, the King of Spain and the Infante both being put before him.

Paris, 23rd March 1596.

[*Italian.*]

April 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

415. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador is very ill; the doctors have given him up. He has had the spotted fever (purples) which is raging here. Her Majesty will lose a good and able minister. His death will delay the negotiations, to the great prejudice of this kingdom.

Paris, 6th April 1596.

[*Italian.*]

April 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

416. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Jew has had an audience of his Majesty, the interview lasted a long time. I have not been able to find out what passed. The rumour that he was sent by Alvaro Mendez is confirmed. My confidant, who knew Mendez in Constantinople, says that he was chiefly employed by the Turks in finding out the movement of Spanish affairs. Moreover this, Mendez was an intimate frequenter of the English Embassy, besides knowing M. de Lancome, the Ambassador of France, before he was discovered to be in the interest of Spain. One of the Jew's servants, who calls himself his Secretary, says that Mendez sent Serafatin to treat about the exchange of slaves captured at Patras, though he was also retained by the Jews of Milan on some business of theirs.

I have noticed that during these last few days this Jew, in talking of his affairs, says first one thing and then another, and no longer speaks as openly as he did at first.

* Sir W. Russell. Sir Robert Gardner was Chief Justiciar, cf. "Cecil Papers."

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A few days ago the Count de Berlamont, talking to me about the pacification of Flanders, said that one or two cities already infected with heresy might be set aside for the exercise of the new religion.

But the Flemish have no faith in his Majesty, for they remember that while he was actually negotiating a peace with the Queen of England he suddenly attacked her.

The Irish Catholics have asked for some officers skilled in war. His Majesty has sent two captains, four lieutenants, and twenty musketeers, and if matters go well he will send a large force of infantry.

Drake's fleet of twenty-six sail has been sighted off New Carthage. Some say he is on his way back to England, or to Havana, others that he is on his way to attack Panama.

His Majesty has been attacked by his ordinary gout. The Prince has had a fit of fever. They bled him and he is better. He made himself ill by eating too many sweetbreads when out in the country.

Madrid, 8th April 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

417. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The departure of the Sultan for the war is more doubtful than ever; and although there is some stir of preparation, and the proclamation has been made in the market (besestan) that all who are under obligation to serve are to be ready to march in twenty days, all the same there are no signs of troops, horses, camels, mules, or other provision for war, which would indicate his Majesty's departure. It seems that Ibraim Pasha, in accord with the Sultana Mother, is opposed to this step. Ibraim, three days ago, called the chief of the Janizaries and the superior officers to a conference which lasted for a long time. It seems that the subject of discussion was how to send off the chief of the Janizaries and keep his Majesty, without causing a mutiny among the troops. A few days ago there was a meeting at the house of the secretary in order to discuss the French Ambassador's request for a fleet to reduce Marseilles. Mocato, the Jewish doctor, was present, and frankly declared that if the fleet went to Marseilles not a vessel would escape. Various sides were taken during debate, but in the end they all agreed that the French Ambassador should be kept in hopes by favourable speeches. He, however, relaxes none of his insistence, and the day before yesterday he went to the Capudan Pasha, and after having urged the prompt departure of the fleet he got as answer the consideration of the various dangers to which fleets are exposed in foreign waters, and the information that the galley slaves had not yet begun to arrive. All the same the Capudan does all he can to overcome difficulties and to provide a fleet of one hundred sail, and for this purpose he is commissioning even the unseaworthy, and yesterday, with great pomp and many salvoes of artillery, and rejoicings throughout the arsenal, the Capudan's galley, of thirty-two banks of oars, was launched. It is very big, and it is doubtful

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if it will prove a success, though it is certainly beautiful and finely furnished.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 9th April 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

418. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty's gout has increased to such an intensity of pain that his right arm is powerless. At first the doctors, seeing how weak he was, resolved not to bleed him, but fearing a further advance in the malady, they finally took five ounces of blood, which came out very foul. His fever is a double tertian with irregular spasms. The doctors fear that on Good Friday, when the eclipse takes place, some dangerous crisis may arise, unless the bleeding does good.

Madrid, 10th April 1596.

[*Italian.*]

April 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

419. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The advance of the Spanish towards Montreuil (Montruol) does not please the Queen of England's agents here, who consider that such proximity to England cannot be other than dangerous. Her Ambassador is just dead, and her agent has left for England in great haste to prove how serious would be the loss if Montreuil fell to the Spanish. Its weakness exposes it to great risk. He will urge the despatch of succours, but they cannot arrive till it is too late.*

The Queen continues to muster her fleet, which is now lying, fully equipped, in the port of Plymouth. M. de Bellièvre tells me that there are as many as fifteen thousand men on board. This has created a serious impression here, as these ministers take it that the affairs of France are totally abandoned by the Queen. However, in four or five days M. de Sanci will go to England to endeavour to arrange a conference, as I already reported. The place will be either Ponevrille (? Beville) or Dieppe, depending on the enemies' moves. The Queen has recalled two thousand five hundred veterans which she had in the Netherlands. They are to be sent on board the fleet. This will force the States of Holland to take the field in order to divert the Spanish who are threatening these provinces. It is said that the Queen also intended to recall her troops in his Majesty's service, but that is not certain yet. It is true that if the Queen does not send other troops to replace those she has recalled, the States will be forced to recall their troops from France to the serious prejudice of the King, who at his greatest need will find himself abandoned by all.

The Earl of Essex is to take the command. He is in high favour with the Queen, and has always been well disposed towards the King of France. M. de Bellièvre tells me he fears that this appointment is a suggestion of the Lord Treasurer, who is hostile to France, in order to divert the Queen from sending aid to his Majesty, and to rid himself of the Earl of Essex on the pretext

* Thomas Edmondes, cf. "Cecil Papers," part VI.

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of this honourable appointment, which would leave him absolute master in the Council. All the same, on excellent authority, I hear that the Earl himself suggested the expedition, without any participation on the part of the Lord Treasurer; and that he and the Queen alone know its object. If that is so it must be an affair of the highest importance. It is generally supposed that their object lies in Spain; some have suggested Africa. It is a fact that the flower of English nobility is on board, for as they say "he is no true son of a good mother who is not ready to march." The French are doing all they can to dissuade the English from the expedition, and to divert these forces to their own aid; but it is thought they can hardly succeed, as things have gone so far that to retire would be of the most serious injury to her Majesty.

Paris, 13th April 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

420. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is news from England that Francis Drake and John Hawkins have been seriously worsted in the Indies by the Spanish. This will be that news about the capture of Havana which is thus contradicted.

Paris, 13th April 1596.

[*Italian.*]

April 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

421. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A carvel which left Panama on the 20th of January has brought news that Drake landed nine hundred men at Nombre di Dios, and marched thence to Panama with the intention of capturing the five millions of gold which Don Alonzo de Sottomayor had gathered there from Peru, previous to sending them to Spain.

Don Alonzo with five hundred men laid an ambuscade at a certain strong and narrow pass, where he encountered Drake and compelled him to return towards the sea with the loss of one hundred and fifty men. Drake has been forced to give up the enterprise and to embark again. The Spaniards say that, as this is the fourth time within the year that he has attempted a landing without success, he will now recognise his failure and will retire from the Indies. Besides, the Spaniards are in hopes that the fleet which set sail under the command of Don Bernardin de Viglianeda—of which as yet there is no news—if it has not met with some mishap, will be able to attack and, if not to defeat, at least to rout and scatter, Drake's squadron already crushed and already exhausted by seven months of service on the open sea.

The squadron of the Portuguese Consulate sailed on the tenth of this month for the East Indies; and on the same date others for the West Indies. Taken together they say that the number was about forty. *The other preparations for a fleet are not being pushed*

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forward as fast as they might be or as they would be if there was any idea of using that fleet at once.

Madrid, 18th April 1596.

(*Italian; the part in italics deciphered*).

April 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

422. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Good Friday, the day on which they feared a crisis in his Majesty's illness, an improvement took place, due to the previous bleeding. The king himself on that day inquired at what hour the eclipse would take place, and recalled how his father, his mother, and others of his house had died at a similar conjuncture.

On Saturday the gout gave signs of attacking the throat. Dr. Mercato, first physician to his Majesty, who is usually averse to bleeding because, although it relieved the pain of the gout, it lowered the vitality, which it was of prime importance to maintain, as the gout was merely an accessory to the tertian fever, now resolved to make the incision; he took other three ounces of blood on Easter Day; it flowed with difficulty, and two-thirds of it was watery humour. When the doctors entered the room his Majesty at once held out his arm that they might feel the pulse. They asked no questions, either so as to avoid tiring him or for other reasons, and left the room at once. Outside they found Don Christoforo de Mora, who explained minutely his Majesty's condition; on the strength of that report the doctors ordered medicines. The town of Acecca is very damp, and the season unusually cold, both facts are unfavourable to his Majesty.

Madrid, 20th April 1596.

(*Italian.*)

April 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

423. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

While the Spanish were on their way to Montreuil, as I informed your Serenity, they suddenly changed their plan and threw themselves on Calais. Although this design of theirs has been known here for months, nevertheless, when the news came it caused great anxiety at the beginning of this week; for they argue that, in face of the King's forces by land and the Queen of England's fleet by sea, the Spaniards would not have taken this step without good ground for thinking that it would end favourably, either thanks to some secret understanding inside Calais itself or by closing the routes through which succour can reach the town.

The fortress is entirely surrounded by marshes, and can be reached by one bridge only, called Nieullai (Nieullet); if that is guarded by land they say no one can rescue the fort.

At the mouth of the harbour is another fort, called Risbank (*Risban*), of small importance as far as strength goes, but very important if the Spanish should capture it, for they could then exclude succour from sea. There was a report that the Spanish had already begun to bombard, but later information shows that one among the many Frenchmen in the Spanish army,

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perceiving what the design of the Spaniards was, broke away from camp and, running day and night, reached Calais in time to give warning. The governor immediately fired guns to call the peasants into the town, as is the custom, and in less than two hours one thousand two hundred of them had entered Calais with abundant provisions. The governor also despatched the same Frenchman to Zealand; the wind was so favourable that he soon reached Flushing, and, embarking eight hundred men, with an equally favourable wind he came back. The whole journey did not take more than forty hours. Some say that these eight hundred have entered the town, others that they are in the fortress of Risbank to prevent the Spanish from capturing it.

The Marshal Balligny (Ballagny), who had gone towards Montreuil, when he heard the news, returned by sea with all his men to Calais. But that all this is true I would not venture to affirm.

When his Majesty was informed of this threat to Calais, he set out with two thousand five hundred horse and four infantry regiments, namely, Navarre, Champagne, Picardy and the guards, numbering about three thousand men in all. He sent the Duke of Bouillon to occupy Ardres, and the Duke at the present moment is stationary in Amiens.

Should the Spanish succeed in this enterprise it would undoubtedly be more prejudicial to England than to France; for Calais is distant from Dover, the nearest point of England, not more than thirty Italian miles at the most. The French are of opinion that this time the enemy have done more good than harm, for the Queen of England, roused by the danger, will be obliged to come to a resolve to assist the King, a thing she would not do for love alone. And some even say that her ships are already to be seen in those waters, though that is hard to believe, for latest advices represented the fleet as being at Plymouth.

The English agent is reported, though from one quarter only, as having been made prisoner at Dunquerque. M. de Sanci left for England on Easter Monday, at two p.m., in extraordinary haste, in order to urge the despatch of assistance. I enclose a printed plan of the country, the only one I could find in the whole town. I am told it is very accurate.*

I had a conversation some days ago with a minister of great weight; and I discovered that what I had always suspected was true, namely, that the French are doing all they can to secure the despatch of a Turkish fleet to Sicily, with a view to seizing and fortifying some port where they could amass men. I recall the examples of the Carthaginians and of the Greeks, which prove that Sicily has always been the ladder by which foreigners have most easily reached and harassed Italy.

Paris, 20th April 1596.

(*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*)

* The map is missing from the *filza*.

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1596.
April 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

424. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish after capturing the bridge and the tower of the Port of Calais on the twelfth, opened fire on the city so vigorously that by Wednesday the seventeenth, they had made a great breach through which they assaulted and captured the town. The governor died gallantly in the breach. The castle has agreed to yield if not relieved before the twenty-fourth. On the 22nd the King was at Boulogne and the Earl of Essex has arrived with troops, so that his Majesty's force may number about ten thousand infantry besides cavalry. He was to leave that same day or the following day for the relief of Calais. This news is brought by people who have arrived from that city; and they also declare that the English fleet is in sight. His Majesty is much disturbed and is indignant with M. de St. Pol and the Marshal Balligny for having, through cowardice, failed to enter Calais.*

Twelve Spanish galleons are in Blauet harbour, with two thousand five hundred men on board, but partly owing to the rough weather, partly to want of pilots, but mostly from fear of the English, they have not as yet gone any further.

It was true that the ships from Zealand arrived to the relief of Calais, but finding the tower of Risbank already taken, they cast anchor, and one of them which tried to force an entry was sunk.

This event is so important that I think it right to announce it by express.

Paris, 23rd April, 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

425. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In audience of the Grand Vizir he expressed to me his intention of setting at liberty the suite of the Imperial Ambassador, affirming that there was no charge against them, though he did not wish them to leave immediately. I did all I could to strengthen this resolve, and I told him that those unfortunates had often sent to beg me to use my influence on their behalf, but that I had never moved in the matter in order to avoid encouraging those who spread the lying rumour that your Serenity is assisting the Imperialists against the Turk; but now that he had imparted to me his intention I could not do less than approve and applaud it.

The order has been issued for their liberation and their consignment to me.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 24th April 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

426. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Amaassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The ship "Fontana" has arrived with a cargo of twelve thousand yards of canvas for sails. It cannot be found of a good quality in Constantinople, so they bring it from France.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 25th April 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

[* M. de Bidossan (Vidauzan). *Cf.* Martin *Hist. de France*, X. 393 et seqq. "Cecil Papers," VI. 147.]

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April 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

427. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Capudan Pasha's galley has been fitted with thirty banks of oars, as it was rather narrow for the original thirty-two. Each oar is rowed by seven men. The vessel is slow under oar; I do not know how she will be under sail.

On St. Mark's day the Capudan went in his galley to the Kiosk and there, to the sound of music and salvoes of artillery, the Sultan came on board. They went for a cruise in the bays of this most pleasant sea until supper-time; two galleys and seven galleots formed the escort; they too were painted all sorts of colours, and decked with silken flags. When saluting, one of the guns of the castle of the Black Sea burst and killed two Turks; and also while saluting, a gun of the ship "Fontana," loaded with ball, hit and broke a balustrade of the door of the Suleimanje, which resulted in the arrest of two of the crew. An English ship has brought a large number of swords, shipped at Zante, so the French Ambassador told me when he dined with me on St. Mark's day.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 26th April 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

428. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the despatch of my last to your Serenity no certain news about Calais has been received. This causes anxiety, for if the King had recovered the town it would be only natural that we should have heard of it by now. To-day there is news that Duke of Bouillon has thrown four hundred men into the city, and again that his Majesty has entered the city by the breach which the Spanish had made. This news comes from the Governor of Dieppe, but does not secure complete credence. This is true, however, that besides the Earl Essex, the Count Maurice has also arrived with five thousand Dutch troops. It seems that they are *attempting to come to terms, but the future disposal of Calais is a difficulty. The English claim that it should belong to the Queen, who on that account has come as far as Dover.* All those seas are swarming with English and Dutch ships. The King is twice as strong as the enemy. They have sunk two ships to block the harbour, so help can only arrive from land. His Majesty is resolved to recapture the place.

Paris, 27th April 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

429. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News has this minute arrived that the Castle of Calais has fallen. That event took place on Thursday the 25th. The Spanish bombarded it and then carried it by assault, cutting to

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bits all who were in it. This is a loss of immense importance to all Christendom and the consequences will be most grave.

Paris, 1st May 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

430. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is publicly announced here that the King of France intends to send the Cardinal de Joyeuse to announce his absolution to his Catholic Majesty. It will be difficult to refuse admission to the Cardinal on account of his rank, and as he is in favour here he may act as an acceptable mediator. The Nuncio told me that when the Cardinal arrives negotiations for an accord will be begun; and that without actually naming him Legate the Pope also might charge him with a mission. But as to the truth of this your Serenity will be more surely informed from nearer the scene of action.

A genealogy of his Majesty has been published here. Its author's evident object is to prove that the Duchy of Brittany belongs to the Infanta. I hear that his Majesty commissioned a chronicler, a certain Garimbai, to complete the work, so that whatever happens his rights may be made manifest.

A person of competent knowledge tells me that his Majesty's illness has brought the question of the Prince's marriage again to the front. The negotiations are for a union with the daughter of Archduke Karl.

Madrid, 1st May 1596.

[*Italian.*]

May 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

431. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Your Serenity will have gathered from my last despatches the miserable fall of Calais, city and castle. The importance is made clear enough in the conversation of these gentlemen. The King has written a letter encouraging all and promising to use every effort to wipe out this insult. And had this good prince the instruments, as he has the ability, to vindicate his honour, we might consider the matter accomplished, but he has not. The kingdom is exhausted; no money can be raised by extraordinary measures. The nobility is worn out and weary, and many who are in duty bound to the King's service do not go, not because the will is wanting but the means. The merchants exact disadvantageous terms for accommodation. It is impossible to keep up the army any longer at the cost of the peasants. The victuals every day grow scarcer in camp. The Council has resolved to make one more appeal to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

There is a doubt in the minds of these Ministers, as the Marquis Pisani told me, that the King of Spain may give Calais to the Queen of England, receive Flushing instead, and so make peace with her. If that took place nothing could be more disastrous for this Crown. The only consideration which hinders the completion of such a design is the scheme for conquering England which his

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Catholic Majesty has so long had in preparation; it is improbable that his Majesty will abandon that design, especially at this moment when the field is opened for him to carry it out.

The King of France is very ill-pleased with the Queen of England because, before sending succours, she asked for Calais as security for the large debts due to her from his Majesty. When this was refused she asked for the city for her life only, then for a single year. While they were disputing over this request, to which his Majesty would never lend an ear, the enemy have succeeded in storming the fortress; for negotiations dragged on so long that the King only set out for the relief of Calais on the very day it fell.

The bombardment and the breach were made at a hollow earthen rampart; they occupied three hours. The first two assaults were repulsed with great gallantry and heavy loss to the Spanish. But unfortunately in these assaults all the officers of the garrison were either killed or seriously wounded, without a single exception. At the third assault, though the troops fought bravely, they were discouraged, and failed to resist the violence of the enemy, who entered the fort and cut them all to pieces. This done the Spaniards at once sent the cavalry inland, and his Majesty retired on this account. Every day it is announced by the Ministers and by the King himself that the town will soon fall, but this has been said so often that now no one will believe it till they see it. The English and Dutch have retired to their homes and the Spanish infantry is rumoured to be pushed out as far as Ardres, which they will easily capture, as the position is very weak.

M. de Sanci has been able to do nothing in England. The Queen received his very badly. The King has sent the Duke of Bouillon there. Everything has taken a bad turn this year.

His Majesty has sent to Paris for some small amount of money for the protection of the borders of Picardy; and all this week the Ministers in person have been squeezing their brains to find out how this money can be raised.

The poor throng into this city in such numbers that it is impossible to move about the streets neither on foot or on horseback. A census was taken, and they were found to amount to one hundred thousand, some days ago; now they are many more. They have brought the plague—the last calamity; and every day people are falling and dying in the streets. It is true that the plague is confined to the poor classes, with the exception of two or three councillors. As it is a matter of ordinary occurence here they do not make much of it. Those who have the charge of sanitary matters do not do their duty and the mob hinders them.

Paris, 3rd May 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives

432. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty has almost recovered; he has only a slight fever and a little gout. But his extreme weakness keeps the doctors anxious.

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It is said that the Adelantado of Castile will be made commander-in-chief of the ocean.

Drake's retreat from Panama is confirmed; but when off Porto Ricco he seized several barrels of silver to the value of fifty thousand crowns. The governor reports that had the English arrived fifteen days earlier, undoubtedly they would have captured the five millions which were lying there, for they would have found the place without warning and it could easily have been surprised. The depositions of some English prisoners show that Drake has orders to return to England within the month of May.

Letters from Lisbon inform us that the Earl of Northumberland (*Conte di Tamurlano*) is forty-five leagues off the Spanish coast with twenty-one ships. He is cruising towards Cape St. Vincent, and it is conjectured that his object is either to support Drake or to lie in wait for the India fleets.

There is continual news from Ireland that under the Earl of Tyrone ten thousand Irish Catholics and as many Scottish have risen in revolt against the Queen's Viceroy. This and the previous despatch of some officers and arms leads to the conjecture that the large preparations may be destined for that quarter, where his Catholic Majesty is believed to have secret intelligence; although it is quite possible that all these preparations are intended rather for defence of his own States than for an attack on others. Don Francesco d'Idiaquez tells me that news has come to Fontarabia, by sea, that the Cardinal has captured Calais. He added that although he thought it likely that the Cardinal had attacked Calais, yet, if within three or four days there was no confirmation of the news, he would not believe it.

Madrid, 4th May 1596.

[*Italian.*]

May 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

433. Piero Duodo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Spanish in evacuating Calais carried off everything. They left behind them a strong garrison, with sappers and miners to restore the fortifications. On their way back they wished to reconnoitre Montreuil, but there were eight hundred French in that town, and so they passed on. There is news of fresh slaughter at Calais, which seems to be the nucleus of the war.

As a result of the mission of the Duke of Bouillon, the Queen of England has seemingly resolved to send large reinforcements to his Majesty, to the extent of twelve thousand foot and twenty pieces of artillery. The conditions that will satisfy her are that when the fortress of Calais is recovered it shall belong to the King under the governorship of the Duke for six years; and that on the conclusion of that operation his Majesty shall lend her a like force, as she now lends him, for the capture of Dunquerque, which she wishes to take from the Spanish. These terms are generally announced, though the Ministers have no information as yet. It is true that M. de Sanci writes from England to say that the troops are already on the march; and it is generally thought that Holland will concur

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vigorously, for it is no less important for the States than for the Queen that Calais should not remain in the hands of their enemies.

Antonio Perez went to England with the Duke of Bouillon. The object of his visit is not clear, though it was most probably caused by his desire to escape from the camp, as all plans and designs have been upset by the affair of Calais.

Paris, 11th May 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

434. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In audience his Holiness asked me if I had heard that Calais had fallen to Spain? Here it is considered certain, as letters from Lyons to Paris say that the Castle still holds for the King, who is near at hand in great force, with large supports from England and Holland. I said I had no news, but if it be true we shall soon have still graver news of a battle. His Holiness then made this actual remark, "God's holy service be done; *and were We to speak freely to your Lordship We should say, as the Duke of Ferrara said at the battle of Ravenna, 'Fire! they're all enemies.' There are the French so careless, and the Spanish so insolent, that We don't know which We prefer nor what would be good.*"

From these words of his Holiness I gathered that he was much disturbed by this affair of Calais, and very ill pleased with Spain. I learn from a trustworthy source that the Duke of Sessa was three hours in audience with his Holiness last Saturday, and left the Pope much disgusted and grieved.*

Rome, 11th May 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

435. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This week we have just heard of the resolve taken by his Holiness to send Cardinal de' Medici to France. This has thrown the heretics into the greatest suspicion, for they conjecture that this may end in a peace with Spain to their grave peril. It will also render the Queen of England and the States of Holland even more suspicious than the heretics. This step, therefore, cannot fail to damage his Majesty. The action of the Spanish Ambassador in Rome in hastening his Eminence's departure deepens the suspicion, as it is very well known that he does so for his master's interest, not for the benefit of this kingdom. His sole object is to rouse suspicion among the Protestants, and so to facilitate the achievement of those designs which his Holiness has for long been maturing but not accomplishing.

The fall of Calais will assist the conclusion of peace with Savoy, which even the Ministers who were opposed to it, now recognise as inevitable. But it is possible that the English reinforcements and

* Ferdinando Gonzalvo, Spanish Ambassador in Rome.

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the success at la Fére may encourage the French to change their resolutions.

Paris, 11th May 1596.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

May 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

436. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Jew, Serafatin, has left, declaring that he is very well satisfied with his Majesty. But he is proved to be a man full of falsehood and tricks. It seems that the exchange of slaves was his chief commission. He may have touched on the subject of the truce or universal peace between the Turks and the House of Austria, but certainly nothing definite has resulted.

Don Luigi d'Avalos, one of the Cardinal Archduke's four chamberlains, has arrived here with confirmation of the news that Calais has been captured. As a consequence of this highly important event all sorts of plans are being discussed here. I shall wait till they are more mature before I communicate them to your Serenity.

Madrid, 13th May 1596.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

437. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from Havana that Drake's fleet has met the fleet of his Majesty, and that the Englishmen had not the courage to face it, but fled after losing one ship. From the prisoners captured we learn that Drake himself died in January at Nombre di Dios. That your Serenity may clearly understand the nature of this news I enclose an extract from a letter written by the commander-in-chief, Viglianeda, to a very near relation of his. The joy of so much success has caused extreme satisfaction and rejoicing throughout the country. His Majesty shows the keenest delight, and declares that this good news will help him to get well rapidly. His health improves slowly day by day, and very soon he will be able to change his lodging.

As a result of these events every one at Court is complaining of the Pope for having absolved the King of France. Now, they say, the Lord God is showing that he has undertaken the protection of his Catholic Majesty, and will prove to all the world the justice of his cause. The rumour even runs that the Blessed Diego has appeared to his Majesty in a vision, to tell him that God has granted him ten years more of life; a report which deceives those who are ready to be deceived. Further, to show how great the confusion on the matter of religion is in France, the Parliament of Paris will not assent to the form of absolution, which they claim should be called benediction, not absolution. Moreover, the Parliament has issued several decrees declaring the appointments made to benefices before the rebenediction to be invalid. I learn that some of these decrees are published and circulated here. They say that the

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King of France, in place of sending the Cardinal of Joyeuse to this Court, will have to send him to Rome to excuse his conduct.
Madrid, 14th May 1596.
[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

438. EXTRACT from a letter written by DON BERNARDINO DELGADIGLIO D'AVIGLIANEDA, at present General of his Catholic Majesty's fleet in the Indies, addressed to his nephew, and dated from Havana, 28th March 1596. Translated into Italian.

From New Carthage I informed your Lordship of my arrival there, and of all that had befallen me up to that date, while lying in wait for the enemy.

I now inform you that on the 2nd of this month (March) I left that port, and steered for Havana, where I heard that Drake's fleet lay. On the 11th, a Monday, having used all diligence, at two of the afternoon I sighted the English fleet, of fourteen sail only, just as I cleared the island of Pinos. The Englishmen were very quick in manœuvring. I drew up to them, although they had the wind in their favour; and our flagship, which with two others stood closer to the wind, began to come within range. Three times the enemy made as though they would face our three ships, but they lacked the courage; or perhaps their design was to ram some of the other vessels of our fleet which were separated from the rest. We, however, drew up so closely that not merely the artillery, but also the musketry came into play. The fire did evident damage. The enemy's fire was directed chiefly to our flagship.

But presently, when the enemy saw that we continued to draw on and evidently meant to board them, they turned their bows and took to flight, under full sail, abandoning all the frigates which they usually employ for landing purposes. All night long with nine ships, and then in the morning with four more which had joined me, I followed them up till I forced them round the Cape of of St. Antonio and into the Channel of Bahama, and thus having driven them from those waters in obedience to his Majesty's instructions, I gave up the pursuit. The enemy never ventured to make a stand, though I was inferior in number of ships; nor did they make any show of courage by firing their guns, such was their hurry to escape. They did so without difficulty, for of the twenty-eight vessels with which Drake sailed only fourteen remained, the best however, the others were sunk or burned; moreover, during the forty days they were lying at Portobello they had repaired the whole fleet and fully provisioned it; I, on the contrary, left Lisbon in very bad condition; and almost all my ships have been leaking during these two months that I am out from Spain. But in spite of all this, and although the enemy were, as the saying is, on the iron and with the wind in their favour, yet they would not fight; but actually left in my hands one of their ships fully manned. From the crew of this ship I learned that Drake, after the landing he affected in January, went on to Panama and cast anchor in the port of Nombre di Dios to refit, and there he died. A colonel who

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was on board took the command. The English have not had the opportunity to take in water, wood, and meat, so it is with difficulty that they will reach England. The prisoners seem to be gentlemen of quality, and among them are fourteen or fifteen officers of high rank. I cannot believe that, after the uselessness and the shame of this expedition, the English will think of returning to the Indies. The population is overjoyed at the sight of this fleet, and understanding that his Majesty has a care for their safety, they promise on future occasions to offer a lively and a willing opposition to the foe. I am well, thank God; and in every port that I have entered I have found all quiet, and have never encountered any trouble. I have orders from the King which I think I can fulfil to the letter.

For the rest, I beg your Lordship to tell me what is going on at home, and I assure you that your busiest day will leave you more time for writing than I can find on my freest holiday.

[*Italian.*]

May 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

439. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As I was closing this despatch Don Francesco Idiaquez sent me the enclosed account of the capture of Calais. This is an unusual proceeding. It was done with some mystery, in order that the news might be spread about. The ordinary post leaves to-day for Rome, and they thought that I would very likely send you this news by it.

Madrid, 18th May 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

440. AN ACCOUNT of the CAPTURE of the CITY of CALAIS, written, on the 24th of April 1596, inside Calais itself, and received in Acecca on the 16th of May.

After his Highness (the Cardinal Archduke) had granted six days time to the garrison of the citadel to inform the Bearnois of the state in which they were, they hoped for some help either from the Bearnois, who was at Boulogne with the larger part of his cavalry, or some infantry. In the interim his Highness put his artillery in train. On the morning of the 24th April, early, fire was opened on a rampart of the citadel from some pieces of artillery, with such effect that they were soon able to deliver the assault. The garrison held out for an hour. Then they lost heart. The Spanish entered, and of all the garrison and population not one escaped death. Spanish loss little more than twenty soldiers and some wounded.

[*Spanish.*]

May 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

441. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish are under Ardres with twenty pieces of cannon. The garrison have written to the King to have no anxiety, as they can hold out for many days. His Majesty is preparing to relieve the place.

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There is no certain news from England, although news there is in abundance. There are grave doubts lest affairs there may take a turn quite different from that which is desired here. The Duke of Bouillon is ill in England; and many fear that this is the reason why the reinforcements advance so slowly; they have not crossed the Channel yet. It is said that the Queen has asked for Boulogne —if it is true, it is a bad sign. I have had an opportunity during the last few days to speak with one of these Ministers. He told me in confidence that *he had grave suspicions that negotiations for peace were on foot between the Queen of England and the King of Spain. If this be the case the French have only themselves to thank for it, as it is the upshot of that suspicion which they have deliberately aroused; and it is far from impossible that the Queen may forestall the French in making terms with Spain so as not to be forestalled by them. It is also possible that, to gain her own ends, the Queen is using the same arts which they are employing to deceive her. Time will show. It is true, however, that a certain amount of ammunition has passed from England to Boulogne, a sign that she does not intend to abandon the French entirely.*

From Zealand twenty-four ships fully armed, and twelve transports laden with munitions of war have sailed to join the English.

Paris, 18th May 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

442. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

La Fére capitulated on the 16th inst., and the King will enter on the 21st. Two days later he will march *to the relief of Ardres by way of Artois.*

Paris, 18th May 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

443. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador, who was to accompany the Sultan to the wars, is now doubtful whether his Majesty will start.

The Capudan Pasha in talking of foreign affairs asked me about the Spanish fleet. As I knew that the English Ambassador had been to talk to him on this subject I replied that, as every one was aware, Drake had inflicted some damage on the Spaniards in the Indies. The Queen supported him, and the King of Spain was mustering a large fleet to hold Drake in check. He replied that what I told him tallied with what the English Ambassador had said with the Queen's letters in his hand.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 19th May 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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May 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

444. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News has arrived that Michali has made great conquests of territory along the banks of the Danube.

I have just heard that an express messenger has arrived with news that the Turks have suffered a great defeat in Hungary, with the loss of seven Sanjaks and the chief of the Janizaries. This news has roused the Sultan, and orders have been sent to the Ambassador of England, and they say to the Ambassador of France, to hold themselves ready to follow the Sultan, who will start as soon as he can.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 19th May 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

445. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 22nd inst. his Majesty entered la Fére; the same morning early the Spanish evacuated the town, as stipulated. *His Majesty immediately gave orders to march to the succour of Ardres. His force consists of fourteen thousand infantry and two thousand five hundred horse.* The garrison of Ardres holds out bravely. The Spanish, under cover of a fog, captured a suburb, but were speedily dislodged. The siege will probably be raised whenever they hear that the King is on the march. He then intends *to attack Calais.*

His Majesty is doing all he can to raise money. He has recently sent letters to the magistrates and merchants of Paris to beg for the loan of two hundred thousand crowns. He thinks of raising sixteen thousand Swiss, and has asked the Colonel of Bern, who is here on the business of his country, how much it would cost. The answer was that, taking one man with another all found, they would cost him six crowns ahead, that is to say one hundred and ninety-six crowns a month. It will be difficult to raise such a sum.

Reinforcements from England are arriving in small numbers and slowly. It is said that the King will receive from three to four thousand men from that country. The Queen held her fleet in readiness to sail for the object which she had in view; and the Earl of Essex was on the point of going on board when news came that Drake had died a natural death in Peru, and this put a stop to all arrangements.

The Duke of Bouillon and M. de Sanci are still in England. In a letter to a friend of mine M. de Sanci complains of having to deal with women—his words—for what is done one day is undone the next, to his infinite trouble.

On the capture of Calais the Huguenots, perceiving that his Majesty had his hands so full that he would be unable to injure them, quieted down; and sent a message to the King that if he would continue the war actively against the King of Spain they

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would furnish him with large supplies from their Church funds to enable him to put his affairs in order.

Paris, 25th May 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

446. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To pay the Emperor the hundred thousand crowns which are promised by his Catholic Majesty, an assignment has been made on the King's portion of the Archbishop of Toledo's estate. Representations are made that the Emperor's needs are urgent, and some more ready way of finding the money is requested.

Don Francesco Idiaquez in conversation with me remarked that now his Majesty's affairs would proceed favourably, as his orders were obeyed, which hitherto had not always been the case. He almost openly gave me to understand that the Prince Cardinal, in attacking Calais, had been acting on orders, or at least advice, from hence. *So it seems that these ministers intend to assume all the credit of successes and to throw the blame for failures on others.* I have seen letters from Flanders in which the credit of the affair of Calais is attributed to the valour and ability of M. de Rosne* (*de Ron*), Master of the Camp. The Count of Fuentes' success at Cambrai was also due to de Rosne, who at present draws eighteen thousand crowns a year as salary. There has been a discussion as to the size of the permanent garrison of Calais. It will likely amount to one thousand foot and four hundred horse. Besides, they intend, I hear, to keep a galley or two in the ports of Flanders. In Calais especially they could maintain thirty or forty ships of the kind called Filipoti; they are not sea-going vessels, and are well adapted to the low bar of that harbour, The suggestion of a certain Federico Spinola to build ships in the German Ocean is under discussion. The object would be to suppress or at least to hamper the Dutch, English, and French commerce in those parts. Orders have been sent to the Prince Cardinal that he shall attack other strongholds, Boulogne and Ostend being especially designated. It is not thought prudent that his Highness should risk a pitched battle in order to relieve the town of la Fére; especially as the Cardinal has hopes of being able to revictual the town by creating diversions; and he has in readiness, for this purpose, a band of experienced troops under George Barsa, an Albanian.

Madrid, 30th May 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

447. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The issue of the war, especially in Hungary, has caused the reimprisonment of the Chaplain and other members of the Imperial Embassy.

* The ex-marshal and renegade de Rosne. He was killed soon after at Hulst.

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After agreeing on the sum to be paid for the great galleon and the other two ships, captured off Messina by Cicala on his last journey, a sum that was destined to go to the French Ambassador in payment of the remainder of the great Rucellai diamond purchased by Sultan Murad, they have removed the artillery, which was very fine and valued at upwards of eight thousand crowns. The artillery has been taken into the Seraglio. The Ambassador is much disturbed, but hopes that a large present to the Chief Gardener (Bostangi) will secure the recovery. It is thought that he will not succeed, and the whole business is supposed to be a device of Cicala's to damage Halil Pasha, for he has obtained a decision from the Mufti that it is contrary to religion to restore artillery to Christians.

Dalle Vigne de Pera, last day of May 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

448. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At the very moment that his Majesty was about to mount horse to go to the relief of Ardres despatches were brought him announcing that his garrison had surrendered the place on the 31st of last month. Your Excellencies may imagine the grief his Majesty felt, and he broke out into these actual words, "My cowards do me more harm than the enemy could ever do." M. de Monluc, a brave and valorous officer, was killed by a cannon ball, this caused the garrison to lose heart, as they found themselves *under the leadership of M. de Belin (Bellino), an officer generally considered of slight account, who is said to have surrendered without waiting a single shot. If that is so, we may look for some exemplary sentence from his Majesty as a warning to others. As long as Monluc was alive the enemy could never get near the place, but once dead the French yielded; such is the value of a good leader. His Majesty is pushing on to do all he can, but it is generally held by the Ministers that he will not be in time, especially as the surrender was made without any condition as to the arrival of succour.*

The Ministers have begun to furnish money to the King. His Majesty's forces cost two hundred thousand crowns a month.

It is rumoured that the Spanish fleet has sailed for Bayonne. If this is true, Brest is probably their object.

Paris, 1st June 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

449. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Ardres fell to the Spanish in the way I have reported. His Majesty was too late to succour it. M. de Belin is his Majesty's prisoner, until he justifies his conduct. M. de Mari, his close relation, was in Orleans when this happened. He left at once for Ham, and declared that unless his Majesty absolved M. de Belin, he would hand over that fortress to the enemy. The King sent a garrison to Ham, but it was refused admission; and so it will

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be very difficult for his Majesty to execute justice even if he wishes to do so.

A minister of consequence informed me that the League with England was concluded, but he added that the reinforcements sent by England are very feeble. He did not go into details, but said they would accept anything rather than break with the Queen, although they were deeply disgusted with her conduct. The Marshal de Bouillon and M. de Sanci are expected hourly, as I learn from a letter which his Majesty has written to a gentleman here. They declare for certain that the English fleet, with the flower of the nobility on board, has sailed. Besides the Earl of Essex, who is in command, there is the Lord High Admiral as well. Others add that Antonio Perez is also on board. Your Serenity, I am sure, will know by this time from Spain, whether that is true or not. If Antonio Perez is on board one may reasonably conclude that Biscay is the object of the expedition, as the Aragonese exiles lay all their schemes there. A minister, in conversation with me the other day, pointed out the danger which the Queen was exposing herself to by this bad policy: for she had so denuded herself of all her forces to furnish the fleet that her crown was, so he said, at the mercy of any storm. If that fleet were destroyed she would be clean undone, for Spain has her fleet ready and her land forces are so close to England that they could be down on it in a moment. These considerations, he declared, gave him more anxiety than the refusal of help by the Queen.*

This week we hear that the Legate has set out from Rome. The French would have liked him to delay his journey till winter, when the operations of war, which are now at the boil, would have ceased, and thus allowed his Majesty to receive the Legate as his rank requires.

Paris, 8th June 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

450. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Prince Cardinal, after the fall of Calais, noticed how very insecure was the allegiance of some of the French who had been reconciled to the King, and accordingly he is endeavouring to reopen negotiations with them.

The Count of Alegre, Military Governor of Portugal, reports the alarm aroused by the Queen of England's armaments. She is reported to be making vigorous preparations and to be receiving help from the States of Holland and from some northern Princes. The Portuguese complain loudly because no steps are taken to meet the danger. A sharp answer was returned from here that the governor had written in exaggerated alarm; for the conquest of Calais, the death of Drake and the dispersion of his fleet would undoubtedly cause the Queen to change her plans; and that it was his duty to keep up the courage of the population rather than, by

* The treaty was signed on May 24th.

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lending them his ear, to frighten them still more at mere shadows. All the same, for their consolation fresh orders had been issued.

Madrid, 11th June 1596.

[*Italian.*]

June 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

451. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Private letters from Lyons give an account of the capture of la Fére by the King of France. This puts a check on the successful career of the Prince Cardinal, who, after the fall of Calais, was said by the Spanish to hold the keys of France and England. They even declared that the King of France had fled to England. The Spaniards clamour for the death of that officer, who, although la Fére was provisioned for two months, still surrendered the city to the enemy. The capture of Calais raised their spirits to an immense height, the loss la Fére has cast them down in dejection. They even say that the King of France will now press the Cardinal to an engagement.

Madrid, 12th June 1596.

[*Italian.*]

June 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

452. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Ibraim Pasha, at a very intimate audience which I had of him, asked me if the King of Spain had a large fleet. I replied that, under provocation from the Queen of England, he had been compelled to maintain a large fleet on the Atlantic Ocean, but in the Mediterranean I was not aware that he had increased the number of his galleys.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 13th June 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

453. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty handed M. de Belin over to the Marshals, as is the custom of this country, with orders to try and to punish him. But when they reached the sentence his Majesty stayed further proceedings, as he saw that it was an affair of death. He may have been begged to do this, but he was most likely prompted by the great clemency of his natural temper.

The Marshal de Bouillon and M. de Sanci have returned from England. They bring nothing but two thousand infantry which the King will use to fill up his ranks.

The English fleet has sailed. The Earl of Essex has written a letter to his Majesty informing him of the fact and adding that he hopes his Majesty will soon hear of something to his satisfaction. They have published the Queen's proclamation here in France and I enclose a copy. It declares the object of this expedition. They say that on board are fourteen thousand soldiers and four thousand sailors besides almost the entire nobility of England. It is not

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yet quite certain where they will strike, but opinion generally says either at Bayona, in Biscay, or in Old Castile between the Duro and the Miño.

Paris, 15th June 1596.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

454. DECLARATION of the CAUSES which have moved the QUEEN of ENGLAND to declare WAR on the KING of SPAIN.*

Declaration of the causes which have moved her Serene Majesty of England to equip and place on the sea a force for the defence of her realm against the King of Spain, to be published by the Lieutenants-General of the said force, in order that all may know that her Majesty has called out this naval force solely for her defence and to harass her enemies, and not to injure any who do not take the part of her enemies, but rather to exercise all favour and assistance on their behalf.

Tous ceux qui ceste presente declaration verront salut, Nous Robert, Comte d'Essex et d'Evre, Vicomte de Herfort, Baron de Chartelay, et Louain, etcet. Et Charles Houuard, Baron d'Effingham, Grand Admiral d'Angleterre, etcet. Ayant la charge d'une armee Royalle de Mer, qu'il a pleu à sa Serenissime Majesté nostre Souveraine Royne, la Royne d'Angleterre de France et d'Hibernie, etcet. d'equipper et mettre presentement en mer. Faisons sçavoir à tous qu'il appartiendra, que la dicte armee, qui nous est baillee en charge, est par sa Majesté ordonnee et destinee à l'encontre des grandes et puissantes forces que le Roy d'Espagne a des-jà en main, et contre les preparatifs qu'il fait de iour à autre, pour les accroistre et augmenter d'hommes, et de navires, qu'il recherche de tous costez pour enuahir les Royaumes de sa Majesté, comme nous en sommes advertis de tous les endroits de la Chrestienté, selon son premier desseing, et suyvant l'entreprise qu'il en avoit en l'an mil cinq cens quatre vingts treize, (à lors mesmes, qu'il se traictoit entre eux de la paix, par les deputtez assemblez de part et d'autre) avec une armee la plus puissante, qui fust iamais mise sus de son temps : Combien que par la grace de Dieu, et la valleur et preud' d'hommie de nos Feaux, et bien Amez subiects, elle aye esté du tout anneantie. Et d'autant que sadicte Majesté a bonne intelligence, et parfaicte amytié, avec tous les Roys, et Potentats de la Chrestienté, sinon avec le dict Roy d'Espagne, que depuis plusieurs annees en çá, a treiniustement et ouvertement fait ample demonstration d'inimitié, par diverses menees, tant à l'encontre de sa propre personne, qu'aussi contre son peuple, et ses pays, sans que sa Majesté luy ayt donné auparavant occasion de ce faire. A ces causes, Nous susdict Comte et Admiral, assurons toutes personnes qu'il nous est tres-expressement commandé par sadicte Majesté, de ne rien attenter au preiudice d'aucune nation, sinon sur les subiects naturels dudict Roy d'Espagne, ou tels autres estrangers, qui serviront et assisteront le dict Roy d'Espaigne, de

* A Paris par Claude de Monstr'œil tenant sa boutique en la Court du Palais Jouxte la copie imprimee à Lôndres, 1596. *Cf.* Martin, *Hist. d. France*, x. 396, note 1.

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moyens, d'hommes, Navires, vivres, munitions, et de telles autres provision, pour favoriser son entreprise à l'encontre de sadicte Majesté. Lequel commandement de sadicte Majesté, nous entendons observer tres-estroictement, et avec tout debvoir, et partant nous enioignons et commandons expressement à toutes personnes, ayans charge souz nous en ceste armee, de ny contrevenir en aucune sorte, sur peine d'estre en ce cas rigoureusement puny, et pour encores eviter, toutes les occasions qui pourront introduire des difficultez, touchant ceux lesquels n'estant point subiects du Roy d'Espaigne, peuvent toutesfois estre par nous atteints et convaincuz, d'ayder et assister aux forces dudict Roy d'Espagne, ou sur mer, ou sur terre, d'aucunes provisions, en faveur de sadicte entreprise, contre sadicte Majesté; pour l'esclarcissement de ce doubte, Nous requerons bien instamment, et au nom de Dieu, toutes personnes (qui ne sont subjects naturels du Roy d'Espaigne), et qui toutesfois l'ont assisté de leurs navires, vivres et munition, comme il a esté cy dessus mentionné, qu'ils ayent à retirer tous leursdicts navires, appareils pour la guerre, et pour toutes autres semblables provisions destinees à mesme effect, tant de tous les Ports, et Haures d'Espaigne, et Portugal, qu'aussi de la flotte, et du service de l'armee dudict Roy, contre le nostre, et avec icelles ou retourner en leur propre pays, ou bien si bon leur semble de venir trouver nostre armee, et nous leur promettons au nome sacré de sa Majesté, toute garantie tant de leurs personnes que de leurs biens, d'estre traictez et maintenuz comme amis, et d'avoir permission de tenir en leur possession et disposition, tous tels navires, et provisions qui auroient esté arrestez par le dict Roy, ou autrement destinees à son service, et que les proprietaires auroient retirees pour ne les employer à tel affaire, pourveu que tousiours il se comportent avec leursdicts moyens comme amis, et non pas comme ennemis à sa Majesté, et nous ses Lieutenans: Et si aucuns y a lesquels nonobstant cest advertissement de la volonté et intention de sadicte Majesté, et de nostre promesse à tenir la main, à l'observation d'icelle, le plus deuëment que faire ce pourra, monstrent directement refuser nostre presente offre, et qui ne mettent peine de satisfaire à nostre tant iuste requeste, qui tend à leur propre bien, et à leur liberté, à lors nous aurons iuste occasion, comme par les loix des armees il est permis, d'arrester, et de nous saisir de tous ceux qui feront reffuz de nostredict offre, comme de ceux qui aydent ouvertement le dit Roy d'Espaigne, de leurs forces et moyens pour s'emparer des pays de sa Majesté, comme estans ennemis manifestes, et sur ce reffuz, et en cas qu'il leur advienne quelque inconvenient par attentats qui pourront estre faits contre leurs personnes, navires, et biens, par ceux de nostre armee, pour avoir adheré au Roy d'Espaigne, ils n'auront nulle iuste occasion de s'en plaindre puis apres, ou d'avoir recours à leurs Princes et Seigneurs naturels, pour moyenner la reparation et restitution de leurs pertes; et pour donner plus grande intelligence et confirmation de ce que dessus, nous avons trouvé bon d'apposer nos seings et sceaux, à l'original de la presente, pour estre veu de ceux qui en desireront avoir la lecture et la cognoissance, et l'avons aussi fait Imprimer en François, Italien, Flamen, et Espaignol, et en outre,

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en avons fait distribuer par tout ou nous avons peu, les ports d'Espaigne, et de Portugal, à fin qu'ils en ayent tant plus de cognoissance, tant lesdicts ports, qu'ailleurs, de bon obeyssance.

R. Essex. C. Hovvard.

June 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

455. Piero Duodo, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

The Ministers are entirely engaged in raising money. M. de Sanci, who is back from England, has been sent to the King. It is not true that Antonio Perez has sailed on board the fleet. He has returned to Paris along with M. de Sanci. A son of the late Don Antonio of Portugal, however, has really sailed; and this makes people suppose that Portugal must be the object of the fleet. The Queen hitherto has treated the Ambassadors of the States as if they were her subjects; compelling them to address her on their knees. But after the fleet sailed she has treated them like Ambassadors of a Sovereign Prince. The King of France does the same. The league between all three is actually concluded. It is offensive and defensive universally. All the same the supports sent to his Majesty are no larger than what I mentioned.

The Cardinal Archduke has twice attempted to make peace. But after the capture of Calais and Ardres, the French cannot do so with dignity.

Paris, 22nd June 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 25. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

456. Tommaso Contarini, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

One of the Ministers in conversation with me said that the Turk was anxious to make peace and to find some one to negotiate it. The English Ambassador had been proposed, but as he was so intimate with the Turks it was impossible for the Emperor to accept him.

Prague, 25th June 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

457. Agustino Nani, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

No confirmation of the news that la Fére has been recovered by the French. Ardres has fallen to the Spanish, and the Prince Cardinal is lingering about Calais, not merely to fortify the place, but also to keep an eye on the direction taken by the English fleet. He expects an attack on Calais by the French. Some English ships are constantly off the harbour mouth, and on board the fleet is a large quantity of picks and spades, and tools for trenching.

There are endless conjectures as to the destination of the fleet. Some say that as the Spanish in Brittany have broken the truce, the English may possibly begin operations there with a view to compelling the Duke of Mercœur to conclude a peace with the King of France. Others think the English fleet will go to the Azores, where owing to the large circuit of those islands it will be impossible to prevent a

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landing; or it may lie in wait for future India fleets. But as the King of Spain is making active preparations in Portugal, most people fear that the object of the fleet will be to harry that kingdom. In Lisbon the panic is so great that any sort of force, if it appeared, could easily enter and sack the place. Some people have even begun to send their goods out of the town, and to barricade the doors of their houses. The journey of Antonio Perez to England increases the suspicion, for it may have been taken on purpose to advise the Queen on the conduct of this expedition. A scout ship has been despatched towards England to watch the movement of the English fleet. Warning has also been sent to the Brazils.

The Adelantado of Castille has been sent in command into Portugal, where he will have the same authority as that which was exercised by Marquis of Santa Cruz.

Madrid, 25th June 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

458. Lisbon, 20th June 1596.

The military governor in this kingdom on last Sunday summoned a meeting of commanding officers at which the Engineer Fillipo, a native of Bologna, was present. It was agreed to make trenches along the coast of Portugal, and to close the sallyports of this city, and to erect barricades in the castle, as well as to close some of its entrances with large beams and boards, leaving the sallyports open. All this because it is held for certain that the English fleet will appear off the coast. Many merchants are clearing out.

The following steps were taken:—

On Monday morning all the Governors were summoned to Government House. Two responded, the Count of Santa Cruz and the Count of Sambugal. The reason of the meeting is not known. But immediately afterwards ten captains were appointed, and fifty crowns were distributed to each one for their flags and drums, and they were instructed to find fifteen thousand reis, that is thirty-seven crowns, a month. The list of the troops for service was completed. The total of the troops in full pay will not surpass four thousand infantry, though rumour puts the figure far higher.

Five colonels have been appointed; and each has received, at once, five hundred thousand reis, which makes one thousand two hundred and fifty crowns, for their equipment; and each colonel will command fourteen of the companies to be raised by the ten captains.

To-day, the 22nd, the flags of the captains are to be ready.

A few days ago the ship which was sent with ammunition and officers to help the Irish came back here. The Irish would accept only the ammunition and the money. They said that the officers were too few to drill them, or to help them; and that at this juncture, when the peace was being arranged between them and the Queen, the presence of these officers would only make her suspicious and more bitter against them. They added that if six or eight thousand Spanish troops arrived before peace was concluded they would be most welcome, for then it would not be a question of

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making head merely against the enemy, but of expelling them from the island. The news that the Queen is prepared to make peace with the Earl of Tyrone upsets the conjecture that the English fleet is destined for Ireland. Some merchantmen from Flanders report that three of Drake's ships have reached London, bringing his body. The rest of the fleet is dropping in. They report that the English Admiral has been imprisoned on suspicion of an intelligence with the Spanish; others say that the sole cause was the Queen's anger with the Admiral because he insisted that twenty-five Dutch ships, which had entered London to support the Queen, should strike flags to him, which drove the Dutchmen away in disgust.

The Queen's principal adviser is dead, and there are dissensions among the other ministers.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

459. Copy of a manifesto, forwarded from England to Lisbon, setting forth the reasons which induced the Queen of England to prepare and despatch her fleet of 1596.*

[*Italian.*]

June 25
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

460. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Nuncio tells me that he has received fresh and urgent orders from Rome to endeavour to lay the first stones of an accord between the King of Spain and the King of France. He will do all he can to carry out these instructions; and for this purpose he will seek for an audience as soon as possible. But he observed that the conclusion of a peace would prove very difficult, because it would be necessary to include the Queen of England and the States of Holland; for the present it will be necessary to limit themselves to a suspension of arms. If he finds that his Majesty is disposed to lend an ear, he will let it be understood that his Holiness will send a legate to negotiate, and may even choose one of his own nephews for the task. He said he did not think France would offer any difficulty in the way of seeking a truce, but the point is that here in Spain they are thinking of wearing out the French with the help of Indian gold (considerandomi che la conclusione della pace era molto difficile per ciò che sarà necessario includervi la Regina d'Inghilterra, et li stati, et per ciò al presente bisognava fermarsi in ricercare una sospensione d'armi; alla quale se qui mostrerano di dar orrechie, egli si lasciarebbe intender, che il Papa manderà un legato, et che durà questo carico anco occorrendo ad uno delli proprii nepoti; aggiongendomi credere che Francesi non si renderanno difficili a ricercare la suddetta tregua, ma il punto è, disse, che qui pensano con l'oro delle Indie consumar Francesi.) Besides they calculate that as the French army is chiefly composed of volunteers, it cannot keep the field for long; and they hope soon to see some new internal troubles in that kingdom.

* An abbreviation of the Manifesto printed under despatch, "Paris, 15th June 1596."

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I praised the pious intention of the Pope. *In a dexterous manner I touched on the difficulties; the loss of la Fére and the departure of the English fleet, which had necessarily compelled the Spanish to attend to their defences and checked their desire to attack other nations by sea.*

Madrid 25th June 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

461. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Ostend has been garrisoned for fear of the Spanish, who have captured Sluis.

M. de Sanci has sent a model of his diamond to Constantinople, accompanied by a letter from the King to the Sultan, to see whether he can sell it there. The diamond is not to be sent till the money is paid.

Paris, 29th June 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

462. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Nuncio came back from Toledo last night; he had seen the King and the Prince separately. As yet I have not had time to discover what answer he received to his proposals for an accord between the King of Spain and the King of France. *All the same it is very likely that these recent successes of the English fleet will greatly alter the intentions of his Catholic Majesty, because the King of France will not make any treaty for a suspension of arms unless the Queen of England is included.*

Madrid, 6th July 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

463. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Every one was very anxious as to the direction which the English fleet would take. We knew that it left England on the eleventh of last month; but the Spanish could not believe that, after the death of Drake and the scattering of his squadron, coupled with the loss of Calais, the English fleet would think of moving to any great distance with a view to harassing their neighbours. All the same, on the vigil of St. John's, the English fleet, to the number of seventy sail, was sighted off Bayona, and the following day another ninety were sighted off Cape St. Vincent. The news has wrought confusion in the hurried preparations, and immense terror as to the issue. Especially in Lisbon the inhabitants have fallen into a dejection of spirit so profound that they and all their families have deserted the city with the utmost precipitation. Although the nobility, militia, and foreign troops left for the protection of the city amount to twenty thousand men, *still it is generally thought that most of them will fly rather than face the foe. And many Portuguese display an extraordinary satisfaction*

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at the appearance of the English fleet. All along the shores of Portugal and Spain the people are rushing tumultuously to the defence of the coast, and some gentlemen and officers have been sent from the Court; but while these preparations were going forward, the English, having lost not a moment's time, were off Cadiz on the 2nd of this month. Cadiz, among the seaports, may truly be called the heart of Spain, and there, after such resistance as the defences permitted, and with a great slaughter of the garrison, the English landed. It is said that they have burned the five ships of the West India fleet which were ready to sail, fourteen beautiful galleons, and about twenty-five other ships, and rumour adds five guard ships besides. The loss is estimated at four millions of gold, including the value of the vessels that have been burned; a serious reduction of the naval forces belonging to his Majesty. The principal part of the booty consists of the rich merchandise which was stored on board in order to be bartered for other goods and for gold. The place has been sacked and burned, nor do we know as yet what has become of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, Commander-in-Chief of the Ocean, nor of the Duke of Vesar, both of whom were in Cadiz. We are assured that the great nobles, the Duke of Arcos and the Marquis of Santa Cruz, grandees of Spain, are both wounded, and that the English have cut off the head of the President of the Seville* contracts. The English fleet numbers about two hundred sail, has five thousand sailors, and nearly thirty thousand soldiers, among these two thousand Walloons, experienced musketeers, besides five thousand Dutch, brave veterans of the old garrisons. This is all we know as yet about the operations of the English fleet. The substance is the same as that which was read this morning in the joint Councils of India and of War. Everyone is expecting to hear news of further disasters. Some are afraid the fleet will attack Seville next; others, that the large quantity of arms on board may be intended to supply the Moreschi of Andalusia, who are ready to make a rising, and that, in order to support them, the English may very likely have opened communications with the Schereef. The most general opinion, however, is that the English will sack and harry the coasts of Spain and Portugal, maintaining their superiority by blockading the Spanish fleet, and in this calm season they can easily wait the arrival of the India fleets, which some think would better be awaited at the Azores or the Canaries. *These misfortunes are attributed to the dominate wish of the Spaniards to chew their deliberations and to move slowly in all matters, however important. Had they made rational calculations, without a doubt they would have avoided a large part of this most notable disaster.*

Madrid, 6th July 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

464. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish, finding the siege of Ostend a more difficult task than they expected, have withdrawn, and, I hear, intend to march

* Don Pedro Guttiero. *Cf.* "Cecil Papers," VI., 227.

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on Luxemburg. The Spanish fleet which was reported off Bayona, is, according to latest news, on its way to Calais, with a view to keeping his Majesty's forces divided. They are fortifying Calais with all diligence, and endeavouring to make the harbour capable of receiving a larger number of ships.

The Queen of England has refused to sign the treaty between England and France unless the King signs first. His Majesty has summoned his Council.

M. d'Ancell, who went to England with M. de Sanci, has now gone to Holland.

Paris, 6th July 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 6 (*sic*). Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

465. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It has been found impossible to delay much further the departure of the Sultan for the war. The Sultana mother, enraged at seeing him leave her, after attempting in vain many means of stopping him, persuaded a girl of singular beauty with whom he is desperately in love, to beg of him as a favour that he would not go. She did so one day when they were together in a garden; but the Sultan's love suddenly changed to fury, and drawing his dagger he slew the girl. Since then no one has dared to approach the subject.

The suite of the Imperial Ambassador, to the number of twenty-nine, which was shut up in the Tower of the Black Sea, has been liberated on condition that they shall all set out with the English Ambassador, and that, when once at the frontier, they shall all go home.

The question of the departure of the English Ambassador, which was somewhat damped by the death of Sinan Pasha, has revived again. He has been summoned to camp on the ground of certain orders which he says he holds for the negotiation of an agreement of peace. The liberation of the Imperial Ambassador's suite is supposed to be a step in the same direction.

Besides other provision for the journey the Ambassador has received thirty-six camels on which he will pack his goods. He is to leave immediately, they say.

The French Ambassador has also received an invitation to the camp, and has been supplied rather more liberally than the English Ambassador, but with the same number of camels.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 6th June* 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

466. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The merchants here have kept back the courier, in order to send some more accurate information about the loss inflicted by the

* So in the original despatch, but "July" in the Rubricario, which I suspect is right.

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English in Cadiz; accordingly I have thought it well to add this further small amount of news which we possess, though nothing is certain as yet. The fact of the landing and the capture of the shipping is confirmed; but the Spanish burned and threw into the sea a large part of the more precious merchandize before the ships fell into the enemies' hands. They are now bargaining for the ransom of the prisoners at one hundred and forty thousand crowns, and they hope also to buy back some of the ships which have escaped the fire. The English are supposed to be commanded by the same admiral who was also in command against the Duke of Medina Sidonia in 1588; the Duke, with the same unfortunate result, is now at Cadiz to oppose the English. They are suspected of an intention to fortify the city and to hold it for the better execution of their plans.

News from Seville describes the city in great panic lest it should suffer the same fate as Cadiz; and the terror was increased because there were no signs of proper preparations. There was no officer of high rank, and the city could not have bought powder even at a pound of silver for a pound. They have to send a hundred leagues for muskets; the town is full of Moors whose temper is suspected, and in order to keep them in a good humour they have assigned them one real a day and a certain amount of grain. The fortress of Xeres is quite without ammunition though well victualled. Here the drum is being beaten to raise troops to meet the imminent perils of this kingdom.

Madrid, 8th July 1596.

[*Italian.*]

July 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

467. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

From a very safe quarter I have learned how the Nuncio dealt with the question of the proposed accord between Spain and France. He was very reserved with his Majesty, but presented a memorandum in which the reasons in favour were abundantly expressed. It seems that the Nunico was at great pains to demonstrate the justice of his proposal; that the question of religion no longer existed; that the moment was most opportune. His Holiness was ready to act as intermediary, and only waited a word from his Majesty as to the lines to be pursued; he also offered to employ his own nephews in the negotiation, if so it pleased his Majesty. *The Nuncio, as yet, has only had a very vague and general answer, namely, that his Majesty always has been and always will be a friend of peace.* His Majesty told the Nuncio to confer with Don Christoforo de Mora and Don Juan d'Idiaquez; and while they were discussing the matter, the courier arrived with the news of the capture of Cadiz. *This may very like upset the negotiations for the present, but will, later on, dispose his Majesty to accept what he would not previously have accepted so readily.*

Madrid, 12th July 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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July 13.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

463. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England has lent the King two hundred thousand crowns, and is hiring troops in that island to send them to France in accordance with the terms of the treaty.

There is no news of the English fleet except that it was sighted off Cape Finisterre, though some add that it has gone to Cadiz.

Paris, 13th July 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 14.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

469. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The courier who brought his Majesty news of the English landing and what followed, arrived at Toledo while the King was reposing; and Don Christoforo de Mora would not wake him up to give him such bad news, delaying to communicate it till three hours after the courier's arrival, when his Majesty was dressed. When his Majesty learned this he complained to Don Christoforo of the delay, but showed a Christian fortitude in bearing the blow. And although overcome by the news, yet it seemed to lend him vigour, for he rose from his chair and walked a few paces, a thing which the weakness of his legs and the remains of the gout had not hitherto allowed him to do, and straightway, without any signs of a perplexed mind, he began to issue numerous orders and to make various provisions. The Prince has shown a great desire to undertake the expulsion of the foe, as there could be no more fitting occasion for him to take the field for the first time than this for the defence of the very kingdom. And if he went in person the preparations would be accelerated, and every one would concur the more readily. The Prince first asked his father's leave through Don Christoforo de Mora, and then himself explained his desire. His father endeavoured to dissuade him by various considerations.

His Majesty has written to all the grandees and to all feudal superiors, lay and ecclesiastic, as well as to the Grand Commanders of the three Orders of Chivalry, that as in duty bound they are to furnish their troops. If these orders are properly carried out there will be a levy of three thousand men, although it is doubtful whether so large a militia can be got out so quickly; and even after it has been mustered, by its very nature it will not be as serviceable as they hope. Towards Seville hasty and disorderly musters of people in large numbers are taking place. They will be under the command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who, after escaping from Cadiz, remains in those parts by his Majesty's express orders and in the defence of his own estates. It is thought certain that had the English, immediately after capture of Cadiz, pushed on to Seville, they would have found no obstacle to the plunder of that most noble and wealthy city, but in truth they could not believe that preparations had been so neglected as they were. Now there are about four thousand foreign troops in the city, and about seven thousand ready; and the entrance to the harbour has been protected with chains. The Spanish have also resolv

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that, if the English appear, they will send away the women and children, who are upwards of sixty thousand; this resolution has thrust the people into despair.

But in all Spain there are not more than two thousand between harquebusses and muskets, ready, and to manufacture them would take some time, owing to the deficiency in skilled hands. A perquisition is being made in private houses, and between good and out of fashion they hope to gather a considerable number. Of powder, too, there is a notable want; in the lack of material, time must elapse before any quantity can be ready.

News from Africa that the Moors to the number of twelve thousand foot and six thousand horse have burned the crops; and it is feared that the reported siege of Ceuta may prove true. The governor is calling for help in troops and victuals, but as long as the English are in those parts it will be difficult to send any. Moors are said to have been seen on board the English ships, and the English are reported to have bought horses in Africa, though that is not certain.

His Majesty has sent in haste for Prince Andrea Doria, so I am told, but I am not fully convinced that it is so.

The Ministers affect to despise the present misfortunes, and to maintain that the English must soon retire from Spain; and in order to hide their alarm, when they are leaving the Council they take care to put on an air of cheerfulness (et per disimulare il timore quando escono dalli consegli procurano di farsi vedere artificiosamente colla facia alegra). And yet I have heard that by night with extreme and extraordinary activity they push forward the preparations; and a day or two ago his Majesty summoned a meeting of Council in his chamber, and the sitting lasted more than two hours and a half.

Madrid, 14th July 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

470. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Letters from Lisbon of the 6th inst. tell me that the city seemed to lose some of its panic when the news came that the English had passed south to Cadiz, although, in view of a possible attack upon the return journey, preparations were being continued. In addition to the one thousand five hundred Spanish who have just arrived, there were between seven and eight thousand native Portuguese troops, and soon there would be one thousand horse in addition. Besides this the merchants according to their nations have chosen their captains and have put together a certain number of men. Venice is represented by Gerolamo Stella.

After the slaughter of those who opposed their landing and entry into Cadiz the English have behaved in accordance with the custom of war. No one has been put to death except the governor of the castle, whose head was cut off because he would not yield at once, and the three hundred soldiers of the garrison who surrendered

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on terms, were set at liberty. Although the English sacked the city they have not profaned the churches, nor permitted any violence upon the women; and so, to the general surprise, they have won great commendation. There are some, however, who, wishing to lessen this merit, declare that the moderation of the English is due to the nature of the population of Cadiz, which as a commercial city contained for the most part people of other nationality than Spanish. The English, after sending the women and children out of the town, proceeded to exact ransom from the rest; it will amount to upwards of one hundred and seventy thousand crowns they say. The president of the Seville contracts, who was reported slain, has gained his liberty at the price of ten thousand ducats; he would have escaped with far less had he not been recognised.

There is news that in addition to the first thousand five hundred soldiers who landed alone and without artillery, and entered the city, other six thousand have been landed on the island. In consequence of this the inhabitants of the forts of Xeres and San Lucar, in great alarm, have withdrawn into Seville, though troops have been left in the fortresses to defend them, in addition to the troops which were placed to guard the bridge should the English attempt to pass over it to the main land. They say that Don Pedro de Velasco of the council of war, and captain-general of the ordinary guard, will be sent in command of the army they are raising in Andalusia.

News has come that on the 7th of this month, sixty other ships, the remains of the English fleet, set sail. Destination unknown. Though some say Corunna is their object, still the Azores or Canaries are more likely, with a view to plundering those islands and to lie in wait for the Indiamen. The Spanish have taken steps to warn the Indiamen, but they are afraid that they may fall a prey all the same. It is thought that the English will not leave these waters till they have seen the end of the India navigation. On this point Francesco Idiaquez, in conversation with me, said that though the English know how to conquer, they cannot hold. But if the rumour be true that they are entrenching themselves in several important positions in the island (of Cadiz) that would be a clear proof that they do not mean to withdraw very soon.

Madrid, 15th July 1596.

[*Italian.*]

July 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

471. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I add some further details of news. The English, after ruining and wasting Cadiz, have embarked the prisoners who are to be ransomed, and all the booty, down to the church bells and the iron grilles of the houses (*le feriate delle case*), and on the 14th inst. they sailed away from the city: but confirmation of this news is still awaited. Certain it is that after the capture of Cadiz the English showed no desire to attack any of the neighbouring forts, though they were far from strong and poorly provided. The populace of Cadiz, which still remains captive in the hands of the English, has

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petitioned his Majesty for one hundred and twenty thousand ducats for its ransom. As far as I have heard yet, his Majesty will not grant the request, for he is indignant that the people of Cadiz offered no opposition, but, like cowards, let the English enter the city; and he has no desire to encourage others to imitate this dastardly conduct, nor yet to supply the enemy with so large a sum. There is no further news from Morocco. The King has sent the Duke of Arcos to Gibraltar for the protection of that place. Don Pedro de Velasco has taken the Duke of Medina Sidonia's place as General in Andalusia.

Madrid, 20th July 1596.

[*Italian.*]

July 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

472. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador, urged to leave Constantinople, set out on the 15th instant. He took with him the household servants of the Imperial Ambassador; of our people there went in his suite Pasqual Dabri, whom I had to dismiss for reasons which really merited severer punishment, and Zuanne Alberti, whom I had to send away for having wounded in the street, one evening, a young Spahi, son of Hassan, Dragoman to the Porte, and of a sister of Piali, the cavass. This led to strongly worded complaints, and a group of women went to lament in Divan and at the Pasha's, displaying the bloody shirt and handkerchief of the young man, and shouting for the punishment of the giaour who had wrongfully wounded a mussulman, trooper in the service of the Sultan. To allay the tumult I was obliged to make some presents; all the same a large group remained, who were sworn to have the life of Alberti; and to avoid scandal I am obliged to send him back into Christendom.

The French Ambassador will wait here a month, and then follow the Sultan to Belgrade. He has no orders to follow him further. I am considering what it may import that the English and French Ambassadors are summoned to attend the army while the Venetian Ambassador is left in Constantinople.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 20th July 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

473. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English fleet, after leaving Cadiz, was compelled by the weather to return to within sight of that city, where every one was on tenterhooks to know when the weather would let them sail, if indeed this departure of theirs has not been a ruse; but it is unlikely that, after sacking the place and putting booty and prisoners on board, they will think of landing a second time. They have left Cadiz much sooner than they originally intended, on account of a rumour, or rather in obedience to orders, from England, the result, they said, of the Queen's death, though that proved false. This is certain that the English intended to pump out the wells in

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Cadiz, though they had not time to do so, in search of goods hidden in them. In fact, of the three millions, or thereby, which the fleet was worth, about a third has been saved, including that which the Spanish captain of the guard-ships stole for himself: he is to be placed on his trial.

Three English gentlemen and as many Scottish Catholics escaped from the fleet and went to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who will send them to his Majesty. These gentlemen declare that the intention of the English was to burn his Majesty's fleets lying in Lisbon and in Cadiz, but not to attempt Cadiz; however, finding the city unprepared they resolved to take it. It is certain that had the Corregidor not been made a prisoner, his Majesty would have had his head off. The Duke of Medina Sidonia also is held responsible for much of the disaster, because in his desire to protect the tunny fishery, from which he draws a large income, and to save his own territory, he has neglected his Majesty's interests. This is one of the reasons for the appointment of Don Pedro de Velasco, who, though an officer of far more experience than the Duke would never secure the same following as the Duke.

Seville is well protected; the Cardinal has offered one hundred thousand ducats.

The arrival of the Adelantado in Lisbon has produced great rejoicings.

I have secured in a very sure way something further as to the reply his Majesty gave to the Nuncio on the subject of the proposed accord between the King of Spain and the King of France. *Talking about the possibility of an accord the Nuncio said that without the Queen of England something might be done; the King then seized a candelabra and with energy declared that he would pawn even that in order to be avenged on the Queen, and that he was resolved to accomplish this. These are words which, in the mouth of a King who has never shown any passion in fortune, good or evil, prove that his mind is fully set upon undertaking that war again.**

My confidant informed me that his Majesty had sent orders to Italy to man and despatch all his ships lying in the Italian ports.

Madrid, 23rd July 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

474. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke de Bouillon is to go soon to England to ratify the treaty with the Queen, as his Majesty has already signed and sealed it. The Duke will receive the Queen's oath. She will send an agent to receive the King's. The Queen is not sending more than the two thousand infantry of which I wrote. These troops are to be employed only in Picardy and Normandy. She promises another two thousand troops as soon as the rebellion in Ireland is crushed. It is hoped that these will soon be sent, as the Earl of Tyrone has taken the oath of allegiance, but he and his party remain masters of a third of the island, and in that

* *Cf.* "Cecil Papers," VI., p. 381.

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district the Catholic religion is to be practised, while the Queen's officers cannot administer justice. (Il Conte di Tirone ha fatto giuramento di fedeltà, ma è restato padrone di un terzo de Irlanda con quei del suo partito, dove si farà la religion Cattolica, ne potranno li Ministri della Regina essercitar giustitia in quella parte.) She promises other two thousand men when the Earl of Essex comes back, which will not be so very soon if recent news is true, for he is said to have captured Cadiz, with a large number of ships and a quantity of biscuits, also San Lucar, and is reported to be making for Seville. The two thousand crowns lent to the King will all be expended on ammunition for the protection of Boulogne and Montreuil. They were not given directly by the Queen, but upon the faith of her word they were raised by the King's ministers. The Queen is to be recouped in all her expenses past and future, and perhaps guaranteed that France will not make peace with Spain. Hostages will be sent from France to England.

Paris, 27th July 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

475. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Adelantado of Castile has, in the last three days, sent out thirty despatch boats to warn different localities of the enemy's approach.

A ship of the flotilla of New Spain has reached Lisbon. She has been on shore, but was saved, crew and cargo, by the English.

The Chapter of Toledo Cathedral has offered his Majesty six thousand crowns, and it is thought that all the other Chapters and also the Prelates of Spain will contribute funds, as his Majesty has very cunningly played upon them; *but it is said that they will not hand in the donations unless his Majesty intends to attack England in earnest.* And this present attack by the English, if it has done some damage in one direction, and chiefly as regards reputation, on the other hand has so irritated the nation that many difficulties in the way of attacking England, and chiefly the difficulty of raising money, will disappear. The exclusion of the Queen of England is an obstacle to the reconciliation of the King of France with his Catholic Majesty.

Madrid, 30th July 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

476. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After my last despatch of the 23rd inst., we have news that the English fleet is cruising off the Straits of Gibraltar. This has has caused the Duke of Arcos, who is in charge of that fortress, to send to Seville for help; and five hundred men have been despatched, though the distance and the badness of the roads render it doubtful whether they will arrive in time if the enemy makes up his mind to attack Gibraltar, which is garrisoned, however, up

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to a certain point. If the English continue cruising in those waters an attack on some other city may be looked for, or perhaps they are awaiting a rising in Portugal, of which they have the more hopes that a son of Don Antonio of Portugal is on board with them; he is called Don Christopher, Prince of Portugal. Or, finally, their reason may be that they have some secret intelligence with the Moreschi in Spain; for it is not reasonable to suppose that they would linger in those waters for so long without some object in view.

Six thousand Moors have attacked Ceuta, but have been repulsed.

The English fleet, not counting the ships they captured at Cadiz, numbers one hundred and eighty sail. Twenty are very powerful ships, armed like our great battle ships with three tiers of cannon, only theirs are more numerous. Other sixty are little inferior in quality, while the rest are of less importance. They say, that as the English are built upon a very round model, they are less liable to damage from artillery. The English soldiery is reported as inferior to the Dutch and Walloon.

The King continues to gather his forces. He displays vigour. They say he will go to the Escurial.

As I was closing this, I hear that the English have landed in the south of Portugal, at Algarve, and plundered some place which was abandoned on their appearance. They say its name is Terra del Faro, near which is a good port, and rich on account of the tunny fishery. The booty is estimated at two hundred thousand ducats.

Madrid, 30th July 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

477. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King in conversation about the capture of Cadiz by the English remarked, "*This is certainly an affair of great moment; and it may alter the whole aspect of the King of Spain's position. I am going back to the frontier and hope soon to have good news to send you. I also mean to offer the Queen of England five or six thousand Gascons for service in the fleet, if she will pay them, for I fear that her English troops, what with the heat and the wine and the fruit, will sicken.*"

Paris, 3rd August 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

478. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cortes of Castile, which last month discussed the question of extraordinary subsidies to his Majesty—as this year sees the end of the eight millions already voted—under the excitement of the English attack, has voted special support to the King, provided it is spent in defence of the kingdom and not on foreign wars. They will give his Majesty twenty-eight millions of gold, payable in equal rates over twenty years, but they claim the right to

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appropriate, and demand that the King and the Prince shall swear not to alter the destination, otherwise, as they are well aware, the bonds would be farmed out to merchants and the enormous interest would destroy the capital. And apropos to this, they say that bills have been received which were drawn by the Prince Cardinal at forty-five per cent.

The King would rather have the two millions which the procurators of the Cortes are offering on condition of a war against England.

The Imperial Ambassador informs me that the Cardinal Archduke has put to death Don Graçia Sarmenta, a Spanish noble, for treasonable correspondence with the King of France, in giving information about the Cardinal's intrigues in Ostend.

Madrid, 7th August 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

479. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

For the defence of Lisbon there are twelve thousand foot and ten thousand horse. This would be sufficient for the purpose, but there are grave doubts as to the issue of a battle, for many Portuguese still display a leaning towards the sons of Don Antonio, and a dislike of the Spanish, whom they declare to be worse friends than the English, whose coming they openly desire. Besides all this, the Portuguese are the natural foes of the Castillians and are almost daily at blows with them. The Adelantado does all he can to keep them quiet, but if it came to a conflict the Spanish, who do not number more than about two thousand, would perhaps get the worst of it.

On this account many Portuguese of importance, who had not yet sent away their families and goods, are now leaving the city, for they think that if the enemy appears serious damage will be done.

The English fleet is reported becalmed off Cape St. Vincent, near Lagos. Not far away, at Villanuova, are eleven Spanish galleys supported by all the guard ships. They are following the English, and watching if they can do them an injury as they have already done; for they captured one English ship which had parted company, and from its crew they learned that sixty English ships had gone to the Azores and the Canaries to meet the India flotillas, while fourteen had been sent home with the booty taken at Cadiz.

The Adelantado has made the Flemish boats unload their cargoes of salt, and has fitted them out for fighting. He is eagerly awaiting the arrival of fourteen Biscayans, and announces his resolve to put to sea within the present month. The total of his fleet will not exceed sixty ships, badly found in guns, seamen, and artillerymen; but for the sake of their reputation the Spanish will put forth every effort to take the sea as soon as possible, with a view to compelling the enemy to keep together and thus to prevent them from sweeping a wide area in search of the India fleets.

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The English landing in Algarve is confirmed. They marched into Faro without any opposition, and captured all that the inhabitants had left behind in their sudden flight; this booty falling below the enemy's expectation they wrecked many of the houses.

Seventeen English ships have been sighted off Corunna. They are thought to be bringing provisions and fresh ships for the fleet; although some declare that they bring news of the Queen's death.

Madrid, 8th August 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

480. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has received news that after the fall of Cadiz the English went to Lisbon; and that Don Christoforo, second son of the late Don Antonio of Portugal, had been to Africa, whence he returned with four thousand Moorish harquebuseers, in addition to another four thousand partly Turks, partly Moors, whom the English had liberated. These have been armed. The English left four thousand men in Cadiz. Your Serenity will know if all this is true.

Paris, 10th August 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

481. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the English had sacked Faro the first time they returned again, with much greater fury, to wreck it far worse than they had wrecked Cadiz; and this because they were maddened by the insults heaped upon three Englishmen by some of the inhabitants who had cut off their noses, ears, and arms, and sent them to the English, who most certainly never approached anywhere near such cruel conduct towards the Spanish. The English intended to land at Lagos, the capital of Algarve, but they met with a vigorous resistance from the large number of inhabitants who had gathered there, and gave up the enterprise. The sack of Faro was enough to prove that Portugal was infested by them without exposing their larger plans to risks from delay.

The Adelantado writes that as soon as fair weather set in, which was at the end of last month, the whole English fleet departed, and, after rounding Cape St. Vincent, they were sighted by a fisherman, about twenty leagues away. The Spanish are very anxious about the upshot of this voyage. They fear that the English may burn the shipping in Biscay, or capture the India fleets.

Lisbon is almost free of alarm, and the levies which were gathered for its defence, as they do not get their pay, are dissolving of themselves.

Madrid, 16th August 1596.

[*Italian.*]

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Aug. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

482. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Hulst has at last surrendered, on terms, to the Spanish. They lost a large number of men, and report says that de Rosne was killed by a cannon ball.

He, as I informed your Serenity, had come to terms with the King, and for this purpose ten thousand crowns has been deposited in Flanders, but the Spaniards held out higher hopes and he resolved to follow their fortunes.

News from England that the Queen is making great preparations to support her fleet in Spain. I remarked to a highly-placed personage that if this were so it was strange that she had said nothing to his Majesty; but he replied that I need not wonder, for the Queen was merely paying the King out for having withheld from her news of the battle of Ivry for several weeks.

S. Moro, 17th August 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

483. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Among various topics touched upon, the Legate told me this, that one of the ministers (and from his phrases I saw it could be none other than M. de Sanci) had suggested a league between the Pope the King of France and the Queen of England against Spain. He did all he could to persuade the Nuncio that the aggrandisement of Spain was a subject of concern for the Church no less than for other powers; but the Legate would not lend an ear to such suggestions, which were quite outside the scope of his mission. The Duke de Bouillon has sought an audience for the same purpose. In order to overcome the anomaly of seeing the Pope allied with heretics against a Catholic Sovereign they will endeavour to persuade him that by this arrangement he may very likely win the Queen of England back to the true faith. I see quite clearly that this is a scheme of the heretics to involve the Holy See in war, which would leave them free. They are very much alarmed at a possible rapprochement between the King and the Pope, which would one day injure their position. I am confirmed in this view by a conversation which I had with the Marshal de Biron, who came to visit me before leaving for England. The Duke de Bouillon asked me to tell him how the Republic felt towards the Queen of England. I replied that the relations of the Republic towards all Princes of Christendom were excellent. The Duke replied that he was very glad to hear it; and added "When I was in England last, in conversation with the Queen she said to me 'Your master is being invited to make peace with Spain; and do you think I am not invited as well? I have thought the matter out. It will not do for your master nor for me to make peace separately. For, apart from the fact that we could not make as good terms separately as united, if one made peace without the other, the party that was excluded would be ruined at once, which would eventually prove a misfortune for the contracting party. As a matter of fact the

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ruin of France would not suit me, for the Spanish would become its masters, nor ought your King to desire that they should become masters of England. Beyond a doubt peace is obtainable and desirable for all, and is a line of safety; but if the safety thereby attainable does not outweigh the risk involved by continuing the war, then it is better to carry on the war and to wait for the period of repose. I am convinced that we shall never have a fair and trustworthy peace with the King of Spain as long as he is on the flood of success, and does not realize that his career may be checked, his power overthrown, his greatness humiliated: To accomplish this object a solid union is necessary in order that we may be able to face our common and identical danger with adequate forces." [*"Quando fui ultimamente in Inghilterra, come dovete sapere, ragionando con lei intorno li affari di Spagna mi disse 'Il Vostro Rè è richiesto daquelli di Spagna alla pace, et credete che anch' io non ne sia manco sollecitata da lui? Ho pensato molto bene intorno questo. Non fa per lui ne per me, che la facciamo separatamente, perchè, oltreche disuniti non potressimo farlo con quell' avantaggio come faresimo uniti et congiunti, il fare anco la pace dell' uno sarebbe senz' altro la rovina di quello che fosse escluso; la quale poi ridonderebbe in danno del medesimo che l'havesse fatta; perche in fatti la rovina di Francia non fa per me, perchè vadi in poter de Spagnoli; ne il Vostro Rè deve desiderar che essi si impatroniscano d'Inghilterra. La pace senza dubbio è procurabile et desiderabile da tutti, et grandemente assicura; ma se non preponderà la sicurtà al pericolo che si ha della guerra, in questo caso è meglio continuar a guerreggiar per aspettar poi il tempo di riposare. Io conosco che non haveremo mai pace eguale ne sicura con il Rè di Spagna finche venirà portato dalla prosperità dei suoi progressi, et non se gli faccia conoscer che questo suo corso possa esser arrestato, questa sua forza abbattata et questa sua grandezza abbassata. A far questo è necessario una buona unione, et che con forze uguali procuriamo resistere al commune et ugual pericolo.'"*] *The Marshal added, "I reported all these able remarks to the King in order that he might inform me of his will in the matter; he replied that he left the affair entirely in my hands; and I did not desire to take any steps till I learnt from your Lordship what may be the views of the Republic upon the subject." I replied, after thanking him, that as servant of your Serenity, I could give him no answer, but, if he liked, as a private individual I would willingly express my views. The Marshal said "Yes," and I continued, declaring that your Serenity was the friend of all Christian powers, desiring the peace and prosperity of all. Anything which contributed to that end would be welcomed by my masters. The Marshal replied that such most certainly was his intention. He added "You know my profession" (referring to his Huguenot beliefs) "and yet I assure you that none can be more thoroughly devoted to the service of the King than those of the religion."*

The Marshal told me that he was going to England, then to Scotland, and from his covert allusions I almost imagine that he will go as far as Denmark with a view to promoting the League,

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which, although really concluded with Denmark, is still kept secret until the coronation is over; for until that has taken place the reins of government are not in the King's hands.

S. Moro, 17th August 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

484. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from Lisbon that the ship "St. Pantaleon" had arrived safely from the East Indies. She sailed before any of the others; reached St. Helena, and then, after waiting thirty-seven days, she came straight on to Lisbon without meeting the enemy's fleet. Her cargo is worth eight hundred thousand crowns. The arrival of so rich a vessel would, in ordinary times, have caused universal joy, but now by the doubtful report it gives of the rest of the East India fleet, both last year's and this, all minds are filled with sorrow; for of last year's fleet no news can be obtained, and of this year's not one has reached St. Helena. Each ship that is lost means a million in gold.

A carvel which had been sent out to watch the movements of the enemy's fleet, reports that it passed Cape Finisterre and made for England. Accordingly the guardships at the mouth of the river have been recalled in order to victual, and then they will be sent down again. Off Biscay eight English ships are reported; this makes the Spanish suspect that the enemy mean to burn the shipping there, or at least to blockade the vessels lying in it so that they shall not go to Lisbon. There is a rumour that the Earl of Cumberland (*Conte di Zamburlant*) was off San Lucar with sixty English ships; that he was threatening that port, and that for its defence five hundred horse had hastened from Seville.

Madrid, 20th August 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Aug 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

485. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A French ship and one of the scouts sent out to observe, report the enemy's fleet to be lying off Cape Finisterre, with bows pointing north. They believe the fleet is making for England.

Madrid, 24th August 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 24. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

486. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from Flanders that the Cardinal has captured Hulst, and that he is doing all he can to come to terms with the Crown of France, so as to be able to direct his whole forces against the States; but success is thought almost impossible, for the English fleet has created such a diversion in Spain, and there is a treaty between the Queen of England, the States of Holland, and the Crown of France.

Prague, 24th August 1596.

[*Italian.*]

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1596.
Sept. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

487. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of France refuses to listen to proposals for a truce *so as not to render the Queen of England more suspicious. The Duke de Bouillon before his departure secured from his Majesty an explicit promise that war would be declared against the King of Spain. But as his Majesty does all these things under compulsion, if occasion served, he would repudiate them.*

A solemn embassy is expected from England, and that leads every one to suppose that all points are settled.

Eighteen ships, full of the spoils from Cadiz, have reached England.

San Moro, 7th September 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

488. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English have inflicted a very heavy blow upon Spain at Cadiz. It will be some time before his Catholic Majesty can put another fleet on the sea. The English did not stop in Cadiz because they could not fortify it, and because the heat was so great.

S. Moro, 7th September 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 11. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.*

489. The Venetian Ambassador having assumed to himself the case of William (Vielmo) and Charles Elman, has met with many annoyances from the French Ambassador, on account of a sequestration he issued at the petition of the interested parties. He has referred the case to the competent court at Venice.

September 11th, 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 14. Original Despatch Venetian Archives.

490. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is news that the Queen of England's Ambassador† has arrived in this kingdom; and his Majesty will leave at the beginning of next week to meet him at Rouen. On his way back the Legate will be received in audience at Meaux. The Queen is said to have written to the King to say that she has heard of the honours paid to the Ambassador of the Bishop of Rome (so she calls the Legate and the Pope), and she hopes her Ambassador will not meet with less.

Orders have been sent to Rouen to entertain the Ambassador at the public charges, the Duke of Montpensier has gone to receive him. No honours will be wanting. He brings the Garter for the King.

S. Moro, 14th September 1596.

[*Italian.*]

* From the 11th September 1596 to the 15th February 1597 the Despatches from Constantinople are almost entirely illegible. The Rubricario (docket), therefore, becomes the chief source.

† The Earl of Northumberland had been appointed on 8th July, but declined to serve. Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, was sent with Sir Anthony Mildmay: *see* Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1595–1597, p. 253; "Cecil Papers," VI., pp. 260, 314.

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1596.
Sept. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

491. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador of the Duke of Savoy has been to explain to his Majesty all the steps his master has taken hitherto, with a view to making peace with the King of France, and to complain of the opposition raised by his Majesty's Ministers.

That Jew Serafatin has come to Spain on business much the same as Marigliani's, namely, the truce with the Turks.

Madrid, 19th September 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

492. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is commonly reported that the English fleet has gone back to England because it was suffering from a very bad epidemic of spotted fever. The Queen is said to have ordered out sixty other ships, well found; they are to go to meet the India fleets.

The Queen, in Drake's time, sent a ship with thirty thousand crowns, and ammunition, to Porto Ricco. The captain could not find that port, and the ship was captured by Don Bernardino de Viglianeda. The Adelantado will winter in Ferrol, a port which is handy for operations against France, England, or Ireland. In that island there is still discontent.

Madrid, 19th September 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

493. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 27th, the long desired gold-ships reached San Lucar after a prosperous voyage of 21 days from Havana. They did not fall in with any English, nor yet with the Spanish ships sent to order them back to Havana.

The cargo is twelve millions of gold, eight for private persons and four for his Majesty.

Madrid, 30th September 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

494. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I hear that the Marshal de Bouillon has arranged with the Queen of England that the moment the fleet comes home it shall, in conjunction with the French, undertake an attack on Calais.

San Moro, the first of October 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 2. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

495. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

They say that in the enemy's camp is an English Ambassador called Edward Barton (*Odoardo Bartino*), who has been very active in his efforts to bring about a peace between the Turk and his

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Imperial Majesty. His sole object is that a Turkish fleet may put out next year to attack his Catholic Majesty, and divert him from an enterprise against England. By the intercession of the said Ambassador several of the household of the late Imperial Ambassador, who died a prisoner in the hands of the Turks, have been set at liberty, and have arrived already at the Imperial camp, in charge of an agent from the English Ambassador. It is thought that both the liberation of the Imperial subjects and the arrival of the agent have for object the conclusion of a peace.

Prague, 2nd October 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 9. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

496. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day, at noon, the household of the late Imperial Ambassador arrived, the interpreter of the English Ambassador, and the other two *attachés* of the Embassy stayed behind on the way, being ordered to do so by his Imperial Majesty, who suspects them of being Turkish spies. His Majesty is resolved to wait till he hears what the Ambassador has to propose.

Prague, 9th October 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

497. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Adelantado is making great preparations in Lisbon. He has embarked four hundred of the best horses in Portugal, arms for ten thousand men, clothing for four thousand, and some vestments for the mass. Besides this he has collected a large number of carpenters, smiths, and masons, who have been pressed into service if they would not come willingly. He has brought together every kind of craft; and the total may number ninety, of which a third only would be fit to fight. On board this fleet are twelve thousand men, including the seamen, namely, nine thousand Spaniards and three thousand Portuguese. Ships and munition are very poor; there is a great lack of biscuits.

The extent of the preparations, the variety of the provisions, the anxiety of the Adelantado, lead people to conclude that not only is he to leave as soon as possible, but that it is possible that he may not go merely to winter at Ferrol, but may push on at once to some further goal. Some conjecture that Africa will be the object, at the port of El' Arisch, but common opinion points to Ireland or England, where the Queen is putting together a new fleet. But nothing certain can be known at present as all orders are sent to the Adelantado under the King's own hand.

The season is supposed to be propitious, for there are no calms just now, and they are unfavourable to the navigation of the channel; but there is a great dearth of sailors on board, although they will employ those who have just come back with the India

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fleets; these, however, will not be suitable for the navigation of English waters.

Madrid, 10th October 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

498. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is a very common report that the English fleet has returned to England, and that the Earl of Essex knighted five hundred gentlemen—among them the second son of Don Antonio of Portugal—while in Cadiz. The French expect great assistance from this return of the fleet; all the more that the preparations in Spain are said to be very large, and it is natural that the English should wish to anticipate so as not to be anticipated. The first operation will be Calais unless accidents of war lead them to change plans.

San Moro, 12th October 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 16. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

499. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I know nothing more about the interpreter of the English Embassy, except that he was ordered back to Vienna. He is said to be a Venetian named Pasquale Bruti.

Prague, 16th October 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

500. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty was to make his entry into Rouen this week, where the English Ambassador already is.

San Moro, 19th October 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

501. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

When I obtain an audience of his Majesty I will endeavour to secure the passports for ships bringing grain from Hamburg and beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. It is quite certain that they will exclude ships belonging to the English or to the rebel Flemish, and so if the grain your Serenity purchases is laden in those bottoms it will certainly be seized if they touch here.

Madrid, 25th October 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

502. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty has ordered that throughout the kingdom prayers are to be said for the success of his designs, and at Mass they chant a psalm "Contra paganos." This leads to the supposition that the fleet must be on the point of sailing from Lisbon. I am

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advised from that port that on the 12th inst. some of the ships had begun to drop down the river to the buoy. Three hundred horse and three hundred oxen had been embarked, and gun carriages.

At Lisbon an Irish bishop and all the other Irish who were here have embarked. Some of them have their wives and families with them, and this makes people believe that Ireland, and not England, is the object of this expedition; an attack on Ireland is considered a much easier matter, and they hold it is an accomplished fact, owing to secret intelligence which they have in that quarter. If they do not get the two largest harbours, which are well guarded by the Queen, they will certainly get others of less importance. The Spanish intend to build a fort to secure for themselves the power of landing whenever they choose, and thus to proceed to the conquest not merely of Ireland but of England as well. It is certain that the Queen of England holds that the loss of Ireland would mean the loss of England. She will put out all her strength to defend it; but the Spanish hope to strike so quickly that they will find Ireland, if not defenceless, yet certainly ill provided. The Queen, however, for some time back has been well prepared in that island, not only on account of the Catholic inhabitants, but also because of her continual suspicion of the King of Spain.

A person, whom I have often found well-informed, told me that the Adelantado has orders to land in Holland and to co-operate with the Prince Cardinal. But there is a danger that when sailing up the Channel—if the Armada gets as far in safety—it may be attacked by the fleets of England and Holland at one and the same time, and beaten and harried by English and Flemish ships, which are very handy.

There is a rumour that Ostend has surrendered to his Highness. If it is true it will greatly assist his Majesty's designs.

The English attack on Cadiz has roused the Ministers.

Madrid, 25th October 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

503. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Wednesday the 16th his Majesty made his solemn entry into Rouen.* Although it was a very fine sight, yet those who saw it say the entry into Lyons last year was far finer.

On the 19th, in the church of St. Antoine, close to the palace, the ceremony of swearing the league with England took place. At two o'clock of the afternoon the King, in royal robes, with his sceptre in his hand, entered the church accompanied by the English Ambassador and the sceptre of England. They heard vespers to most lovely music, and then they embraced and swore the league offensive and defensive.

On the 20th his Majesty received the Order of the Garter, all with the greatest pomp. His Majesty spends one thousand five hundred ducats a day on entertaining the English Ambassador.

The Queen has named the captains of the levies of three thousand men; and there is confirmation of all that the Marshal de

* "Cecil Papers," VI., pp. 429, 433.

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Bouillon told me. He was sumptuously entertained in England, and at his departure received about four thousand ducats' worth of silver plate.

San Moro, 26th October 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Nov 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

504. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The mission of the Duke de Bouillon to Holland has resulted in a prohibition to export grain to Flanders, Spain, or Italy. This is an old idea of his, which he has explained to me on other occasions; he learned it from the Prince of Orange, his father-in-law, who used to say that the easiest way to reduce lower Germany was to cut off the food supply from Holland. He hopes to embarrass Spain considerably, and to hamper the preparations they are making against England.

I know that this step has been taken by all the three powers (France, Holland, and England), in accord, and chiefly at the instance of the Queen of England, for when my secretary approached M. de Sanci on the point, the latter *used these very words, "We must consider the King's interests in this matter. It is impossible for us to grant export to any one whose grain would not be compelled to pass through the Straits of Gibraltar; and that would be equivalent to supplying the King of Spain, a thing which does not suit us at all."*

On the 25th of last month the English Ambassador took leave of the King, and on the following day he set out home. He has left an Ambassador in ordinary.* Before he went he had many secret conferences with the King, and it seems *that the sole subject discussed was the way to attack Calais.*

There is a rumour from Ireland that one thousand five hundred Spanish have landed, and that the island is in revolt.

Some days ago Signor Francesco Gradenigo, son of the illustrious Chevalier Grandenigo, left here by his father on his return to Venice, went to England. He has sent me a report, which I enclose.

San Moro, 2nd November 159.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

505. MOST ILLUSTRIOUS MY LORD AMBASSADOR,

AS I undertook this journey to England under your Lordship's auspices, I think it my duty to furnish you with some account of those things which struck me as worthy of your notice. I left San Moro on the fifth of last month, and in three days I reached Rouen; there I stayed a day, and in another I arrived at Dieppe, so that it took me five days altogether to reach a seaport.

Here I found a ship fully equipped, and in her I crossed safely over to England in one night. I landed at Dover and took the post, and in two days came to London. I noticed that in this country they are in great alarm about the enemy; they will not allow anyone to enter who is not quite well known and who has not been thoroughly examined, nor will they allow anyone to leave

* Sir Anthony Mildmay, "Cecil Papers," loc. cit..

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without a passport from the Queen. These precautions serve admirably to let them recognise the spies who are always passing backwards and forwards, and many have been caught and punished. Against all invasion in force they have this, to me, admirable arrangement. The whole country is diversified by charming hills, and from the summits of those which are nearer to the sea they sweep the whole horizon. On these summits are poles with braziers filled with inflammable material which is fired by the sentinel if armed ships of the enemy are sighted, and so in a moment the news spreads from hill to hill throughout the kingdom, and everyone rushes to the place whence the signal came. As the kingdom is very populous the enemy could not effect a landing without finding himself confronted by twenty to twenty-five thousand men.

It is true that, as they rely entirely upon native militia, in which, as your Lordship knows, little confidence can be placed, I should consider this provision hardly adequate. These preparations are devised chiefly as a protection against the forces of the King of Spain, and as his Spanish territories are not very far off and his Flemish possessions quite close, the kingdom is exposed to great peril; for such storms as those Medina Sidonia met with are not to be counted upon always.

As for the country itself, it is the most lovely you can imagine in all the world; so opulent, fat, and abounding with all things, that it may with truth be said that poverty hath no place there; personally I have not seen a beggar yet.

The civil wars in France and Holland have so increased its riches that London may fairly be called a little world in itself; and this is the proof, that here ten French soldi are sufficient for a meal, and that a first-rate one, whereas your Lordship knows that sixty, that is, a whole crown, are not enough in France.

Of the Queen's riches there is no need to speak. Her subjects are very rich, and therefore she is. Her income is about two millions.

(*Quanto al Regno, è il più bello che si possi veder al mondo; et è tanto opulente, grasso e ricco di tutte le cose, che si può dire con verità che la povertà vi sii afatto bandita; et per me ho 'osservato che non ho veduto ne pur un mendico. Et è accrescinto d'ogni bene per le guerre civili che sono state in Francia et per quella che tuttavia regnano nei paesi bassi, di modo che Londra si può dire un' altro picciolo mondo; e segno ne sii questo che dieci soldi Francesi il pasto mifacevano quivi, et era trattato eccellentemente, che* 60 *a pena, che sono un scudo di sole, non bastano in Francia, come ella sa. Il parlare delle richezze della Regina non occore dirnè altro, perche havendo li sudditi richissimi si può dire anche ella esser tale; tutto che del suo Regno cavi da doi millioni in circa.*)

During my stay in England the Earl of Essex arrived with the fleet on his return from Spain; and as far I could judge, the booty he brings is very little, and not at all to be balanced against the great damage the English have brought upon their own heads by losing Calais to gain Cadiz (*Calice*), which may well prove a bitter cup (*calice*) for them, if God does not order matters otherwise.

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The Queen has every opportunity to muster fleets, for not only are all the ports of England full of ships, but especially the Thames, which, from London to the sea, measures some forty or fifty Italian miles, where one sees nothing else but ships and seamen.

I arrived in England at the season when the Queen touches for scrofula: this is a privilege she exercises as claimant to the Crown of France, in virtue of her ancestral rights. She touched ten, and then washed her hands, being served by the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of Essex, all three on their knees, the Treasurer in the middle, opposite the Queen, holding a basin, the Chancellor on the right with a ewer of warm water, and on the left the Earl of Essex with a napkin, which the Queen used to wipe her hands. The Earl is a great favourite of the Queen; he is about twenty-six years of age, fair skinned, tall, but wiry; on this last voyage he began to grow a beard, which he used not to wear. He is a right modest, courteous, and humane gentleman. He sleeps in the Queen's palace. He was followed by almost all the nobility of England. He has twice asked me to dine with him, and insisted that he should be the person to present me to kiss her Majesty's hand. As on my departure from France I had with me ordinary letters of recommendation from his Most Christian Majesty, the Earl also favoured me with his support. I was introduced into the private or audience chamber, and found the Queen under the canopy. I was presented to her Majesty, and no sooner had I kissed hands than she said to me in Italian, which language she speaks extremely well, "My brother, the King of France, writes to me that I am to show you the most beautiful things in this kingdom, and the first thing you have seen is the ugliest, myself"; to which I replied that the splendour of her virtues was so great that the whole universe knew how excellent she must be, their source; and now that I had satisfied my eyes and fed my soul with the sight of her person, I cared to see naught else, for I was right well aware that the rest could not compare with her. At this the Queen smiled and said, "Once on a time, when I was princess, I was more esteemed by your Lords than I am now that I am Queen; but you are afraid of that old fellow"—alluding to his Holiness.

(*Fui introdotto nella camera di rispetto, che noi diressimo dell' audienza, e trovai la Regina sotto il Baldachino. Quivi mi appresentai a S. M. nè così tosto le bacciai la mano che mi disse in Italiano, la quale lingua parla benissimo, "Il Rè mio fratello mi scrive che debba farvi vedere le cose belle che sono in questo Regno, et alla prima voi havete veduta la più brutta, che son io." A questo risposi, che lo splendor delle virtù sue era tale che si faceva ben conoscere di qual eccellenza fusse per tutto l'universo; et in particolare havendomi saciata la vista di S. M. e pasciuto il mio animo della sua persona, non desiderava di veder cosa d'avantaggio, perchè sapevo bene che il resto non haverebbe corisposto alla M. Sua. A questo sorridendo dise la Regina "Era ben una volta, quando io era principessa, ch'era più stimata da li vostri Signori che adesso che sono Regina; ma voi havete paura di quel vecchio"; volendo alludere a S. Santità*). I replied that her Majesty had ever been esteemed by the Republic; and although, on account of my youth, I

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had no share in the secret councils of the State, yet I knew quite well that the sentiments of the Republic towards her Majesty were manifestly most cordial. After some further compliments I took my leave.

In England I have received extreme attention and favours from the illustrious gentleman Zuan Basadonna, who is held in such esteem and repute at the Court, that greater could not be. And as far as my observation goes, he is so loved and respected by all that it is a veritable miracle. This arises not merely from a general liking of that nation for ours, but also from his private virtues, which are of the highest.

This is what my fortnight's visit to London gave me of note, worthy to be represented to your Lordship. I wish it had been more, but neither the guarded way in which matters are handled in England, nor my own defects, allowed me to gather further information. Her Majesty is about sixty-four years of age, short, and ruddy in complexion; very strongly built. This points to a long life, and perhaps for this, as well as for other reasons of State, she is little disposed to name a successor, a step which her subjects greatly desire, though they do not dare to speak about it.

I embarked at Deal, on a well-armed ship; and at midnight we sighted seven ships, supposed to be from Dunquerque. We all armed, for our captain resolved to attack; but when we drew near we found they were friends. It was a marvel to see the courage of the English in going to attack at such a disadvantage. These people fight to the death; and it is their habit before they sail to swear to one another that they will fire the ship rather than yield themselves prisoners, so resolute is this race in battle.

I landed at Dieppe, and by the road I went I returned; the journey occupied forty days in all.

Your Lordship's
Most humble servant,
FRANCESCO GRADENIGO.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

506. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has sent orders that the Armada is to sail at once, even though all the provisions are not ready. The Adelantado summoned all the captains and pilots to give their opinion on oath; their answer was that if they sailed at this season they would run an obvious risk of being shipwrecked. On this the Adelantado drew up a memorial, which was signed by them all, and forwarded to the King, who, however, merely repeated his orders in a more imperative form. This obstinacy of his Majesty in sending out the fleet at this bad season makes people believe that it is to be directed against the Queen of England, in revenge for the insult she put upon him in the very heart of Spain.

When the Adelantado had received these repeated orders, he endeavoured to leave the port, three or four times; at last, on the 23rd of October, he cleared out, and next day set sail for Vigo in

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Galicia, as he is not ready yet for the voyage to England or Ireland.

To furnish this fleet it has been necessary to take every sort of ship, ammunition, arms that they could find in all Spain.

The fleet does not exceed one hundred sail, with twelve thousand men on board. Ireland is probably its object. Many Irish were frequently observed in close consultation with his Majesty's Ministers; and especially those Irish who came here on board the English fleet, and who escaped the moment they landed at Cadiz.

Before the Adelantado set sail news came that sixty English ships had been sighted off the coast of Galicia, to watch and to break up the fleet of his Majesty. Moreover, they entered Vigo bay, where the Biscay fleet was lying, quite safe from the sea and the enemy, because of the fortifications of Bayona, among the best in Spain. The English retired. Very likely it was their arrival which compelled the Spanish fleet to leave Lisbon sooner than was expected.

Madrid, 3rd November 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

507. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the night of the 27th of last month the Adelantado, with the whole of his fleet except the Biscay squadron, which could not clear Bayona, was off Cape Finisterre. Here he was caught by a violent storm; he and many of his ships were driven ashore. He took shelter in Ferrol. Thirty ships are missing; twelve are certainly lost, with two thousand infantry; and eighteen, which took to the open, have not been heard of yet. The conclusion is that the Armada can do nothing this winter, and must be laid up in Ferrol.

Madrid, 12th November 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

508. STATEMENT of the FORCES under the command of the Adelantado of Castile, which left the port of Lisbon, 23rd October 1596. Published by the Spanish Ministry.

SHIPS.	No.	TONNAGE.
Of the Crown of Castile	15	8,190
Of Portugal	9	6,320
Dutch and German	53	12,643
Transports	6	470
Carvels	15	450
Total	98	28,073

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Men.	Companies.	Men.
The levies of de Luna - - - -	17	1,800
„ „ Lisbon - - - - -	13	1,285
„ „ Andalusia - - - - -	16	1,635
Adventurers - - - - - -	32	3,410
Total - - - - -	78	8,130
Cavalry - - - - - - - -		360
Adventurers and mercenaries - - - - - -		100
Portuguese - - - - - - - -		2,800
On board thirty ships which followed from Seville - - -		2,500
In the port of Vigo - - - - - - -		3,300
Total - - - - - - -		16,590

Biscuits - - - -	12,837	barrels.
Wine - - - -	696	skins.
Pork - - - -	1,498	barrels.
Salt fish - - - -	1,031	barrels.
Cheese - - - -	6,082	barrels.
Rice - - - -	631	barrels.
Vegetables - - -	2,858	barrels.
Oil - - - - -	2,858	barrels.
Vinegar - - - -	849	barrels.
Water - - - -	2,274	barrels.
Powder - - -	1,200	barrels.
Cables - - - -	700	
Lead - - - -	800	
Bullets - - - -	500	
Cannon balls - - -	30,000	
Waggons - - - -	50	
Wheels - - -	200	
Wrights - - - -	28	

Special personages on board:—

Marquis of Montechiaro, with one company of Adventurers - - - -	1
Count of Palma - - - - -	1
Eldest son of the Adelantado - - -	1
Don Carlos of Atelano - - - - -	1

Other gentlemen:—

Don Fernando of Toledo.	
Don Antonio of Velasco - - - -	1
Don Diego Brochiero.	
Christoforo Falcon.	
Stefano d'Oliste.	
Sancho Martinez de Leyva.	
Don Rodrigo d'Orosco.	
The Irish Bishop.	
Many Jesuits and other monks.	
Carpenters, stone cutters, smiths.	
28 cannon in reserve, and *colubrine* and field guns.	

[*Italian.*]

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Nov. 13. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

509. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Pasqual Bruti, dragoman to the English Embassy, after being detained some days in Vienna has been summoned to Court. He says the Turk is disposed to make peace. The English Ambassador, on instructions from home, had arranged matters so that peace might be concluded on fair terms. But the recent events and the fall of Erlau (*Agria*) have altered the situation.

Prague, 13th November 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

510. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is confirmation of the news that a certain number of Spanish have landed in Ireland. This caused the Queen great anxiety, so much so that when the King sent to hasten up the reinforcements promised to him, she excused herself on the ground that these movements kept her in alarm.

St. Maur, 16th November 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

511. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish fleet is in Ferrol, much damaged; all the same his Majesty will order it to put out so that it may reach Brittany at least, with a view to diverting the concentration of an English attack upon the Prince Cardinal. But it is difficult to see how so large a fleet is to approach the French coast without having a single port capable of receiving it; for though Blauet is large, it has not water enough for ships of such draft.

Madrid, 19th November 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 20. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

512. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Pasqual Bruti, dragoman of the English Embassy in Constantinople, has at length been to visit me. He confirmed much of the news I have already sent. He added that the Sultan will most certainly winter in Belgrade, and probably will not leave those parts till the conclusion of the war, for among other reasons which urge him to such a course is this, that his return to Constantinople would cost him very dear just now, as he is bound by ancient custom to make a present to all the military on the rolls, at so much a head. The Sultana mother will, however, do all she can to bring him back. This dragoman talks in the highest terms of the power of the Turkish army. He says there are more than eight hundred pieces of field artillery, but a very small siege train. The total of the army, all told, is upwards of two hundred thousand. Down to the last spahi they are all splendidly accoutred, and the trappings

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of the horses very rich. The Sultan has about eight millions of gold in camp; this, and his jewels, and the registers were all left in Belgrade when the Turks made their rapid march into Hungary. The dragoman confirmed the rumours of dissensions in the army, and especially between janizaries and spahis, who are ready to cut each other to bits. Had Attuan not fallen the Sultan would not have pushed forward this year. He was present when the proclamation for a march through Transylvania was issued, and a bridge was thrown over the Danube by which the larger part of the army had already passed, when news of the siege of Attuan changed all their plans. When the Prince of Walachia saw the Turkish army taking his direction he sent to offer submission; but the Turks put no trust in him. The French Ambassador did not follow the army through want of money.

After this, I touched on the subject of his mission. He said he had several times asked leave to kiss his Majesty's hand; but his arrival was delayed for some time, until he had been examined by the Archduke Maximilian in camp, and by Ministers at Vienna. He finally obtained permission to come to Court. On the subject of peace he has had several interviews, and the position here is that if the Turk will give up Raab (*Giavarina*) or Erlau (*Agria*) the Emperor will come to terms. The dragoman is endeavouring to remove the false idea the Imperialists hold on this point, for he considers it impossible that the Turk should give up either of those places; indeed, he is afraid the Emperor will have to renounce Gran (*Strigonia*), and Waitzen (*Vaccia*), as well as to pay a large war indemnity. The English Ambassador, who is with the Sultan in camp, has written to his Majesty to offer his services as mediator in obedience to orders from his Queen. The dragoman himself reported this to his Imperial Majesty when in audience two days ago; but the delays which they impose will reduce the affair to nothing. Here no orders have been issued, and he is merely awaiting the present for himself and the Ambassador, which has been promised them in return for their trouble in liberating the German prisoners. He hoped to leave in a few days, but promised to see me before departing. When he leaves he will return straight to the Ambassador at Belgrade.

Prague, 20th November 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

513. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The two thousand English sent by the Queen have received orders to join the army at once.

The English troops, and also his Majesty's, are suffering from dysentery, which they say is contagious.

Paris, 23rd November 1596.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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1596.
Nov. 23.
Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

514. INSTRUCTIONS to the AMBASSADOR at Constantinople.

Our Ambassador in Turin writes that there is well founded information that in the league between the crowns of France and England there is a clause by which the contracting parties agree to send joint agents to Constantinople to secure the despatch of the Turkish fleet. These agents will be accompanied by a Jew, who at present is in France. We think it well to warn you, so that you may use all diligence to find out what their schemes are.

23rd November 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 24.
Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

515. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The dragoman of the English Ambassador to the Sultan has not left yet. One of the principal Ministers asked me if I knew what sort of a person he was, as he was a subject of your Serenity. I replied that I had no knowledge of him, nor had I ever heard of him. I am told that he seems to be a person of good abilities and well informed about Turkish affairs. He promises much, and his Ambassador has made courteous offers by letter; though matters are not ripe yet for such negotiations, for now both pupils of the eyes of Hungary—so he calls Raab and Erlau—were lost, and unless one were recovered, this body could not hold together for long.

Prague, 24th November 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 27.
Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

516. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The dragoman of the English Ambassador to the Sultan came to see me before leaving. He said that for the Ambassador he had received a jewel worth about two thousand five hundred crowns, and a chain worth two hundred thalers, with eight hundred florins in addition for himself. He is the bearer of four letters, one in his Majesty's own hand, addressed to the Ambassador, who also will receive another letter from the Ministers; a letter from the Ministers to Ibraim Pasha, and a letter from Dr. Petzen to the same. Dr. Petzen, who has been Ambassador in Constantinople, has intimate knowledge of Ibraim. Dr. Petzen, some months ago, wrote to Ibraim, recommending peace, but to that he has received no reply. Colonel Orfeo's frank report has terrified the Ministers; he declares the Turkish victory to be very full, and says it will be impossible to resist the Turks unless larger and better forces are employed. They still talk of the restitution of Gran and Waitzen and other places, and say that the *status quo ante* will be restored. The letters to Ibraim and the Sultan are merely formal. Full instructions are given to the English Ambassador. The dragoman did not think peace would result, for the Turk had so much the best of it that he would propose intolerable conditions.

Prague, 27th November 1596.

[*Italian.*]

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1596.
Nov. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

517. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish fleet was sighted when sailing for England. It met with a great storm and was broken up.

Paris, 30th November 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 2. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

518. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In spite of Bruti and the English Ambassador the Ministers are all but resolved that no peace shall be concluded with the Turks. They are afraid that the Turkish terms will be the possession of all the places occupied during the war, and of some other places besides; a large war indemnity, with the retention of Raab and Erlau.

Prague, 2nd December 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

519. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As the Armada is much damaged and because the season is far advanced, it will have to winter in Ferrol. That will be very convenient for the ships, but very trying for the troops. They have begun to land and the sailors especially are deserting. There are rumours of vast preparations by the Queen of England and her allies; and they think that leave will be refused to the Portuguese to go home, so that they may be ready early next year. Embargo will be laid on all shipping that reaches the ports of Spain or of Italy, The command will be given to Don Alonzo de Bazan—brother of the Marquis of Santa Cruz—*in the hope of better fortune and wiser plans.*

News from Ireland that while the Viceroy with three hundred men and many officers had gone to fortify the mouth of a certain harbour, he was attacked by the Earl of Tyrone, head of the Catholics, who cut all the English to pieces. The Viceroy escaped with difficulty. The Irish on board the ship that brought the news, declare that had the Armada sailed to Ireland it would undoubtedly have captured it; and that even now there is time. But there is great dread lest those poor Catholics who broke off the reconciliation with England and rose in rebellion, in the hope of the advent of the Armada, will pay the extreme penalty. The port which the Viceroy was fortifying is said to be Limerick, the point chosen by his Majesty for his attack.

Six English ships effected a landing at Cape Verd Island, but as the newly built castle prevented them from entering the city, they were forced to land three leagues away. They went pillaging up to the walls of the city, but the garrison, having collected the inhabitants, compelled them to retreat and to embark, leaving behind them all their booty, which they could not carry so great a distance.

One of the prizes captured from the India fleet was being sent home under the care of a few English sailors. They missed their

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way, and came right under the fortress of Mazzagan, by whose garrison the ship was recovered.

Madrid, 2nd December 1596.

[*Italian*; *the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

520. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is news from Ireland that Viscount Hereford, Lord Ferrers (*Viscomte di Herford, Signor di Feres*), who was second in command to Essex when the fleet was at Cadiz, has gone over to Ireland and joined the Earl of Tyrone. The cause is said to be his dissatisfaction with the Queen.

Madrid, 7th December 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

521. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I had occasion to discuss affairs with the Duke of Luxemburg, who remarked that it would be desirable to effect a peace in Christendom, so as to attack the Turks. The King of France likes war, and would never ask for peace; no more would the King of Spain. It remains, therefore, for the Pope to move in this matter. I remarked that the difficulty was about the inclusion of the Queen of England and the States of Holland.

Paris, 12th December 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

522. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The league which his Majesty has recently made with the Queen of England and the States of Holland, has thrown the Grisons over to the Spanish side, for they think they are held of small account and neglected by the King.

The King has promised the English Ambassador that no treaty shall be made in which the Queen is not included. The Queen is to receive guarantees for the money she spends. She is carrying on the war vigorously against the Earl of Tyrone. The English Ambassador assures me that after the dispersal of the Spanish fleet the English fleet will be pushed on to Ferrol to finish it.

Rouen, 11th December 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 21. Minute of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

523. INSTRUCTIONS to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in Constantinople.

We are greatly amazed at the conduct of the French Ambassador in seeking to establish the jurisdiction of the Turkish Courts in suits between Princes or their representatives. We approve of your conduct.

21st December 1596.

[*Italian.*]

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1596.
Dec. 24.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

524. MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Sultan has returned to Constantinople.

The French Ambassador found out that Paulo Mariani was furnishing information about the Turkish forces to the Ministers of Spain. He informed Hassan Pasha, who sent a capigi along with a dragoman of the French Embassy to Cairo, where Mariani is acting as Consul for England and France, and caused Mariani to be hung by the neck in public with a label at his feet.

The English Ambassador, who has returned with the Sultan and entered Constantinople the same day, resents this very much. I sent my secretary to visit him, and he said that the Christians were defeated by their own fault; for they might have been victorious without drawing sword. They were in an impregnable position with a large mountain behind them, a swamp on one flank and a large and strongly fortified wood upon the other. They had a supply of water that could not be contaminated, whereas the Turks, without a water-supply, must have died of thirst or retreated, in which case they would all have been cut to bits. But the impetuosity of the Transylvanian had upset Maximilian's plan. He intended, like Fabius Maximus, to conquer by delaying. The Christians delivered their attack in close order, having crossed the water at a practicable point, and penetrated as far as the Sultan's tent, where they planted their banners. They then took to plundering the tents; but while thus engaged Hassan, with a large force, on the one side, and Cicala with the Tartars on the other, charging down, took them as it were in two arms, and cut to pieces between thirty-five and thirty-six thousand, and followed up the flying Christians as far as the mountain. Of this the Ambassador says he was not an eye-witness; but from report he affirms that the rest of the army was also cut to bits. The Turkish losses in the capture of Erlau and in this other engagement amounted to no more than three thousand. In this engagement the Christians lost all their artillery, which however could not be removed owing to the lack of horses. All this is described by the English Ambassador in a way which accords neither with the Turkish account nor with facts, and makes the hearer marvel, all the more as he affirms that the Turks would embrace peace at any price, on the receipt of a mere letter. The Ambassador denies that he was in arms against the Christians as he is charged with being. He does not deny, however, that on Ibraim's invitation he went to see the trenches before Erlau and examined and approved them; nor does he deny that on being questioned whether he had borne arms for the Turks against the Christians, and slain a lot of them, he, to satisfy them, said it was quite true; if they said he had killed four, he assured them he had killed ten. (L'Ambasciator di Francia, i mesi passati scoperse che da Paulo Mariani venivano mandati a i Ministri di Spagna in Italia avisi delle cose di Constantinopoli et di gli apparechi et dei progressi della guerra, et dell'Armata Turchesca. Di che havendolo incolpato presso ad Aassan Bassa era stato cavato un commandamento, et deputato un Capigi, il quale è andato con*

* At the battle of Keresztes.

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un dragomano di Francia al Cayro dove il Mariani resiedeva consule di Francia et d'Inghilterra, l'havea fatto in luogo publico impiccar per la gola con una lettera attaccata ai piedi. Di che si risentè molto l'Ambasciator d'Inghilterra che tornò col Re, et egli ancora entrò nella città quel giorno medesimo. Ho mandato il secretario a visitarlo, et con lui raggionando l'Ambasciatore delle cose della guerra, gli ha raccontato come i Christiani si sono perdutti per haver voluto così, poi che stava in poter loro di vincere senza por mano alla spada; essendosi alloggiati in sito inespugnabile; con una gran montagna alle spalle et una gran palude da un lato et dall' altro un grandissimo et ben fortificato bosco; con haver all . . . . un acqua che non si poteva guastare la quale era in potestà loro; ne havendo Turchi dove andar per acqua in altro luogo, convenniano morir di sete o voltando le spalle et partendo aspettar d'esser tutti tagliati a pezzi da' i Cristiani; ma che la temerità del Transilvano haveva fatto romper il suo proponimento a Massimiliano, che a guisa di Fabio Massimo intendeva di superar la . . . con l'induggio. Che erano venuti i Cristiani serrati in ordinanza, havendo passato l'acquo in luogo commodo, sopra l'esercito Turchesco, et penetrati fino al casnà del Re, dove haveano piantate le bandiere; ma che essendosi posti a bottinare i Padiglioni, Assan Bassa che era allargato dall' un canto con molto essercito et il Cigala dall' altro co'i Tartari, spinti avanti, havevano come con due braccie chiusi in mezzo, Cristiani havendone tagliate a pezzi da 35 in 36 mille; e che dapoi i Tartari haveano seguitato fino alla montagna il rimanente de' i Cristiani fuggiti. Che questo egli non l' haveva veduto, ma rifferiva d'udita che havevano tagliati a pezzi quasi tutti gl'altri Cristiani, et che delli Turchi tra l'occupation d'Agria et quest' altro . . . non erano mancati più de tre mille Turchi. Che (nella) giornata haveano perdute i Cristiani tutte l'artiglierie ma che per mancamento di cavalli non erano state menate via.

Queste cose, raccontate dall' Inglese molto diversamente da quello che faccino i medesimi Turchi, et da quello che si vegga in effetto, fanno meravigliar chi ascolta; tanto più che egli ha affermato al segretario, chi i Turchi ad'una semplice lettera che ricevessero, abbraccierebboro ogni conditione di pace. Nega esso Ambasciator d'esser stato in arme in favor de' Turchi contra Christiani, come dice sapere che da alcuni gli veneva imposto. Non nega però che essendo richiesto da Ibraim ad andare a vedere le trincere de' Turchi sotto Agria non vi sia andato, et non le habbia vedute et approbate; et non nega similmente che essendo ricercato da diversi di costoro a dir se era vero che avesse combattuto in favor de' Turchi contra i Christiani, et che havesse ammazzati molti Christiani, non habbia risposto loro per gratificarseli che era verissimo che haveva combatuto per li Turchi contra i Christiani et che se essi dicevano che haveva ammazzato quattro Christiani egli diceva di haverne ammazzato dieci.)

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 24th December 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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1596.
Dec. 24. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

525. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is no more news of Bruti and the English Ambassador's negotiations for peace.

Prague, 24th December 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

526. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador and I entered into conversation while walking up and down a very beautiful gallery in the palace; he remarked that in the face of the Turkish advance a universal peace was necessary, and the King of France and his mistress were both quite ready. Many English would join so just a cause. History told him that a Venetian ere now had mediated between England and France; why not on this occasion?

I replied that as long as the Queen insisted on holding Holland and Zealand an accord was difficult.

The Ambassador said she would give them up if she was at peace with Spain.

Yes, I answered, but what would the States say if Flushing and Brill were handed over to Spain?

The Ambassador said the States would be content if their privileges were respected, namely, liberty of conscience, the withdrawal of foreign troops, and the dismantling of the forts.

But, I said, the King of Spain has already offered these terms, and they were rejected.

The English Ambassador is very suspicious about this whole matter.

He has pointed out the danger in which Boulogne is of being taken by the Spanish, and he has offered to garrison it with English.

Rouen, 28th December 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 29. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

527. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Archduke Ferdinand writes that he did all he could to prevent the King of Denmark from joining the league of France and England.

Prague, 29th December 1596.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

528. AGUSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from England that great preparations are being made to attack this kingdom. In Portugal there is great alarm. His Majesty is suffering from a pain in the flank, and Mercato, his physician in ordinary, told me that as long as he is passing gravel the pain will not cease. This is always accompanied by a certain

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amount of fever. But it is the pain which the physicians fear most, because it has begun to break his Majesty's sleep, causing great irritation. Three days ago the doctors gave him a little manna, which produced a good rest.

Madrid, 31st December 1596.

[*Italian.*]

1597. Jan. 1. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

529. FRANCESCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador ill content with the French, and threatens him mischief.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 1st January 1596 [m.v.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 6. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

530. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The dragoman of the English Ambassador reached Buda last month. He was at once examined by the Pasha and other military officers as to the forces, resources and intentions of the Emperor; and was warmly urged to act with the English Ambassador in securing a peace; as all the principal Turks are disgusted with the war.

Prague, 6th January 1596 [m.v.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

531. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is the universal opinion here that the arms and the designs of the Queen of England, supported by the confederate Princes, will be directed against Spain, and that by the month of March the English fleet will be in these waters. Rumour from Lisbon runs that the Schereef has promised to land forty thousand horse in Andalusia; and that in Africa thirty thousand barrels of biscuits have been baked to provision the northern fleet. Lisbon is in a panic lest the thunder of arms should be heard in that city; and many inhabitants, in alarm lest the resistance should prove inadequate, are already beginning their preparations for flight.

His Majesty has made appointments to the most important positions; and, in particular, he has sent as assistant to Seville the Count of Pignanrostro, known as Don Francesco de Bobadiglia, who is probably the best soldier in Spain at the present day. Fuentes is to be made Commander-in-Chief of all the troops in Spain, with twelve thousand crowns a year as salary, a post similar to that held by Don Pietro de Medici in Italy. All the feudatories, lay and ecclesiastical alike, are ordered to have the half of their full number of lances mustered by the month of February, and the other half is to be held ready. They have all been informed that the Queen of England, in conjunction with other Princes, is preparing to attack Spain. His Majesty has also appealed to the cities for men. The number of troops is not yet established; it will depend upon the nature of the war upon which they embark. As yet the preparations point

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to defence rather than to attack. News from Lisbon that two English ships have sacked Pineda, the principal emporium of the Congo. This causes still greater anxiety to the Portuguese when they see that the enemy not only infests the shores of Spain and Portugal, but appears in distant regions where the navigation is very difficult. They also have news of three other English ships which had been at Guyana off the Gold Coast, near Peru, where the English were welcomed by the natives because they would not take large gifts in order to show that they were not actuated by avarice. The Indians have given them in hostage a son of one of their little kings, and the English have taken him to England, where they intend to enter into a treaty with the natives and to acquire that province, which is very rich in gold.

It was announced the other day that eight of the Adelantado's ships had reached Ireland, where the Earl of Tyrone and other Catholics had given them a hearty welcome. (*Per lettere di Lisbona s'è inteso come due navi Inglesi havevano svalleggiato il loco di Pineda, scala principale del Regno di Congo in Africa, il che fà maggiormente dubitare a Portoghesi vedendo che li nemici infestano non solo le terre maritime di Spagna et Portugallo, ma che ancora trascorrino in parti rimotissime, et molto difficile per la navigatione. Havendosi anche saputo di tre altri navilii d'Inghilterra che erano stati alla provincia di Guiana del Riodorato vicino alla parte del Peru, dove da quei popoli gli Inglesi furono ben veduti et accarezzati, havendosi essi schivato di ricevere grossi donativi per non dimostrarsi molto avidi delle loro richezze; onde gli Indiani li hanno dato per ostaggio un figliaolo d'uno di quei Regoli, che l'hanno condotto seco in Inghilterra con disegno di trattar confederatione et risolversi poi all' acquisto di quella provincia abondantissima d'oro.*

Si publicò alli giorni passati che otto delle navi, che corsero, dell' armata dell' Adelantado fussero capitate in Irlanda, ove dal Conte di Tiron et da altri Catholici erano state amorevolmente ricevute).

While the French, five hundred men strong between horse and foot, were attempting to surprise Irun on the frontier near Bayonne, they were discovered by a cleric who swam the river and gave warning, so that the attempt failed.

Madrid, 8th January 1596 [m.v.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

532. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Pope said that there might possibly be Princes in Italy who, through fear of the King of Spain, were urging the King of France to prosecute the war against the Spanish without perceiving the danger. The King might be so reduced in power that he would be forced to succumb to Spain; and besides, the Queen of England, if the occasion offered, might possibly come to terms with Spain without the consent of France, and thus too the King would be exposed to gravest dangers.

Rome, 11th January 1597.

[*Italian.*]

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1597.
Jan. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

533. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Frenchman who is passing backwards and forwards, in the negotiations for peace, is now here; he brings letters from the Cardinal, but I have not learned their contents as yet. He told my informant, however, that the Cardinal, at his departure, charged him to say to the King that the Cardinal was his Majesty's servant, and hoped to be the intermediary in the accomplishment of this great boon for Christendom, the accommodation between the Crowns of France and Spain; and that the Nuncio, by the Pope's orders, had spoken to the Cardinal in that sense.

Rouen, 11th January 1596.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

534. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Fuentes has been to kiss hands and render thanks for the high post of Captain-General which has been conferred on him.

There is a rumour that about forty English ships have been wrecked on the coast of Brittany, but it does not meet with absolute credence.

Madrid, 13th January 1597 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 14. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

535. GIROLAMO CAPELLO and MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassadors in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador has kissed hands and made his presents. He urged the despatch of a fleet, and the Vizirs have orders to inspect the Arsenal. The English Ambassador declares that he will not appeal for help to the Turk, and between him and the French Ambassador there is no good understanding.

The departure of the Sultan once more for the war against the Imperialists has been three times publicly proclaimed in the market. All the same, it is thought that the Sultanas will make him change his mind. There is a great lack of horses and of all beasts of burden, and the troops are in serious disorder.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 14th January 1596 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

536. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

My informant about the letters from the Cardinal to the King on the subject of the peace, came to tell me that he had been deceived, and the letters were not from the Cardinal to the King, but from the President Richardot to Villeroy. The President writes to say that he knows that both his Catholic Majesty and the Cardinal are most favourably disposed to the peace, and he rejoices to learn that the same spirit prevails here. He offers his willing services, and advises the Ministers to put their requirements into writing. The difficulty lies in this, that the French do not wish to formulate

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their demands so as to avoid appearing as suitors for peace. But if they won't do it the Spanish certainly won't. This leads to a strong wish that some one should step in as intermediary. The Legate has spoken to the King, but in very general terms; and one of the Princes of the blood has even complained of this. But in truth, it is the general opinion that this kingdom cannot go on much longer without a peace; although the more it is needed the less evident are the means to accomplish it.

They have ordered in England many bales of cloth for the troops; they can be bought there at an advantage. There is news from England that forty ships, well armed, have sailed to harry the Spanish coast.

Rouen, 18th January 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

537. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Nuncio told me that he had spoken on the subject of peace with France three or four times to the King, and still oftener to the Ministers, but that he could never obtain any but a general answer; his Majesty declaring that it does not become his dignity to make peace with the King of France, a heretic relapsed who insists on the inclusion of the Queen of England. The Nuncio has observed to the Ministers that it rests not with his Majesty, but with his Holiness to judge of this question of religion.

The King is urged to crown his glorious reign by conferring peace on Christendom; and gentle allusions are made to the disasters which his fleets have suffered, to the many millions of gold poured out, and still pouring, and to the vast preparations for the mere defence of this kingdom. To all of these ills an alleviation, if not the end, would follow from the accord with France.

His Holiness has charged the Nuncio to secure that the King should aid the Emperor to divert him from making peace with the Turk, which he is said to be negotiating by means of an English agent.

Madrid, 21st January 1596 [m.v.]

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

538. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News has arrived that off Corunna thirty English sail have been sighted. It is supposed that they are here to reconnoitre the Adelantado's fleet.

Madrid, 22nd January 1596 [m.v.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

539. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Adelantado's fleet is so ruined that out of the twelve thousand and upwards, who were on board, not more than two thousand

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five hundred men remain. The larger number of the sailors have deserted. If his Majesty intends to use his fleet next year he will have to reconstruct it.

The rumoured shipwreck of the English in Brittany reduces itself to a great storm which overtook the wine ships which were leaving Bordeaux.

Madrid, 22nd January 1596 [m.v.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

540. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from Scotland that many Catholics in that Kingdom have already petitioned the King for the free celebration of the Mass, and that he would concede it. On this the heretics rose, and many of their Ministers presented themselves to the King, to whom they used terms of insolence, as is their wont, and complained of the resolve he had taken. The King replied haughtily, and they answered back, whereupon, it is said, the King caused some of them to be arrested, as he could not submit to such arrogance, and these he has beheaded. If this be true it cannot fail to bring notable results to the Catholic religion.

Rouen, 25th January 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

In Despatch from Germany of January 27th. Copy of Original, Venetian Archives.

541. LIST of TROOPS in the service of HIS CATHOLIC MAJESTY in FRANCE.

Spanish, under four colonels - -	11,000
Italian infantry under the Marquis of Trevico and Don Gaston Spinola - - -	1,200
Germans, under six colonels - - -	12,000
Burgundians under the Marquis of Varambon, and the Irish regiment under Colonel Stanley -	1,600
Walloons - - - - -	7,000
Other Walloons - - - -	1,000
Flemish - - - - -	2,000

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 29. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

542. GIROLAMO CAPELLO and MARCO VENIER, Venetian Ambassadors in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Many people present themselves to the Ambassadors urging that the Republic should take steps to mediate for peace. The English Ambassador is acting in that sense, and between him and the French Ambassador the disagreement on the subject of jurisdiction over foreigners continues. Each threatens to withdraw unless he is satisfied. Unless the Sultan goes to the war nothing vigorous will be effected.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 29th January 1596 [m.v.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

543. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The negotiations for the truce with Spain continue; but it is difficult to find out anything for certain. The Ministers are in

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perplexity, for they think that, as the affairs of Spain are at present in confusion it would be more profitable for them to continue the war rather than to allow Spain to recover her strength during a suspension of arms. All the same the King has sent his agents, with great secresy, to England and Holland to induce them to send Ministers of importance to Havre, where his Majesty himself would meet them to discuss the truce and peace, and also about the conduct of the war if the truce were not made. By this action he proves that he has no intention of separating himself from his allies.

Rouen, 1st February 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

544. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Private information to Don Filippo de Avica—son of the Schereef Mahomet, at whose instance Don Sebastian went to Africa—leads to a suspicion that, in their designs for landing in Spain, the Moors have secret intelligence with the Queen of England. Don Filippo adds that they are preparing the vessels and the biscuits for that enterprise. The Ministers, however, do not admit that the information from their spies confirms Don Filippo; nor have I, for all the diligence I have used, been able to find out anything for certain. The Ministers, in appearance, affect to disbelieve both the movement of the Moors and the preparations in England; but their defensive measures show that they really expect an attack from England very soon, and that it will be supported by a considerable number of Moors, who offered their assistance to the English after the news that they had entered Cadiz, although it was not accepted at that time. In all places of importance along the coast the command has been taken from the gentlemen of the long robe and consigned to men of the short, good soldiers.

Madrid, 8th February 1596. [m.v.]

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

545. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is news from England that all the Spanish who landed in Ireland during the last months have been cut to pieces. Confirmation needed.

Paris, 15th February 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 15. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

546. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The rumour of the Sultan's departure persists, and the horse's tail is said to be fixed to the lance-head. Proclamation has been made in the market that no one shall dare to say he was not

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going, and that all should be ready to follow him by April. There is great want of money. The English Ambassador came to visit the Venetian, and was very confidential. He declared that the Grand Vizir was in doubt what answer he should send to Transylvania and that he (the Ambassador) had counselled the Vizir to leave the Emperor and the Transylvanian an opening to send their representatives to Constantinople, and to grant a truce for a year. There are no signs of preparation for the despatch of the fleet.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 15th February 1596 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

547. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Nuncio informed me that he was charged by the Pope to urge his Catholic Majesty to support the Emperor with money, but the matter seemed difficult, for here they wished to limit themselves to advice. He had approached his Majesty on the subject during the last months, and had received in writing the answer that as far as the King was concerned he was most ready, but that his Holiness must secure Spain from an attack by the English, and must cause the Poles and Venetians to enter the league. I replied that the wisest course was to bring about peace between the great Christian Princes. The Nuncio replied that it was impossible; the Pope could not mediate with the Queen of England. The Emperor should undertake that office.

An English gentleman left a few days ago for England. He says he has been summoned by a person of great influence and a close friend of Viscount Ferrers (*Visconte Feres*), who was on board the English fleet, in high command, when it entered Cadiz. The action of this person in playing upon the favourable attitude of the Viscount towards the Catholics, was the reason why the churches and clerics were respected. But he is supposed to have been sent to fan the flame of religious discontent in England.

Madrid, 20th February 1596 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

548. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The preparations for the defence of this kingdom seem to have been relaxed during these last few days, either owing to his Majesty's illness or owing to the news from England. It is reported that there are no great preparations going on in that country. The Queen, on hearing of the disaster to his Majesty's fleet, concluded that he could do her no harm this year.

During the last few days there has been an alarm lest the English should attempt something against the Indies instead of attacking this kingdom, in spite of the insistence of Antonio Perez, who is doing all he can to arouse the Queen of England and the

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other allies to employ their forces against Spain. He represents the kingdom as disarmed and full of discontented soldiery.

Madrid, 21st February 1596. [m.v.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

549. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Legate has delayed his departure. The Pope, it seems, is resolved to apply himself in earnest to the negotiations for peace. If he is as warm about it as the importance of the negotiation merits, some good issue may be expected. In the meantime a truce for six months is on the point of being concluded.

I learned that after my departure from Rouen, an English Ambassador besought the King to turn his attention to the recovery of Calais; the King replied that this was not the proper opportunity; whereupon the Ambassador added "Well, then, will your Majesty allow my Mistress to engage her own forces in this enterprise and capture the place for herself?" The King answered, "Certainly not. And if she goes there, I will call out my troops to stop her." "Then," said the Ambassador, "your Majesty is content to see Calais in the hands of Spain rather than of my Mistress." "No," replied the King, "but I wish to carry out the enterprise myself, at my own time; and I hope soon to have the place." And indeed they seem to be more occupied by this scheme than with anything else; for if Calais were recovered the rest which Spain holds would be of small account. (Dopo la mia partita da Roano ho inteso che un Ambasciatore d'Inghilterra ha fatta instanza a sua Maestà perche volesse disponer di far l'impresa di Cales et che il Rè gli rispondesse non esser al presente il modo (? momento) di farlo. A questo esser stato soggiunto dall' Ambasciatore, Adunque V. Maestà si contenti che la mia Regina vi impieghi le sue forze et se l'acquisti per se. Replicò il Rè Questo no; et se vi andrà adunarò le mie genti per impedirla. Adunque, disse l'Ambasciatore, V. Maestà ama che Cales resti più tosto in mano de' Spagnoli che della mia patrona; Non, aggiunse il Rè, ma voglio far io l'impresa quando io potrò, et spero di ricuperarlo ben presto. A questa impresa pare in effetto che più pensino che ad ogni altra, per esser tutti grandamente interessati; oltre che quando questa piazza fosse recuperata tutto il resto che tengono li Spagnoli su le frontiere non sarebbe di gran momento.)

Parigi, 22nd February 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

550. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de ——— (Molegran), Grand Master of Lorraine, arrived here one day this week. Among his other business is that of the truce. It seems that the French are ready to make a truce for four or six weeks in order to arrange their affairs. The Spanish, on the other hand, want to conclude the truce for four or five years, but here they do not give much heed to this offer. They are

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afraid that in that period the Spanish might put themselves in good order and, at the close of it, would be able either to continue the war or to exact favourable terms for a peace. They are also aware that it is a matter of danger for them to allow this population, which earnestly desires repose, to taste the sweets of peace. They have before them the example of Paris, which came to accept complete obedience to the King owing to the sweetness of the first truce it made with him, The universal desire for peace induces the population to demand support in every quarter; and I know that it has been said that the Republic is not so warm on the subject as she might be, because it is to her interest that the war between these two Crowns should continue.

Four thousand infantry and six thousand horse are said to have been raised and to be paid by the King of Denmark, the Count Palatine, the States of Holland, and the Queen of England.

Paris, the first day of March 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 1. Original Rubricario,* Venetian Archives.

551. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There are rumours of peace, and it is said that a young man has reached the camp from the Imperial Court. This person is supposed to be Dabri. Orders have been sent from the Porte to allow him and other agents to pass.

The English Ambassador declares that the Turks are tired of the war and would like to make peace; and if only he could say three words to the Princes of Christendom he would give them the opportunity of putting a celestial crown on their brows. He declares that if the Christians had not fallen to plundering, not a Turk would have escaped from the battle of Erlau (Keresztes).

There is a great dearth of money. If the war continues two years longer not a Turk will go, so great is their desperation and poverty; and there are loud complaints of bad government and confusion.

[*Italian.*]

Mar. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

552. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Marshal de Baligny made an attempt on Cambrai on the first of this month. He started with the King's orders to muster one thousand horse and three thousand foot; but as a matter of fact he had with him only one hundred and fifty men from the garrison of Guise. They marched all night, and early in the morning, before daybreak, ten of the best men climbed down into the fosse with a petard. The petard was already placed in position against the casemate when they discovered that during the march the powder had run out. They were obliged to retire; but they say they will make another attempt in a few days, as the garrison were never aware of what took place.

* Filza 45, containing the despatches from March to August, 1597, is wanting. The Rubricario is therefore the sole source.

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A minister of the highest authority, talking about the truce with Spain, said to me that he did not believe anything would be done, because neither the States of Holland nor the Queen of England desired it. The French too have come to the conclusion that to make peace would only be affording the Spanish time to strengthen the places belonging to this Crown which were now in their hands. I said that the question was which would be most serviceable to this country and to Christendom, a peace or a truce. The peace, though most desirable, was also the more difficult, while neither Holland nor the Queen of England would, in my opinion, be seriously opposed to a truce for the reason that both were under the necessity of relieving the burden on their subjects. As to the places occupied by Spain, that objection could be met by a clause forbidding any innovation or the introduction of fresh garrisons and munitions of war, or the erection of new fortifications. He said at once, "And who will go surety for this clause?" I replied that confidential agents might be placed in each of the positions held by Spain.

Paris, 8th March 1597.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Mar. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives

553. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Amiens was lost yesterday. It fell to the Spaniards through secret intelligence and agreement which they had with the population. About eight after midnight, the Duke d'Aumale entered first with about one hundred horse and seized the gate. He was followed by two thousand infantry. This loss is of such moment that all that has happened hitherto may be reckoned as naught when compared with it. (Amiens è perduto ieri; et è stato preso da Spagnoli per intelligentia et trattato havutovi dentro con li terrazani; vi è entrato primo, su le otte hore doppo mezzanotte, il Signor Duca di Humala con cento cavalli, et si impatroni della porta et poi fu seguitato da doi mille fanti. Questa perdita è di tanto momento che tutte le fatte fin qui si possono stimar niente in comparasione sua). Now the enemy will throw a bridge over the Somme, which river has hitherto protected all these provinces from their arms; and they can harry the country at their pleasure up to the walls of this city. The worst of it is that in Amiens were all the field pieces and ammunition which his Majesty intended to use this year on the frontiers. There were thirty guns and ammunition and balls for twelve thousand shots; besides perhaps one hundred thousand crowns for the soldiers' pay. The Count of S. Pol has fled and they say his wife is a prisoner. God grant we hear not like news from Abbeville. This event is of such importance that I have anticipated my ordinary despatch by two days, and I shall send this to Lyons, where it will arrive, I hope, in three days; and I have given orders that it shall be forwarded at once, by express, to your Serenity.

News from England reports the preparation of a vast armament which, they say, will number one hundred and twenty sail. The

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admiral will have the sole command, and Portugal is its probable object.

Paris, 12th March 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Mar. 14. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

554. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His audience has been postponed on account of the bad weather; and as the question of a peace has not yet taken root, he will delay any negotiations for the inclusion of the Republic and the clause about the Uscocks, so that the Imperialists may have no inkling on the matter.

[*Italian.*]

Mar. 15. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

555. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is such a dearth of all necessaries that it is thought impossible for the Turks to despatch a fully equipped army. The Sultan will not go. The lack of everything is so severe that the Christians and the Jews have been compelled to furnish meat and other supplies for the Seraglios and for the militia.

The English Ambassador is very confidential with the Venetian Ambassador, and has shown him the despatches from the Queen of England. He talks of his journey and of the negotiations for peace which Dabri is conducting. Hassan wishes to act on the Turkish side. The English Ambassador has some fears for Dabri's safety. The Imperialists desire nothing so much as to free themselves from the tribute.

At this moment a letter has arrived from the Vaivode of Walachia addressed to the Patriarch of Alexandria, and dealing with the question of peace. As the Patriarch is a friend of the Venetian Ambassador's he hopes to be able the more readily to secure the inclusion of the Republic, and the acceptance of the clause about the Uscocks.

[*Italian.*]

Mar. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

556. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Two hours after receiving the news of the fall of Amiens the King set out on horseback for those parts. The first day brought him to Pontoise, and the second to Beauvais. Here they are massing forces which at this moment must number seven thousand foot and one thousand five hundred horse; they still indulge a hope that they may recover Amiens, although that is more properly a subject for desire than for hope.

At Rouen they are regretting the dismantling of fort St. Cathérine.

As I told you, the Count of S. Pol fled, leaving everything behind him. His Majesty with a view to recovering the Countess has arrested the Duchess d'Aumale.

The King will not hear of a peace with Spain; he has even declared that the end of the foreign war would be the beginning of a civil war.

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A few days ago M. de Breves wrote to the King informing his Majesty of the case of Mariani, who was put to death by de Breves. The King thinks this proceeding very strange, as the step was taken without his orders. De Breves says he executed Mariani as a spy in the pay of Spain. He encloses two ciphers found on Mariani; the word "Mass" appears on one, the word "Cross" on the other. He says they were names of Ministers; and as a matter of fact, when deciphered, they were found to be correspondence with M. de Maisse (Messe), and with M. Camillo Croce.

Paris, 15th March 1597.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

557. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Certain news from Holland and Zealand leads to the hope that those provinces will not enter into league with the King of France and the Queen of England.

The King is in treaty with the Fuggers for money.

The Nuncio told me that he has received fresh orders from the Pope to urge the King of Spain to make terms with France. It seems that the Ministers are more ready now to lend an ear to such proposals, so that at last we may hope for some good. The negotiations would be conducted in Flanders by the Cardinal Prince. There is a rumour that fifty ships—some say many more—have put out from England.

Madrid, 19th March 1597.

[*Italian.*]

March 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

558. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News of the fall of Amiens was brought to his Majesty by three couriers, one after the other, as I have already explained. But the Constable has given me further details. The population were not in accord with the Spanish. The whole affair was conducted by a Spaniard, the Governor of Doulens (*Dorlans*). He had frequently been inside Amiens, disguised, as the Bishop of Amiens confesses. This man noticed that the gate by which the Spanish entered, the only one by which they could have entered, which lies on the further side of the Somme, towards Doulens, was very carelessly guarded, especially at the hour of the sermon to which all the good citizens went, leaving the gate in charge of mercenaries and common troops. The governor of Doulens chose out seven hundred picked men and sent on ahead about fifteen or twenty of these, armed and with cuirasses, but disguised as peasants. Under their disguise they carried pistol and dagger. Behind those men came a waggon covered with straw and conducted by the governor himself, also disguised. The rest of the troops marched through the night and in such excellent order that by the appointed hour they were a very short distance from the city. At about eight in the morning of the eleventh of this month, five or six of the advance guard entered the gate, carrying sacks of nuts and apples as though they

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were peasants from the neighbouring villages going to market. They sat down inside the gate, feigning to be tired, and waited till the waggon and the other men came up. The waggon came on to the bridge and stopped in such a position that half of it was under the arch of the gate, where the portcullis would fall, and the other half still on the bridge. The men with the sacks then, as though by accident, spilt their nuts and apples, and the guard naturally rushed after them. At that moment the governor of Doulens cut the traces of the horses in the waggon, so that it could not be moved, and his men opened fire from their harquebusses slaughtering the guard. The men behind the waggon, sprang in, and although the portcullis was lowered, it came down on the waggon and left space enough for the soldiers to come in and out. Then the main body came up, and having raised the portcullis and drawn out the waggon, they made themselves masters of the gate, and what is more marvellous still they marched right through the city with their drums beating, flags flying, as if they were on parade. At first they were in doubt what to do, as this handful of men had only intended to seize the gate, but seeing that no opposition was offered, they placed guards at the cross streets and in the square without anyone raising a finger. The commander sent the Spanish in companies of fifteen or twenty to patrol the streets, and where they saw any of the townsfolk on the roads or at the windows they fired on them, so that not a man had the courage to stir. And so a great city of fifty thousand souls, including some ten thousand troops, was captured by a mere handful of seven hundred men, and with the loss of less than ten on both sides. They have seized all the principal citizens. Had the Count of S. Pol shown a little more courage either in resisting at the moment or by returning after, as the Swiss wished him to do, the town would have been recovered. The garrisons of Corbie and Peronne recaptured the booty as it was being carried into Doulens, but his Majesty says that that does not mean the recovery of Amiens. The Marshal de Biron, who is "the thunderbolt" of this kingdom, is pressing Amiens night and day, and means to attempt an escalade if the opportunity presents itself. He has cut to pieces three hundred men who were marching on Amiens. The Countess of S. Pol has been set free without a ransom, but six thousand crowns are demanded for her property. There is nothing which has escaped the insolence and lust of the Spanish troops.

The King is blamed as the cause of these troubles because he will not conclude a truce with Spain.

Paris, 22nd March 1597.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 24. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

559 FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News that the English Ambassador in Constantinople has written to the Prince of Transylvania exhorting him to remain neutral for this year, and promising immunity.

Prague, 24th March 1597.

[*Italian.*]

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March 27. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

560. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Patriarch of Alexandria has informed the Venetian Ambassador of all the steps he has taken in the matter of the negotiations for peace. He has shown the letters he has received from the Vaivode of Walachia. Two agents from the Vaivode Michael have been sent to the Patriarch and to the English Ambassador. The Patriarch seeks the Venetian Ambassador's advice. The Patriarch discusses the state of the Christian powers and dwells on the peril of the Turkish empire and the weakness of its forces.

A Persian remarked to the Ambassador of France, *apropos* to the evil influence of women in the government, that when the hen crows like the cock the ruin and death of the master of the house may safely be expected. The Persian Ambassador has suddenly taken leave of the Sultan. The Grand Vizir effected this partly to be quit of the cost and partly to prevent the Persian from discovering the deficiencies of the government.

[*Italian.*]

March 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

561. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The attempt to recover Aras has failed. The Marshal de Biron has been wounded, so they say.

Yesterday I received your Excellencies' Despatches on the subject of Charles Elman. I will do my duty in the matter.

Paris, 29th March 1597.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

562. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The fall of Amiens is likely to render the Spanish more haughty and to interfere with the conclusion of a peace. One of the difficulties is the question of the inclusion of the Queen of England and the States of Holland.

Paris, 29th March 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 29. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

563. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador has resolved to delay presenting the letters of the Republic to the Sultan until he sees what steps the Turks will take; for they have reported their successes to the King of France and to the Queen of England.

The doctors have declared that the Sultan cannot leave for the war on account of his bad health, produced by his excesses in eating and drinking.

[*Italian.*]

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March 31.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

564. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is reported that in England one hundred and fifty ships and upwards of fifteen thousand men are ready to sail. They have with them certain fireships with very powerful combustibles on board, and they intend to burn his Majesty's fleet in the port of Ferrol. But here they are not alarmed at this threatened attack, for his Majesty's fleet lies at Ferrol, and any one who wishes to enter that port must pass through a canal five miles long and so narrow that only two ships can sail abreast, while at the mouth of that canal are three forts.

The King has ordered the arrest of Don Juan Portocarrero, in command of the galleys of Spain, and also the Admiral and certain others, all accused of having sacked the fleet in Cadiz harbour when the English attacked it last year, instead of protecting it.

Madrid, last day of March 1597.

[*Italian.*]

April 5.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

565. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish had secret intelligences inside Montreuil, but their design failed in spite of the fact that, thanks to a sergeant whom they had suborned, they succeeded in penetrating some way into the town. The attempt on Aras was unsuccessful.

Paris, 5th April 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 10.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

566. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News has been brought by a small ship which left England about the middle of last month, and reached Seville in eleven days, that the Queen of England's fleet has put out to sea. This news has thrown Lisbon into the usual panic and confusion, and many women have begun to leave the city, and the militia levies are being pushed on.

They say that Don Pedro de Toledo with his ten galleys of the Italian squadron and about sixteen of the Spanish has left the port of St. Mary near Seville and has gone to Lisbon for coastguard service. It is expected that a fleet of forty sail will suffice to defend the shores if the English appear in these waters.

The agent to the Duke of Mercœur tells me that they strongly suspect that the English fleet will go to Brittany; and that might easily prove true if the accord between the King of France and the Duke took place. The English will do all they can to expel the Spanish from that province in order to deprive them of the opportunity for harassing England. News has been received that the English have made themselves masters of the island of Sta. Marta, where the pearl fisheries are, and also of Sta. Margarita, both near San Domingo. These places will be of use to them should

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they wish to advance upon Havana and Portorico, an advance which would not be difficult if they maintain their present lordship of the sea (*il qual progresso non li riuscirebbe difficile se continovassero come al presente a signoreggiare il mare.*)

Madrid, 10th April 1597.

[*Italian.*]

April 11. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

567. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Sultan has written a letter to the Republic in which he announces his victories; it is couched in the same terms as the letter to the Queen of England.

[*Italian.*]

April 12. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

568. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Alexander the Vaivode of Walachia, who preceded Vaivode Michael, has been hung. He was dressed in velvet and gold. The charge against him was that he had plotted against the Sultan, and stirred the Cossacks to an attack. But the common opinion is that his enemies have murdered him by means of forged letters.

All those who have no permanent domicile in Constantinople are to leave the city within three days; the reason some say is the dearth of provisions, others that this is a way of raising money; others that the waste ground may be brought into cultivation.

The Patriarch of Constantinople has died of colic in two days; Miletio, Patriarch of Alexandria, has taken his place.

[*Italian.*]

April 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

569. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has sent an agent to England to demand that the English troops, which were despatched to Rouen, and should number two thousand, but are now reduced to seven hundred, should be made up to their full number and be maintained here beyond the six months stipulated for in the treaty, which expired on the 16th. The King will encounter some difficulty, for it was agreed that at the expiry of the six months his Majesty should pay these troops, a thing he is unable to do; and the Queen is not very well satisfied at the King's refusal to allow her to attack Calais. The King's reason was that if he allowed the English to come in he would find himself confronted with two enemies instead of one, and perhaps the English, on account of their ancient claims to the kingdom of France and the support they would find among the heretics, might prove more serious foes than the Spanish.

In England the Queen has about one hundred and twenty ships, including twenty belonging to the States of Holland. *They will strike at Spain, where they will go with the intention of remaining some time, as they are quite aware of the error they committed in Cadiz last year. The actual point of attack is not known.*

The Irish rebellion under the Earl of Tyrone is going on more actively than ever. The English would seem to have little fear of

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Spanish arms in Ireland at present for they have heard that the plague is raging in the Spanish fleets at Corunna and Ferol.

The Fuggers have refused to advance the three millions of gold for Flanders.

Paris, 19th April 1597.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

570. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Preparations for resisting the English fleet are actively carried on.

The Fuggers have announced that they cannot accept his Majesty's terms.

I enclose a report from a friend in Ferrol.

The Spanish have captured Amiens owing to the carelessness of the French.

Madrid, 19th April 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

Two days ago on this coast a vessel of S. Malo was captured. The crew confessed that it had been sent by the Queen of England to reconnoitre. They also report that the Queen has one hundred and fifty ships with fifteen thousand men on board; that S. Malo has manned fifty ships with four thousand sailors and five hundred soldiers to support England; that the King of Denmark has offered two hundred ships, for which the Queen had thanked him, but asked him to keep them for another occasion, as she had sufficient for the present.

We have here seventy ships and three galleons, the "St. Paul," the "St. Peter," and the "St. Bartholomew"; six galleons which brought ballast from Biscay, of from one to four hundred tons; three Ragusan and other four of four or three hundred tons; making in all sixteen men of war; the rest are hulks. On board the three Ragusans are four hundred Ragusan sailors; on board the royal ships one hundred and fifty. The crews of the hulks are hostile to the King.

There are eight thousand soldiers in cantonments, and that is al the force we have.

They have sent to Biscay and Portugal to raise sailors; but no one will serve; they fly to the mountains in spite of the fact that they are offered four or three pays in advance.

The Ragusans here are treated like slaves, toiling day and night, and without pay for the last seven or eight months. The Ministers place their hopes in them; but they declare that if the enemy appears they will go below to the ballast, for as they are not paid they will not fight. Some day or other they will rise.

Ferrol, 10th April 1597.

[*Italian.*]

April 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

571. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is living in great retirement; he is continuing his purge, and shows himself most anxious about the recent misfor-

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tunes; so much so that one day last week, when in conversation with M. de Sansi, he burst out "Sansi, Sansi, you and the Marshal de Bouillon advised this war, and your pernicious counsels are like to be the ruin of France. For myself, I know I shall be killed in battle, and my successor will punish you as you deserve."

Paris, 23rd April 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

572. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Count of Fuentes has dismissed about sixty officers, and cashiered many others. The muster of troops continues in view of the expected appearance of the English fleet. They are afraid that, if it cannot force the passage into Ferrol and burn his Majesty's ships, it will sink vessels full of stones and blockade the Spaniards, and thus they will pursue their plan of campaign. It is not thought that they will have the courage to attempt any other method of attack, by landing men, for fear that the Adelantado might meanwhile sail to England. All the same, at Lisbon they say that the Spanish are disposed to entrench all the suburbs outside the walls. There is news that the Schereef is preparing troops to help the English. Off Ferrol sixty English ships have been sighted, and in Lisbon some English spies have been captured, who, they say, have confessed that they were sent to take soundings, and to discover the easiest entrance to that port.

Three Indiamen which left Lisbon have been captured by the English, and there is serious dread lest the three Indiamen, which were expected, have been lost.

Madrid, 24th April 1597.

[*Italian.*]

April 26. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

573. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The brother of the Doctor Flangini, who is a person of the highest importance in the household of the Grand Vizir, has said that very likely the Sultan will go as far as Adrianople, perhaps further; in that case Flangini declares that the Venetian Ambassador would have to follow the Sultan as did the English.

There is no more talk of peace.

The English Ambassador is afraid that Dabri may have been ill-treated by Hassan, the Turkish commander.

No word of the fleet.

[*Italian.*]

April 28. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

574. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Poles intend to send an Embassy to the Queen of England to complain of their navigation and commerce being stopped in countries belonging to the Spanish.

Prague, 28th April 1597.

[*Italian.*]

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1597.
May 3.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

575. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The negotiations for a truce have fallen through. The King will not hear of it after the capture of Amiens.

The agent sent into England by the King has come back in company of an agent of the Queen, who has been Ambassador here on other occasions. The moment he arrived he went to see the King at St. Germains. As far as I can gather he is commissioned to say that the Queen, in the face of the Irish rebellion and the preparations in Spain, is quite unable to assist His Majesty. The King, however, still demands four thousand infantry, six cannons, and three thousand rounds of ammunition; and although his Ministers attempt to persuade him to accept less, he holds out for all or nothing.

There are serious differences between Holland and Zealand on the question of customs, and even a danger of an outbreak. The Queen has sent agents to attempt a pacification.

Paris, 3rd May 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in Despatch of May 5 from Prague. Copy of Original, Venetian Archives.

576. LETTER from the ENGLISH AMBASSADOR in CONSTANTINOPLE to the PRINCE of TRANSYLVANIA.

Ali, the Cavass, on his arrival in Belgrade was arrested and kept prisoner for a month by Hassan Pasha, so that your Excellency's letters took forty days to arrive, and lay twenty-two days here waiting a reply, for Hassan had reported so ill of the messenger as to endanger his head. I have been no bad friend in the saving of him, in pressing for an answer to your Excellency's letters and in persuading them to send back Ali the Cavass, for they intended to send another.

It is now necessary to send a person of confidence to treat about the peace, which I hope may succeed as we desire. If peace cannot be procured my opinion is that we should endeavour to conclude a suspension of arms for a whole year, and when that expires we may hope to renew it for three or four, and that in the interests of his Imperial Majesty. To favour this cause you will write to the Sultan, to the Grand Vizir, and to the Sultana Mother, called Vallida Sultana, to the Chief Eunuch, called Cazanfer Aga; these are the most important personages. It will be well to caress Husein Cavass and to send him here as a guarantee of our sincerity.

Mehmet Cavass is held here for a renegade, and therefore can be an instrument for mischief only.

If, to please me, you will release the Jew doctor of Sinan Pasha, I shall be obliged.

When talking to the Grand Vizir as to the prospects of peace on the side of your Excellency and of his Imperial Majesty, the Vizir said that peace with the Emperor could be concluded on the basis of the *status quo*, and with your Excellency on the basis of the *status quo ante*. You however will use your prudence to obtain the best terms you can, and on the arrival of your agent we shall employ all means to further your intent.

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Ali Cavass deserves to be well rewarded, for, apart from the risk he ran, he has rendered faithful service.

You may send back my servant, but if it strikes you that his heart is not sincere and clear, do what you think best.

Pray communicate my remarks to the Emperor, and when your agent arrives I will enter more widely, by word, of mouth, upon certain secrets of high importance to your Excellency and to his Majesty.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Despatch of May 5 from Prague. Copy of Original, Venetian Archives.

577. LETTER from the PRINCE of TRANSYLVANIA to the ENGLISH AMBASSADOR at the COURT of the SULTAN of TURKEY.

Illustrious and most honoured Lord, All health and recommendations of goodwill. We have received your Lordship's letters, from which we clearly gather the inclination of your mind toward us; in return we offer our love, benevolence, and desire to please. In accordance with the wishes of yourself, the Sultan, and the Vizirs, we have sent to the Sublime Porte the Duke Martin Beniayi, gentleman of our court, and we have given him orders to wait upon your Lordship and explain his commission. We beg your Lordship to use your influence with the Sultan and the Pashas to secure the speedy return of our agent with an answer and a safe conduct for an Ambassador to the Sublime Porte. In doing this your Lordship will be rendering us a great service which we will repay with every term of benevolence and gratitude.

Hussein Cavass and your Lordship's servant are honourably treated by us, and we will send them back along with our Ambassador. Ali Cavass is dear to us for the risks he ran for our sake and for his faithful and diligent service.

As to the Jew doctor, we shall gladly send our answer by our Ambassador.

We pray you to assist and favour in every way our agent.

Alba Julia, 17th April 1597.

[*Italian.*]

May 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

578. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King, seeing that he could look for no help from England, and that if the enemy grew much stronger on the frontier, he would be quite unable to resist, is now, by the advice of all his Ministers, turning his mind once again to thoughts of peace.

Paris, 10th May 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 10. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

579. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Sultan's eldest son is dead, and the Sultan is grown so fat that they say he will make no more.

[*Italian.*]

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1597.
May 10.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

580. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The muster is progressing, and they hope that the troops contributed by the various cities will soon be ready, though the nine hundred men which Madrid furnishes are not assembled yet, in spite of the fact that for six months they have been beating the drum. The trades have been compelled to furnish a certain sum of money, and it has been necessary to imprison some of their leaders, who refused to submit to this innovation.

In Lisbon they are in great alarm lest, if the enemy appear, they should be unable to prevent the sack of the city. Many are conveying away and hiding their most precious goods. Others, in view of the fact that the Adelantado remains at Ferrol and leaves Lisbon empty, conclude that there is no ground for alarm; although his absence may be caused by want of sailors and ships. The governors of Lisbon have resolved to finish the chain which was begun last year, although such a step serves to increase the panic. It is thought that this chain may do more harm than good, for it will not be strong enough to resist the shock of the enemies' great ships, and once broken the population would all the sooner lose courage to resist. They are obliged to use force in enrolling troops, otherwise the tuck of drum would prove of no avail. In Lisbon only four thousand men will be ready in addition to those they are raising elsewhere. To provide money for the said militia the governors of Portugal, in the King's name, have compelled the chamber of commerce (*casa della contrattatione*) to contribute two hundred thousand ducats, upon which, however, they are to receive six per cent. per annum; this two hundred thousand is to include the eighty thousand which individual merchants promised for last year.

It has been resolved to protect the city of Cadiz with a curtain and two bastions in front, and on the flank by certain redoubts, but the first stone is not laid yet.

At the mouth of the port of Ferrol the Adelantado has stationed four of his oldest ships to break the fury of the enemy's attack and also to keep an eye on their movements. He has sent out three light vessels which, in the dearth of good sailors, have been manned by Ragusans.

There are rumours, which are hardly credited, that rebellions against the Queen have broken out in England and Ireland. The English in the West Indies are drawing towards New Carthage, and twenty-four other English ships have sailed for the Straits of Magellan.

The men who left last year to conquer the gold coast of Peru partly died on the way, partly were slain by the Indians, who it was understood freely admit English and French, who taught them how to fight like Europeans.

The Schereef is hourly increasing his forces, which, the Ministers say, are to be employed against his enemies among the Moors. Others declare that he has gone to El Arisch with large supplies of

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munition, and they fear that he has understandings with the Queen of England.

Two ships, laden with munitions for Ferrol, have sunk in a storm off the port of Lisbon, and only a few men of the crew escaped.

Madrid, 10th May 1597.

[*Italian.*]

May 16. Original Minute of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

581. To the QUEEN of ENGLAND.

Her Majesty was pleased at our request to cause the arrest of Ottavio Negro, some months ago. Ottavio Negro is an outlaw for grave crimes. Thank the Queen, and beg that Ottavio may be kept in sure custody, and that he may be examined and questioned in the usual way.

As to the Queen's request that the Republic should prevent its ships from going to Spain, her Majesty will see at once what a loss it is to commerce to change the direction of trade.

As regards her Majesty's request in the case of certain English merchants and Michael Loch, as a special favour to her Majesty we have given orders that the whole question be submitted to judges of her appointment.

We shall always embrace every opportunity of doing anything to give her Majesty pleasure.

[*Italian.*]

May 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

582. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is said to be an equal desire for peace on the side of France and of Spain; and if the King would agree to make peace without including the Queen of England and the States of Holland, the Spanish would give up all they hold in this kingdom.

Paris, 17th May 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

583. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A few days ago there was a rumour that six leagues off Cape St. Vincent a number of English ships had been sighted. As nothing more was heard of them it is supposed that the rumour is false, though the more speculative say that they may very well be English on their way to join the Moors. Those Moorish troops who approached Tangiers went there, it seems, to feed their horses on the young corn so that the garrison might not avail themselves of it. That is a devastation which the Moors execute every year.

A vessel has reached Setubal from London. She sailed on the fifteenth of last month, and reports that there are ready and under sail one hundred ships, that is forty from Holland and Zealand, thirty belonging to the Queen, and thirty to private owners. The Queen intends to attack Spain, as she is afraid of being molested in

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her own dominions. All the same, news brought by another vessel declares that about one hundred ships, in three squadrons, have sailed straight for the Indies The King of Denmark, we hear, has refused to join his forces with those of England in an attack on Spain, as he draws great profit from the friendship of that Crown; he says he was deceived last year, for he lent his ships for the protection of the English Channel and Islands, and not to harass the Spanish kingdom.

Madrid, 20th May 1597.

[*Italian.*]

May 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

584. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Nuncio had a secret audience of the King. His Majesty insisted that the Queen of England and the States of Holland must be included. The Nuncio said that his Holiness would not in that case deal with the matter at all. The King said, "Very well, we will deal with that separately."

Paris, 24th May 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 25. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

585. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Two agents, one from Transylvania and the other from Walachia, have arrived here; their mission is merely to ask for passports for the Ambassadors who will be sent to negotiate the peace.

The English Ambassador has received letters from the Vaivode of Transylvania thanking him for the trouble he has taken in the negotiations for peace. The secretary of that Prince, however, writes to say that the conclusion of peace while the Emperor is in his present state and on condition that Transylvania shall return to the *status quo ante* is very improbable; for the Emperor has taken Erlau and Raab, and claims the restitution of Temesvar on payment of twelve thousand crowns tribute and on condition that Walachia and Bogdania should be governed by their own Princes.

The departure of the Sultan is put off for the present, and they say he will only go as far as Adrianople in case of urgent need. The Patriarch of Constantinople has declined to go to Walachia. In his place an agent called "the Duke" has been sent. He left four days before the arrival of the two agents mentioned above.

The Patriarch declined this mission chiefly because he doubted if the Turks would keep their word to Michael. The troops in the larger part have been paid in false coin; the soldiers exclaimed against the treasurer, and an order was issued forbidding any one to refuse these coins.

[*Italian.*]

May 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

586. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After receiving your Serenity's despatches of the 10th inst., I asked for an audience, which was at once granted me, for the

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afternoon of the 29th. I found the King in bed with a slight cold.

After presenting your Excellencies' letters, I went on to say *that nothing was more grateful to the Serene Republic than to see the way in which his Majesty communicated all his most intimate troubles; that the Republic rejoiced that France under his prudent rule had recovered her ancient glory; that she had always desired to assist his Majesty in every way, and on this occasion, had it not been for grave reasons of State, she would certainly not have declined to grant this last request of his for three hundred thousand crowns. I then laid before him one by one all the reasons which induced Your Excellencies to this decision.*

The King listened with complete tranquillity of mind, and then, with affection and tenderness, but at the same time fetching a great sigh, he answered, "I know quite well that the Republic has weighty considerations; and when Bellièvre suggested this course to me I always doubted that it could not have a happy issue. Pray believe that I love the Republic so, that it was only my extreme necessity which induced me to cause her this trouble; but I am in such a state that I am on the road to ruin, and I cannot see the remedy (his very words), and if my dearest friends and confederates do not help me, who will? (Ma io sono in stato che io vado a ruinnare, ne vi vedo il rimedio, che sono le sue formali parole, e se i miei carissimi amici et confederati non m'assistano, chi lo faranno?) That being so, it seemed to me that it was so much for the interest of the Republic to support me that this consideration would have outweighed all else. My people are so absolutely ruined that I can look for no help from them. Everything is in such decay that the whole world sees it only too well. What I am now doing is my last effort. God grant that the issue be successful; otherwise, with no other course left open to me, I shall be forced to conclude a peace, which will be the result not of my wishes but of necessity; and in that case I fear me Italy will suffer. (Questo che io faccio è l'ultimo sforcio, e si deve pregar Dio che nasce in bene, altrimente io son necessitato, non potendo far altro, accomodarmi alla pace; la quale se non sarà conforme alla mia volontà sarà almeno secondo la necessità, et in questo caso dubito che la Italia non sarà senza pericolo)." I replied that his Majesty had always been favoured by the hand of God, and that we must hope that it would be so for the future, and that whatever resolution he took would be agreeable to the Republic.

Then, as the English Ambassador had preceded me, I, to change the subject to less tiresome topics, asked the King if he looked for prompt help from England; he replied that there were difficulties and that the Ambassador was a bad minister, with whom he was far from pleased.

The Agent of the Queen of England has returned once more this week. *Her Majesty excuses herself from furnishing the desired assistance on the ground of Ireland and the fleet which has already sailed for Spain, they say. But the Queen's ministers, who are dependents of the Earl of Essex, the great supporter of the*

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King of France, have again suggested to the Queen that she should attempt the recovery of Calais if the French give leave; and this not on her own orders, but with a view to induce her to undertake the King's affairs if they can extract the requisite conditions. The French have replied that they desire first of all the despatch of the four thousand reinforcements and the guns, as I have reported, and they say that if the Queen likes to undertake the recovery of Calais at the same time, they raise no objection. The English, however, excuse themselves on the ground that as the enterprise against Calais would require twenty thousand men at least, they are not prepared to embark upon such large operations.

The French say that without the four thousand men they cannot recover Amiens, while the Queen by occupying Calais would be drawing help from the French instead of affording it to them. These are the difficulties which his Majesty pointed out to me, (tutta volta questi suoi Ministri che dependeno dal' Conte d'Esses, che è affetionato molto a questa Maestà, le hanno proposto di nuovo se la Reina si risolvesse di far ella l'impresa di Cales se (che?) questi se ne contenterebbono, et cio non per ordine di lei, ma per obligare per qualche verso quella Maestà, quando potessero persuaderla a queste conditioni, all' intraprendere l'affari del Re. Questi gli hanno risposto che desiderano prima esser soccorsi essi delli 4,000 soldati et delli canoni et monitioni scritte, et che se nel medesimo tempo essa vorà fare la impresa di Cales che se ne contenteranno; ma gli Inglesi se ne scusano che dovendo venire con 20,000 homeni al meno sotto Cales, che non potrebbe far tanto, e li Francesi dicono che senza li 4,000 soldati essi non potranno prendere Amiens, et la Reina con la sua gente occuperebbe Cales, in modo che essi socorerebbono lei et non ella questa Maestà. E questa è la difficoltà che mi accendò il Rè.)

Paris, the last day of May 1597.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

587. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England's agent has returned home. The King has sent with him M. de Reos, who was once Ambassador for him in England, to remove the difficulties which I have explained in my preceding despatch.

They are afraid that if the French attack Amiens, the Spanish will make an assault on Boulogne or Montreuil, both of which are highly important for the safety of England.

Nothing further is known about the peace with Spain.

Paris, 7th June 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

588. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Nuncio told me that in the course of his negotiations *he had always had good hope of a peace on the part of the King of Spain, though the French showed themselves difficult. The attempt to*

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carry through the negotiations would be made on behalf of the King of France, by the Legate, who would treat with the Prince Cardinal, as it was discovered that his Catholic Majesty did not desire that they should treat directly with him. A Legate might be sent for this purpose to the Spanish Court, but the Nuncio was of opinion that his Majesty would not care to see new persons of such importance at this unripe stage of the proceedings, whereas he would be very pleased if a Legate came when the affair was fully matured, so that the world might understand that his Majesty had been prayed and invited to act. The Nuncio was doing all he could to dispose the minds of the King and his Ministers towards a peace, but here they continued to insist that the King of France is no Catholic and that every day brought them news of his scandalous habits. (*Ma qui stavano costanti in dire ch' il Re di Francia non era Catholico, et che ogni giorno si sentivono scandalose relazioni del suo modo di vivere.*)

I replied that they took refuge under the cloak of religion, as their only shelter, but they had little right to use it now that the King of France had been declared and recognised as Christian by the Supreme Authority, the Vicar of Christ; and when temporal Princes sought to arrogate spiritual powers confusion ensued and Christendom suffered. Further, it would appear that the Spaniards accused the King of France of heresy on the ground of sins only, the judgment of which rested with the Lord God and not with the earthly authority of another King. The Nuncio replied that such was the case, and that the Spaniards, unable to advance any other reasons, made use of their zeal for religion.

I went on to remark that after the capture of Amiens I was seriously alarmed lest the negotiations for peace should be disturbed, and I added that if the difficulty in the way had its origin with the French this loss of Amiens would rather dispose them towards peace than dissuade them from it. The Nuncio said that when he next had audience of his Majesty he would renew the subject, as he was ordered by his Holiness to impress upon the King that God would severely chastise the author of these dissensions among Christian Princes and the cause of such ruin to Christendom.

Madrid, 11th June 1597.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

589. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At last they have succeeded in raising the nine hundred men in Madrid, and very fine troops they are. These, and the rest of the Spanish and Italian troops, are intended for the defence of this kingdom from both English and Moors. But both alarms are considerably quieted for the present, as there is no news from Africa, and from England the fleet is reported to be of a size which would not justify it in attacking Spain this year. A few days ago some English Catholics landed here from a ship in which they fled their country; they say they are noble, and they have brought with them all their

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substance in gold and jewels. His Majesty has desired them to go to the Escurial, and has treated them with all courtesy.

His Majesty will make every effort to carry out some enterprise so as to show that all this preparation has not been made merely from fear of the enemy; but the nature of the fleet is such that it is better suited for transport purposes than for an attack on England, where he would find a fleet far superior to his own. He will, accordingly, most probably direct the expedition to Brittany, or to Africa to capture the port of El Arisch. The agent of the Duke of Mercœur has been at the Escurial to give the King an account of the progress of the war. He asks for money, *but the King will hardly give him any unless the Duke surrenders some of the strong places to the King, who has grown very diffident of French honour.* It is, therefore, likely that the expedition will aim at Brest, with the possession of which the Spanish hope to harass France, to divert an attack on the Prince Cardinal, to facilitate the conquest of Brittany, and, by consequence, of England. But the issue is held to be very doubtful, especially if, as is reasonable, the English fleet should move to the succour of the place. The English ships are far quicker and handier than the Spanish.

I am told by a person who understands French affairs that the French are keeping an anxious eye on Brest *as the Governor is open to suspicion. He is a relation, on his wife's side, of the Duke of Mercœur, and for the last four years the King has been trying to remove him, a step which the Queen of England continually urges. The King cannot find a pretext, as the Governor professes devoted service, but he is all the more suspected, as he is known to be avaricious, and they fear that Spanish doubloons, will contaminate him.*

The English corsairs are making themselves felt in Spanish waters. They captured a fine galleon laden with corn and other goods. Nine ships of the Neapolitan squadron went out to attack them, and three of these were sunk with the loss of two hundred men. Another, being pressed by the English, let forty men board her; she then drew off, and in sight of the English all forty were decapitated and their bodies thrown into the sea. There is a rumour that the Adelantado has captured the English ships and recovered the galleon.

Madrid, 12th June 1597.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

590. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Luxemburg complained to me that the Queen of England treated the King of France badly, and never gave him the least help, except very late, and when it suited her. She recently proposed to recapture Calais within a month, if the King would allow her to keep it till her money was repaid to her; to which the King replied that he would rather be skinned by his foes than scratched by his friends, as the French proverb runs (*a che rispose esso Rè un moto Francese, che voleva più tosto esser scorticato da suoi nemici che graffiato da suoi amici*).

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The Duke added that the Huguenots of France also were treating the King very ill.

Rome, 26th June 1597.

[*Italian.*]

June 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

591. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Positive news has been received that the Spanish garrison in Blauet has mutined and made prisoner Don Juan d'Aquila, their commander, while expelling those of their comrades who would not join them. The reason is want of pay.

The captured crew of an English ship reports the English fleet as very numerous.

Madrid, 29th June 1597.

[*Italian.*]

July 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

592. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have been positively assured by the General of the Franciscans (Buonaventura Calatagirona) that no definite projects of peace have been under discussion as yet, only generalities; and that the difficulties were so great on one side and on the other that in his opinion the conclusion of this peace will prove more arduous than that of '59. He says he will do all he can to secure this peace of which France stands in the greatest need. The whole matter is still at its beginning; the issue will really depend on the upshot of the capture of Amiens. The agent sent by the King into England came back here some days ago. He reported to the King on behalf of the Queen, and by her express orders, that she was quite well aware of the King's negotiations with Spain through the agency of the General of the Franciscans, but that she was also aware that the King would never obtain the peace on account of certain difficulties well known to him. What these difficulties can be is the subject of much speculation among the Ministers; the Agent and also the majority here think that she meant that the heretics of the kingdom would prevent it; as they were about to assemble at the end of this month for the despatch of business before their assemblies. The King has sent agents to attend, but Schomberg, who will be charged with a special mission, has not left yet.

Paris, 5th July 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

593. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English fleet, one hundred and twenty strong, set sail last week. They say twelve thousand soldiers, eight thousand sailors, and great quantities of ammunition are on board. It is all directed towards Spain. The Queen as yet has sent the King no sort of assistance.

Paris, 5th July 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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1597.
July 9. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

594. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In obedience to instructions the Ambassador presented two hundred sequins to the Patriarch, who was much pleased, and in return has sent the Dogaressa a sacred image engraved on ivory. The Ambassador has presented to the Grand Vizir the Doge's letters of congratulation addressed to the Sultan on his victory. The present government is for a large part in the hands of the Sultana, and the Ambassador has thought it prudent to present the previous letters because the date will not be noticed, as they cannot understand the *lingua franca* in the Seraglio; along with the letter he has presented the translation into Turkish.

9th July 1597.

[*Italian.*]

July 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

595. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In course of conversation with the Nuncio upon the subject of peace between France and Spain, and the difficulty of including the Queen of England, he expressed to me his private opinion that this peace might be concluded directly between the King of France and the King of Spain with a place left for the Queen of England, as had been done on other occasions.

Madrid, 10th July 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

596. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The affair of the Château d'If has greatly annoyed the King and his Ministers. It seems that some days ago Don John (de' Medici) arrived off Château d'If with five galleys; the Duke of Guise sent to welcome him and to offer him hospitality in Marseilles; but the Duke's suspicions being roused he sent two frigates (fregate) to provision the new fort which they had just made. Don John seized these and took what was on board. The Duke sent out other ships which met with the same fate. The Duke seeing how matters were going sent to ask five English vessels lying at Toulon to help him. They gladly consented. But they had no sooner put to sea than the Florentines opened fire. Don John's galley being badly struck was forced to retire.

Paris, 12th July 1597.

Italian; deciphered.]

July 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

597. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The General of the Franciscans has been to Flanders to settle the place for the meeting of the congress to establish peace. The King's army is encamped on the same plain where King Henry II. was encamped when he made peace with Spain in 1559. *It is*

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true that Amiens was held by the French then, but by the Spanish now.

The King has begun the assault on Amiens. He is perpetually exposed to dangers. In order not to disgust the Marshal de Biron, who has already taken so active a part in this siege, and is so beloved by the troops, the King has resolved to leave the conduct of the operations entirely to him.

Paris, 19th July 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

598. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

No sooner had the news of his Majesty's conference with the General of the Franciscans spread through the camp than the troops began to grumble that now when they were under Amiens and within sight of their goal, the Spanish had engaged the General of the Franciscans as a means to deceive his Majesty. The King was forced to declare that all negotiations for peace were broken off.

The King does not approve the advice of his Council to hold meetings of the congress until he is better assured of the intentions of Spain. Hopes of peace are very feeble, for the French insist on the restitution of Amiens, while the Spanish will not hear of it; nor yet will they refer the matter to his Holiness.

Paris, 23rd July 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

599. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The preparations here are really only intended for the defence of these kingdoms.

Many of the troops are being disbanded.

The King's intentions about the attack on England are cooling down.

Madrid, 24th July 1597.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

600. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Adelantado does not wish to be sent to Brittany. He would prefer to go to England or Ireland; and this falls in with the King's wishes. For his Majesty thinks that if he suceeeded in disembarking some troops, even if they had to re-embark immediately, he would have in a way avenged the insult of the English landing at Cadiz. On the other hand it is urged that a landing in Brittany would serve to divert Lesdiguieres and the movements against the Cardinal, and also to facilitate the peace.

Madrid, 31st July 1597.

[*Italian.*]

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1597.
August 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

601. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England, who hates the house of Guise on account of the late Queen of Scotland, is doing all she can to dissuade Madame from accepting the Prince of Lorraine as her husband.

Paris, 9th August 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

August 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

602. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English troops, and also the one thousand five hundred raised in Rouen, are beginning to arrive at the siege of Amiens.

The Cardinal Archduke is in straits for money; he is unable to muster troops except a few at a time, for fear of mutinies. All this raises the French hopes of recovering Amiens. I am told that the Cardinal has instructed the Spanish commander to hold out as long as he can, and then to come to terms.

Paris, 16th August 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

MY LORD,

I received your Lordship's letter along with another announcing the very sad news of the death of my uncle, Governor of Brescia. This has caused me to delay writing to you an account of what happened here yesterday.

The action took place at the point where M. de S. Luc is making his approaches. The enemy fired a bonfire (*affocato*) which was even more deadly than the one of a day or two ago, for they had filled the bonfire with cannon and muskets charged to the muzzle; these exploded with admirable results; but seeing that there were, through God's grace, no people about, we lost not a single man, nor yet had any wounded. Yesterday afternoon an attack was made on the counterscarp. As the English were on guard here, they assaulted a small fort which had been built on the counterscarp. They carried it at the first charge, but were subsequently forced to abandon it. All the same they carried off three gabions. Our gabions are close up to their palisade and there is a lively fire of grenades and stones, and an action is expected hourly. In this skirmish sixteen English have been killed and forty-two wounded. The enemies' loss is not known, but considering how vigorous a fire we kept up the mortality must be great.

I hear that the commander Hernandiglio is very ill, and that there is great difference of opinion among the other captains.

From Camp, 6th August 1597.

Your most obliged and sincere servant,

LODOVICO VIMERCATO SANSEVERINO.

August 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

603. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English fleet has put back, having experienced very rough weather; twenty ships are still missing. This will be the end of the operations this year.

Paris, 16th August 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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1597.
August 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

604. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I enclose a letter from Vimercato at Amiens. I am also informed that this week the King takes up his position in the fosse to bombard the casemates.

A fiery exhalation has been seen to settle over the city, and though this is merely a natural phenomenon the soldiery draw good omens from it.

They have seized a messenger who was carrying to the Cardinal letters rolled up in wax pellets. These he swallowed; but he was taken to the Provost, and by help of a dose they got them out of him. From these letters it would appear that the city can hold out for fifteen days more. The Spanish have made a mine under the King's battery.

Paris, 23rd August 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

MY MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND REVERED LORD,

Here, though not asleep, things are going quietly. The enemy holds several casemates in the fosse, and among others one towards the quarters of M. de S. Luc on the counterscarp, and this gives considerable trouble, and it will cost much to clear them out, for it cannot be cannonaded. The fort by the palisade cost four days' fighting, and M. de S. Luc was forced to mine it. This was fired, but owing to the great current of air it made the enemy were warned and were able to retire before the explosion. Our soldiers made a breach and so entered, and the fort fell into our power. Six pieces are now in position and we are working to plant more so as to cover us when we get down into the fosse. At present our works are at the middle of the counterscarp. The day before yesterday four hundred English arrived, fine troops, and five pieces of artillery. Yesterday the Normandy regiment, under Captain Bonifacio, one thousand three hundred strong, marched in, and with the four other companies that were left behind, they muster one thousand five hundred in all. Fine troops, well appointed. They are quartered at Lompré, on the other side of the water. They say that M. de Mayenne, who is here, will attack the city as soon as the eight hundred English and other troops expected have arrived. The Duke of Mombazon arrived yesterday with three hundred men.

From the Camp, 15th August 1597.

Your most obliged and sincere servant,

LODOVICO VIMERCATO SANSEVERINO.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

605. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Nunico asked me if it was possible to treat of the inclusion of the Queen of England in the peace between France and Spain when she was so much disliked by the Spanish Ministers, and said that he as Nunico must act cautiously.

Madrid, 21st August 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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1597.
Aug. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

606. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish Ambassador remarked to me that in the negotiations for peace between France and Spain it is certain that the strong places will not be restored to France until Spain is assured that France will assist neither the Queen of England nor the States. It is natural that the French should not wish to see the Spanish masters of England. The best way would be that both France and Spain should attack England, under promise of naming a Catholic Sovereign in that country who should be approved by Spain; as it is only fair that Spain, after spending so much money, should have this honour. The Cardinal Archduke might marry the Infanta and be raised to the throne of England.

Rome, 23rd August 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

607. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Some pinnaces (*patacchi*), which have been captured on their way from England to France, furnish news that the English fleet, to the number of one hundred and twenty-six sail, had put out from Plymouth, but had been forced to retire owing to contrary winds. The ships composing the fleet range from four to six hundred tons, besides sixteen or seventeen galleons of one thousand two hundred tons. The number of men on board was sixteen thousand; and in command were the same officers who effected the landing at Cadiz. They are supposed to be out with the intention of scouring the seas and of burning the Adelantado's fleet, or at least blockading it.

There is an uncertain rumour that ninety English ships have been sighted off Cape St. Vincent, and fifty off Ferrol; but it is more likely that the whole fleet will cruise near England so as to be ready to defend that country if attacked.

Madrid, 26th August 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

608. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I enclose a letter from Ercole Remussati, son of Colonel Leone, who has been a month now at the siege of Amiens. I am glad to see such persons there, for they can learn more at this siege than in ten years elsewhere. The siege and assault are one of the most remarkable feats of arms of our day, since the siege of Antwerp.

Paris, 30th August 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

609. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Four hundred more English have arrived at the siege of Amiens. The Spanish in that city have just sent out three hundred citizens whom they first kept as servants. These report that there is a

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great dearth of food. The Walloons and Italians want to surrender, the Spanish are of another opinion.

Paris, 6th September 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

610. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Majesty has been seriously ill. The gout attacked his neck and caused him some difficulty in eating; he had a high fever accompanied by great weakness, loss of appetite, and loss of sleep. A short fainting fit was considered of grave importance; and fears were felt for his life. At this juncture the Nunico was told by the household that he ought to inform his Majesty of his perilous condition, of which he was unaware, for no one had the courage to take this step.

The King has acknowledged, they say, that he has a son, though only Don Christophoro de Mora knows where he is.

The Nunico urges that the Cardinal Archduke should be commissioned to treat for an agreement with the King of France; but owing to the habitual practice of these Ministers and also to the King's indisposition, the matter is being put off. *I am told on excellent authority that in the written answer which his Majesty sent to the Nuncio, he declared that he would draw no benefit from this peace, for it was not to be hoped that the French would ever ally themselves with him against the Turk, nor that the King of France would ever make war on the Huguenots, with whom he is too closely joined in vital bonds. Nor would the mutual suspicion of the two Crowns be removed nor the cause of religion advanced; for the King of France, in disregard of the Papal Legate,* committed actions which ill became a Christian Sovereign. The King of France should first fulfil the promises he made to the Pope at the moment of his conversion. For these reasons a suspension of arms rather than the conclusion of a peace was the better object to pursue. His Majesty added, in the said written answer, that he would prefer that negotiations should be conducted under the eye of His Holiness, as he trusted entirely to the infinite wisdom of the Pope, but he would nevertheless, consent to the subject being discussed in Flanders, for the Cardinal, through the Duke of Sessa, would submit every step to the Pope.

This is the answer which the King of Spain recently gave to the Papal Nunico.

The Nunico, on fresh orders from Rome, renewed his representations, and added this consideration, *that the King of France would not accept a suspension of arms, however much he might be urged and tempted, because in that case he would be forced to turn his arms against his own subjects.*

Madrid, 7th September 1597.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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1597.
Sept. 10.
Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

611. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The cities of the Hansa have before now complained to his Imperial Majesty that whereas they used to enjoy certain privileges in England, frequently confirmed by English Sovereigns, and were wont to trade freely in England, now certain English merchants, having erected themselves into a company, under the style of the English Merchant Venturers, claim a monopoly of English cloth in Germany, and absorb all the profits of that trade. This has led the Queen to refuse to renew to the Germans their ancient privileges. His Majesty was petitioned to take steps, and as far back as 1581 he issued orders for the collection of information. A commission of two was appointed, and reported as above, adding that the English had been excluded from Danzig and other seaports. The matter was referred to the Diet of Augsburg the following year. His Majesty chose to act amicably, and sent the Ambassadors of the Hanse towns to England to request the renewal of the privileges, but they obtained nothing from the Queen.

The complaints of the Hanse towns were renewed at the Diet of Ratisbon held three years ago; and an appeal was made to the Cardinal Archduke in Flanders, to show that this was a matter which affected the interests of his Catholic Majesty. Through his means they obtained from his Imperial Majesty a decree, recently published, enjoining all cities of Germany to expel the English Merchant Venturers, and to prevent them trading in cloth or any other merchandize for the future. In this way they hope to greatly incommode the English. I enclose this decree. This is important, for they say here that Venetian cloth will be bought again, now that English is prohibited, by the merchants who come to Venice for drugs and other merchandize.

Prague, 10th September 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

DECREE issued by Rudolph II.

The maritime towns have presented petitions not only to the Aulic Council but also to the Diet of Augsburg in 1582 and to the Diet of Ratisbon in 1594, setting forth that for the last hundred years they have enjoyed in the kingdom of England special privileges, immunities, liberties, exemptions and other rights to the great benefit of that kingdom as well as the amassing of riches to themselves. These privileges, &c., have been confirmed by no less than fourteen sovereigns of England, and in the year 1474 they were made perpetual. The merchants enjoying these privileges had their local habitation in the City of London, at the German Guildhall, as it is called. These merchants bought cloth and exported it to Germany, so that English cloth could be had in Germany at a fair price; and other traffic between the two countries was set on foot to their mutual benefit.

But out of hatred to this trade and in pursuit of their own ends, certain companies of merchants, one of which is known as the Merchant Venturers, sought to damage the commerce of the maritime

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cities, by reforming the privileges, &c. Hence it came about that the present sovereign, Elizabeth, Queen of England, France and Ireland, refused to renew the said privileges. The Merchant Venturers wishing to open a factory in Hamburg obtained from the Queen all the privileges which were formerly enjoyed by the maritime cities of Germany, and a monopoly of English cloth just as the staplers enjoy a monoply of English wool, and the privileges of the maritime towns became valueless. On the other hand the English merchants flocked to Germany, first to Eastern Frisia, then they spread and now have their head quarters in Bremen. They carry on a trade in cloth and other merchandize which was formerly in the hands of German merchants, They formed themselves into a close corporation, contrary to the laws of the Empire, which prohibits monopolies ; and they have raised the price of cloth and other goods till they are more than double the price they were when the German merchants enjoyed their privileges.

No cloth is to be sold by the said English Merchant Venturers, nor are they to trade at all in Germany.

Our fiscal officers shall be charged with the execution of this decree.

The punishment for non-observance of this decree is the loss of a quarter of the goods.

At our Royal Castle of Prague,
First of August 1597.
[*Latin.*]

Sept. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

612. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Four days ago the rumour spread that the English fleet had been sighted off Corunna and Ferrol. It numbers one hundred and sixty sail. The Adelantado sent out scouts who captured one pinnace (*patacchio*). The crew declared that Lisbon was the destination of the fleet. There has been no confirmation of the news, nor have the English appeared off Lisbon. All the same it may be true; and it is thought likely that the object of the English is to cripple the Adelantado or to blockade him.

The agent of the Duke of Mercœur declared that his master did not know anything about the despatch of the Spanish fleet to Brittany, and it was only reasonable that the Duke should be informed before such a step was taken. The Spanish will not give the command to the Duke, and the Duke will not endure the superiority of any other officer. People therefore conclude that the Spanish fleet will not sail this year, or, if it does, it will go elsewhere, to Ireland more likely than to England. It is well known that his Majesty has made certain terms with the Irish Catholics, and that some Irish bishops and all the Irish and English in these kingdoms will sail with the fleet. It seems that the Ministers have promised these people that the Spanish fleet shall sail this year to attack the Queen of England. (*Sapendosi che questa Maestà ha alcune capitulationi con gli Irlandesi Catholici, et che sopra essa armata vi vanno alcuni vescovi d'Irlanda et tutti gli Irlandesi et Inglesi che si trovano in questi Regni, a*

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quale si dice che questi Ministri hanno promesso che sicuramente essa armata anderà il presente anno a danni della Regina d'Inghilterra.)

Madrid, 15th September 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

613. PIERO DUODO and FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is now encamped in the plain. Some days ago he went to Doulens; there he reconnoitred the army of the enemy. On the 13th the enemy approached. The King opened fire from fifteen cannon and sprang three mines, without producing much effect; he delivered an assault or two, not very successfully. The enemy, on the 16th attempted to throw two thousand five hundred men into Amiens. These were met by eight hundred Swiss, summoned from Abbeville by the King, and defeated and driven back again over the Somme. On learning this the Cardinal retired towards Doulens, followed for three leagues by the King. Here they are making processions to celebrate this victory.

The Cardinal's force seems to consist of from fourteen to fifteen thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse. It is incredible the way in which men pour in to his Majesty; at this moment he has upwards of twenty thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry, a force quite sufficient to break the enemy. His army is the finest and most flourishing that he has had since Ivry.

If Amiens surrenders, as everyone says it must, we shall see some great events; for the King has announced his intention of going to meet the Cardinal.

The King was showing the trenches to M. de Mele, agent for the Duke of Lorraine, and to the Constable. He had his hand on M. de Mele's shoulder, when a musket shot struck and killed de Mele.

Duodo's successor, Francesco Contarini, has arrived.

Paris, 20th September 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

614. PIERO DUODO and FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After despatching our letter of to-day news came that the Spanish in Amiens have come to terms. If, by the twenty-first, they have not received support from two thousand horse they will surrender the place. They will march out with colours flying, trumpets sounding, drums beating, the foot afoot, the cavalry on horse, harquebuss charged on shoulder, tinder burning, ball in mouth. The King is to pay the druggist's bills for medicines the Spanish take with them; and to respect all the epitaphs to their dead, if they contain no phrases injurious to the French. They may take away all baggage they can carry on their backs. We enclose the account of what happened between the King and the Archduke.

Paris, 20th September 1597.

[*Italian.*]

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1597.
Sept. 22.
Original Rubricário, Venetian Archives.

615. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Jew who was sent to Constantinople by the Spanish ministers has been removed from the custody of the Cavass, and will continue his negotiations (for a truce).

22nd September 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 26.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

616. PIERO DUODO and FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Amiens has surrendered. On the 25th the King entered it. A copy of the terms of capitulation is enclosed.

On the 24th the sick and wounded to the number of seven hundred went out, and the next day three cornets of cavalry and one thousand seven hudred infantry. The plague is raging in Amiens. The houses are mostly ruined, as the Spanish took the wood for the defences.

Paris, 26th September 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

TERMS granted by HIS MAJESTY to the MARQUIS OF MONTENEGRO, Governor of the town of Amiens, and to the other officers and troops in the said city.

His Majesty agrees that the tombs of Hernandiglio Portocarrero and of the other officers buried in the churches of Amiens shall not be touched, neither their epitaphs nor their trophies, provided there be nothing on them that is an injury to France. The corpses may be removed by the Spanish whenever they may think it well.

All the troops of whatever nation shall go out of the city with their arms, their tinder alight, banners displayed, sounding their trumpets and drums, with their horses, their baggage, and all that they can carry, which belongs to them, upon their person, their horses, or their waggons.

Waggons shall be supplied to them for the transport of their sick and wounded to Doulens or to Bapaume (*Baupalme*), with a good sure escort. The waggons and horses are to be sent back. As to the sick and wounded who cannot be removed, they shall remain in Amiens and be doctored till they are cured, when they shall be allowed to depart in perfect security.

All the dwellers in the said city, of whatsoever nationality, shall be allowed to retire along with the troops, and to take their goods with them, and no questions asked. Those who wish to stay may do so, and have the full enjoyment of their goods as formerly, if they will take the oath of allegiance to his Majesty.

They shall be free of the charges for the drugs they take with them for the sick and wounded. Also they are free to take twelve thousand rounds of ball cartridge.

The subjects and servants of the King who are prisoners in the city shall be set at liberty without ransom (*ranzone*). And the same shall take place on the King's side, and in the case of those who were captured while trying to get into the city.

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The King will allow three of the garrison with an escort of ten horse to go to find their General, and to communicate to him the terms of the present contract. To afford greater security there shall be a suspension of arms, which shall terminate on Thursday morning, on condition that if within that period succours, to the amount of two thousand men, have not entered Amiens the city shall be abandoned and surrendered to his Majesty on the above conditions on Thursday morning, without any need for further agreement. During the suspension of arms the Marquis of Montenegro shall not attempt to assist the forces which may come to his relief. The trenches are to remain under the ordinary guard.

As hostages for the observation of these terms his Majesty will receive two Spaniards, one of the cavalry and the other of the infantry, one Italian, and one Walloon.

The King may keep one or two agents in the city to see that they do not fortify and that the reinforcements amount to two thousand men.

An escort and safe conduct as far as Arras, viâ Doulens, shall be granted.

Done at the Camp before Amiens, 19th September '97.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

617. PIERO DUODO and FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is news here that the English fleet fell in with the Adelantado and offered battle, which was declined. The English then continued their voyage towards the Azores.

Paris, 26th September 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

618. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Although the rumour spread on the 6th of this month that the English fleet, about one hundred and fifty strong, had passed Finisterre and were bound for Lisbon, yet it was only on the morning of the twelfth that twelve ships appeared off Cascaes, a fortress five leagues away from the city of Lisbon. These ships were sighted far out at sea, but information was at once sent to the city, when three thousand infantry, partly Portuguese, partly Castillians, were despatched to Cascaes. Ten days before, owing to the report that English need not be expected this year, the garrison of Cascaes had been deprived of some companies of Spanish who were sent to the Adelantado, as had happened in Lisbon. The city flew to arms on the arrival of the news, and that same morning came a pinnace, sent from Seville, with information that the enemy's fleet had been sighted in great force off the coast of Galicia. Two days later another pinnace (*patacchio*) arrived with news that only fifty ships were sighted. While the city was in this state of anxiety, the twelve English ships sailed away.

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As the appearance of these ships coincided with the descent of the French upon Catalonia, it was thought at first that they might be taking concerted action, or that the English fleet had come to prevent the Adelantado from active operations. Now they think that the twelve English ships may have been sent to find out whether the four East Indiamen had really made harbour. It was impossible to believe that only twelve ships, unsupported, should have had the audacity to place themselves between two of his Majesty's fleets, and right under the eyes of Lisbon, where Don Pedro de Toledo is lying with twenty-four galleys, besides other vessels. The non-appearance of the rest of the fleet is, perhaps, due to the bad weather. Fears are felt for the safety of the eighteen ships, with four thousand Italian soldiers, which left Cadiz on the 8th of this month. It is possible that they have fallen in with the English.

The military in Lisbon are kept under arms and in exercise, to meet any eventuality; and for the present they will maintain a garrison of three thousand soldiers in Cascaes.

The Indian Council has already been informed that fifty English ships have appeared at Porto Rico; but all those coasts are fully armed, nor do they fear that the English can do anything of importance. There are not wanting those who affirm that no large fleet has sailed from England, that the Adelantado has succeeded in exaggerating the size of the armament, because he does not wish to take the sea this year, as the autumn season, which is dangerous for navigation on the ocean, has now arrived,—and still less to undertake any enterprise in the winter; especially in those waters where the storms are so sudden and the currents so rapid, not to say headlong, that it is almost impossible for ships to effect a junction at the appointed time. Besides, he knows that some of his ships, which have not been docked for two years, are in a very bad state and almost worm-eaten (*et quasi abissati*).

Madrid, 26th September 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

619. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Feria retired to Barcelona on the 8th of this month, leaving only a few companies to protect that fertile province against the French, who under Alfonso Corso and the Duke of Joyeuse made a cavalry raid as far as Roussillon which belongs to the Spanish Crown. They are now entrenched at Leucate. It is held for certain that the French have understandings in some cities and they are much afraid for Perpignan.

Prince Doria left Cadiz on the 10th, having received orders, after the French raid, that he was to go at once to support Catalonia. He will pick up troops on his way, and has taken with him one thousand from the garrison of Lisbon.

Madrid, 27th September 1597.

[*Italian.*]

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Oct. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

620. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Nuncio told me that Don Francesco d'Idiaquez had brought him a little box in which he said was the commission empowering the Cardinal Archduke to treat with the King of France. The instrument conveys the most ample powers to conclude a truce, a suspension of arms, or a peace. His Majesty places himself in the Cardinal's hands. Don Francesco d'Idiaquez showed a copy of the document to the Nuncio.

I have found out, however, that although the instrument seems to give the Cardinal a free hand, yet the King's real wishes will be conveyed by courier.

I have been informed by a person deep in my confidence, who had it from the Marquis de Velada, that the Duke of Savoy has intercepted letters from the King of France to the Duke of Luxemburg in Rome, and others from his most Christian Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople. The letters to Rome declared that the Spanish deceived themselves if they thought that the King of France would conclude peace without the restitution of the strong places held by Spain, nor will he renounce Brittany nor pay a penny of indemnity. He will treat of a peace only, not for a truce, nor for a suspension of arms.

The letters from Constantinople inform the King of France that he must put no reliance in the Turks, that they would make any diversion. They are tired, in confusion, and very weak; the Sultan is effeminate, and very anxious to make peace with the Emperor and Transylvania.

Tornabuoni, agent for the Duke of Mercœur, is doing all he can to upset the negotiations for a peace.

Madrid, the first of October 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

621. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A carvel has arrived from the Azores which brings news that the English fleet was sighted making sail for St. Michael's. They are afraid that the English will sack and burn the Azores; and with a view to prevent them from doing any damage on their way home, the King has sent to recall Prince Doria to Cadiz.

Madrid, 6th October 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 6. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

622. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The remonstrances of the English Ambassador have not been able to prevent the Jewish emissary of Spain from opening the negotiations for a truce. The Ambassador endeavoured to persuade the Turks to treat the Jew as a spy, and to refuse to negotiate with a person of such mean condition. He was answered that Jews had negotiated before this, and the example of the peace between Venice and the Porte was cited. Thereupon the Ambassador,

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seeing that the Turks were inclined to a truce, declared that he would write to his Mistress advising her to follow their example, and to make peace with Spain. One in the Ambassador's confidence told him that the Grand Vizir would be persuaded to write to Don Christoforo de Mora, and that the Jew was advising the despatch of a qualified agent to Spain, or that the matter should be entrusted to himself.

The Ambassador declared that the Republic desired nothing more than universal peace which would put an end to the panic about the Turkish fleet, and to all the expenses it entailed.

The letters this Jew has brought were written by Don Christoforo de Mora and Don Juan d'Idiaquez to Salamon the Jew called Alvaro Mendez, and are accompanied by letters patent from the Spanish Ministers in Italy attesting that his Majesty has given orders to release all the slaves captured at Lepanto.

The French Ambassador has sent in copies of two letters written from Syria to complain of the damage done by the English ships in attacking the "Silvestra" and the "Lion," and wishes to present a memorial to the Sultan.

The English Ambassador has frequently declared that if the Queen of England withdraws from her Turkish alliance her ships will harry the commerce on the coasts and islands of Turkey, and will seize the shipping of Syria and Alexandria, as the English are well acquainted with those waters. The Dutch, too, are beginning to frequent those waters, and they are able to supply sail, shrouds, and cables for the armada. The French Ambassador claims that they shall sail under the French flag, but if he is successful the Queen will forbid the traffic.

6th October 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

623. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Hassan Pasha is ill of fever; he is a favourite of the Janizaries, but hated by Ibraim Pasha. The English Ambassador has presented a petition that he should be punished for the murder of Pasquale Dabri, who was at the Porte treating for peace.

7th October 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

624. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English fleet is lying at Fagial, one of the Azores, without doing any damage. It is certainly waiting to catch the West India fleet.

Some days ago an Armenian was despatched from here to Ormuz, viâ Venice and Alexandria. He bore letters to the Viceroy, calling his attention to the progress of English commerce in those parts, and charging him to hinder it by all the means in his power. These orders are thought to be difficult to execute; for the English will

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not readily abandon that trade. Three of their ships a few months ago made a great profit in spices; with the result that in Lisbon the price of drugs has gone down.

I also hear that the King of Denmark and the Free Cities have been invited to interrupt English and Dutch trade.

Madrid, 20th October 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

625. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English fleet, divided into four squadrons, is cruising in different degrees of latitude; one of these squadrons fell in with the ships bringing gold and silver. It gave chase, but the ships escaped into harbour at the Azores, where they unladed all their treasure. There is great alarm lest the remainder of the fleet should fall a prey.

On the eighteenth of this month, the Adelantado weighed anchor with all his fleet, and with a fair wind sailed north. The destination of the fleet is unknown. We shall soon know the result; but meantime conjecture is rife; some suppose that the recapture of Amiens by the French has caused this sudden departure.

Tornabuoni, agent for the Duke of Mercœur, has returned from the Escurial, and is delighted at this departure of the fleet.

Madrid, 28th October 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

626. SUMMARY of the FORCES under the ADELANTADO OF CASTILLE.

Royal galleons	-	44 of 12,686 tons burthen.	
Private	-	16 of 5,880	„
Hulks (*Urche*), German and Flemish	-	52 of 15,514	„
Other ships	-	76	
Total	-	188	34,080
Soldiers on board	-		8,634
Sailors	-		4,000
Total	-		12,634

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 5. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

627. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Ibraim, the Grand Vizir, has been deposed, and Hassan the Eunuch has taken his place. He is held to be sagacious, avaricious, a friend of Jews, and intimate of Cicala.

5th November 1597.

[*Italian.*]

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Nov. 6.
Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

628. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Mantua told me that he knew for certain that the King of Spain would attack England as soon as possible.

Prague, 6th November 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

629. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In my last despatches I reported the action between the English and the West India fleet, off the Azores, and the sailing of the Adelantado. I now enclose two documents, one from the confessor of the Adelantado, who tries to excuse the Adelantado for what has happened, the other from the courier who was sent with the news to the King. I sought for information from him, and find that the Adelantado is violently attacked as culpable. It is argued that if on his return the wind was astern, as he himself declares, then the storm could not have been so heavy as to prevent him from pushing on rather than expose himself to the risk of going about, and also losing the opportunity of effecting a landing while the English fleet was far away. Besides, the Spanish design, which they have concealed for two years, is now discovered, and if they try it again the Queen will forestall them. (*Et persa l'opportunità di sbarcare senza oppositione dell 'armata nemica che si trova hora lontana; oltre che infrutuosamente se sarà scoperto il disegno che per due anni si haveva procurato di tener nascosto; et se un' altra volta si volesse effetuare, la Regina gli haverà proveduto.*) Moreover, it is not likely that they will be able to maintain secrecy another time, as, by a miracle, they have succeeded in doing this time. However, those who speak dispassionately evidently knew that this violent resolution could not meet with any other issue, and that it was taken rather on a punctillio than in the hope of any success; for the English, almost in face of Lisbon, had burned one of the galleys belonging to Marco d'Aramburgh, and the King was swept away by a passion for revenge for all these insults which he is constantly receiving; and so in a bad season, with a weak armada, and without waiting for the reinforcements of d'Aramburgh, he resolved to carry out his object, relying on the secret intelligences which he firmly believes he has established in that island.

A letter from the Count of Palma, who is on board the armada, informs me that he was ordered by the Adelantado to land six hundred men, harquebusseers and musketeers, at the point of Falmouth harbour, to hold in check the garrison of the castle at its mouth, while the Adelantado entered on the other side. (*Per una lettera scritta dal Conte di Palma che si trovi sopra l'armata, ho saputo, come egli diceva, che per ordine dell'Adelantado haveva a sbarcare con 600 soldati, archibusieri et moschetieri alla ponta del porto di Flemua per trattenere dalla parte di terra quelli del castello che era alla bocca, disegnando poi l'Adelantado di procurare dall' altra parte di entrar nel sudetto porto*).

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As only a part of the Adelantado's fleet is returned, and in a bad state, it is unlikely that his Majesty will send it out again this year.

It is thought a great good fortune that of the twenty-five ships which sailed from Havana only two lagged behind. The rest sailed right between two squandrons of the English, and reached the Azores safely, after being pursued for thirty miles; and had they been sighted by the English an hour sooner, and had not night come down, they would with difficulty have escaped. In five hours they disembarked the nine millions of gold; but unless they sail out suddenly some night, they run great risk from the sea and from the enemy. The English made an attempt to enter the port but were repulsed by the fire from the three castles. They then drew off to sack the other islands. They have sent to England for provisions and ammunition. I learn from a captain who embarked at Flushing on the seventeenth of last month that in England reinforcements were being got ready. He also told me that the harbour of Calais is blockaded by eight Dutch ships; and that from Dunquerque four of his Majesty's ships had been sent west, it is conjectured to meet the Adelantado. As he left the Channel on the twenty-third of last month he encountered a great storm. This captain was with the Cardinal Archduke when he went to relieve Amiens; and the Cardinal consented to the surrender, but put it off till the 25th of September.

The King of France and all his army is before Aras, where the Cardinal lies in security.

The King of Spain has been sick, from eating a certain preserve, they say.

Madrid, 8th November 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

629B. Letter from FATHER SICILIA, S. J. Confessor to the Adelantado, written to a friend while lying in sight of Corunna, on the 25th October 1597.

On the 19th of September last the Royal Armada began to clear out of Ferrol. It could not make Corunna before midday of the 23rd on account of the bad weather. And from that date till the 15th of the present month the winds were always contrary. During this period the Adelantado in person inspected the ships, reviewed the troops, made provision for the artillery service, took stock of all stores on board the fleet, which were far from abundant. Nevertheless, relying upon God and his Majesty's promises of support, on the 16th he gave orders to the Admiral Don Diego Brochiero to cause some great galleons and other levantines which were lying to lee, to shift their moorings so as to be ready to seize the first favourable moment for clearing out of harbour. On the 18th the wind was fair, and the Adelantado gave orders to make ready to weigh, and to unfurl sails, at daybreak, though everyone was convinced that the wind would not serve. The Adelantado worked his flag-ship out of harbour, and then embarked on a felucca; he passed from ship to ship with orders that

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they should take stations outside also. The operation was completed only four hours before sundown, owing to the unwillingness to sail which filled the minds of everyone when they thought of the season far advanced and the absolute lack of all that was essential to the success of the enterprise.

However, thanks to the extraordinary exertions of the Adelantado, the fleet at last cleared the harbour, and he on board a pinnace (*patacchio*) overtook his flag-ship which was already four leagues out. During the operation of clearing out one filipotto was lost, and the Admiral, Don Diego Brochiero, left two pinnaces behind to do the salvage work. Of these pinnaces neither has, as yet, rejoined the fleet. They may be lying inside the harbour, for I am writing this report while still outside. Nor have we any news of four pinnaces which were sent to the ovens of Neda for biscuits, inside Ferrol; but they too are supposed to be lying in harbour.

The following day we waited for six hundred soldiers of the last reinforcements from Lisbon; to embark them the Adelantado had left behind twenty-two decked carvels, and orders to the Superintendent-in-Chief to send them on at once; but as we have had no news of them we imagine that they never left harbour, or, if they did, they went back again.

All next night and up to the evening of the 19th the fleet sailed with a fair wind, until at midnight of the 22nd we found ourselves thirty leagues off the Lizard (*Capo de Alizarti*) where the mouth of the English Channel begins; and there we encountered a furious head wind. This and the impetuous current prevented us from making any way. It was with the greatest difficulty that the fleet could hold on till four hours before sunset, when the order was given to take in all sail. The Admiral wished to lie to and see if the weather would moderate sufficiently to allow him to proceed. But seeing that the wind freshened steadily, and a pinnace having brought word from the Admiral that the galleon, "S. Marco" had gaped under the stress of the storm, he was obliged to stand by her, and send on board to remedy the damage. He resolved to cruise about all night, keeping an eye on the weather if it would allow him to push forward, and having all his fleet gathered about him. At this moment another pinnace arrived with news from the Admiral that he had carried away his foremast, and, as he could not hold on his course, he asked for orders. The Adelantado, recognising how dangerous it would be to risk the life of the Admiral, of his officers, and the seventy thousand ducats on board the galleon, gave orders that the Admiral should put about as best he could and make for Spain.

The Adelantado waited till two hours after sunrise, intending, as the weather would not allow him to touch Falmouth, to make for Nieuport, and if that proved impossible to put about and sail to Ireland, to Waterford (*Guataford*) or Cork (*Corco*), or even to Brest in France. But seeing that the weather continued such as to deprive him of any hope of being able to carry out any of these plans, and that the storm was rising and the current might easily cast the fleet away, he was forced to set sail for Spain. At the time this manœuvre was carried out there were only three

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galleons and twenty-four ships with the Adelantado, the rest had been scattered and dispersed by the violence of the tempest. The voyage was most difficult all through the 23rd and 24th to the middle of the 25th, when the weather began to mend a little.

The flag-ship has done all that was possible to keep the fleet together. About thirty-eight ships in all are here; but all the galleons, except the three I mentioned, are still missing, though it is hoped that none are lost, in spite of the severity of the storm, for on the return journey the wind was astern.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

630. REPORT of CARRERA, Courier on board the flag-ship of the Adelantado, who was despatched with messages to his Catholic Majesty on 30th October, while the fleet was still five leagues off Corunna. Dated 4th November.

On the 18th of last month, nine hours after sunrise, the Adelantado left Corunna with an excellent wind and one hundred and five ships besides ——— small vessels. When thirty leagues out he sent orders round that, in the name of God and St. James, all were to make sail for England; that they were to land at Falmouth and push on to Plymouth. The favourable wind, and the joy of every one filled each breast with content, and even the sick forgot their ailments.

On the 22nd the Adelantado sent two pinances (*patacchii*) to summon the six galleys which were lying at Blauet, along with the Spanish infantry, with orders to make for Falmouth.

On the morning of the 22nd the Adelantado was in the English Channel in forty fathoms of water, and twenty-one leagues from Falmouth. At four in the afternoon they were struck by a great gale and downpour of rain. The Armada began to part company and to scatter, each one thinking of his own safety; the sea unshipped their rudders, broke their yards, carried away their masts; the most thought themselves lost. For two days they knocked about without being able to make any harbour.

On the 25th, two hours before sundown, the wind being still strong, the Adelantado ordered his pilot to put her before the wind. On the 26th it pleased the Lord God to send a favourable wind, and on the 28th, at ten hours after sunrise, we found ourselves in forty-six degrees of latitude and thirty-eight leagues from Corunna. The wind fell and Corunna was reached in a calm.

On the 30th, in sight of Corunna, though five leagues off, this courier was despatched in a pinnace, to convey a report of all that had taken place.

The courier saw in the port of Corunna twenty-eight vessels, of whose arrival the Adelantado was unaware at the time of sending his despatch.

Don Luis Cariglo, Governor of Corunna, had the first news of what had happened from two vessels the earliest to reach harbour.

The courier says that in spite of the furious storm at sea very few lives were lost, though all came back downcast and anxious at the failure of the expedition.

[*Italian.*]

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Nov. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

631. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Maisse in conversation with me declared most positively that the recovery of Amiens was as important an event as the capture of the city of Paris itself had been. The King of Spain also recognised this fact, and gave stringent orders to the Cardinal Archduke to abandon Flanders and all the other cities and go to the succour of Amiens. M. de Bellièvre, I am informed, found these orders in letters intercepted between the King and the Archduke.

Paris, 8th November 1597.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

632. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France to the DOGE and SENATE.

Before the King's departure the Parliament of Paris congratulated his Majesty on the recovery of Amiens. His Majesty replied that he hoped in a year's time to hear everyone speaking good French, meaning to say that all that belonged to the Crown would have submitted to him.

An agent from the Queen of England is here to disband the English troops which, in agreement with the capitulations, have been maintained here. In an audience with the King his Majesty begged that they might not be dismissed at present ; and about the peace with Spain, to which the Agent alluded, he was assured that nothing would be concluded without having due regard to the interests of the Queen and of the States of Holland.

Paris, 8th November 1597.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

633. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Sillery has been to St. Quentin to see the Cardinal Legate, and to persuade him that from this quarter there is no objection to the peace. The Legate must await instructions from Spain on the subject of Calais, as it is well-known that the King of France insists that it should be consigned to him. The Cardinal has no authority to consent, but at the same time he is instructed not to break off negotiations, but to report home and wait orders. If these negotiations progress, I am told that M. de Villeroy will be sent on a mission to the Spanish Ministers. M. de Maisse has been summoned to Fontainebleau by the King and told to get ready to start for England. He has not received his instructions as yet, but is making preparations so as to be ready to leave. The King's object is to beg the Queen not merely to continue the two thousand English foot in France, but to add to their number, so that the war may be conducted vigorously in Brittany against the Duke of Mercœur. It seems too that he wishes to give the Queen information about the peace in order to discover what her views on the matter may be, and when he has discovered that he will send either another or M. de Maisse to the States.

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They intend to send an Ambassador in ordinary to reside in England, but lack of money and of persons willing to spend it, cause a delay in the scheme.

The English fleet is at the Azores, where it has orders to lie as long as it can maintain itself.

Paris, 15th November 1597.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

634. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I used my best endeavours to discover why the Adelantado had been ordered to sail so suddenly and what were his special instructions, and I have been informed with absolute certainty that between the Adelantado and the Ministry difference of opinion had existed for some time; the Adelantado insisted that he could not put to sea without obvious risk of losing his fleet; but at the moment when they were still discussing the subject, news arrived that the English fleet had gone to the Azores to await the Indiamen. Thereupon, in order to effect a diversion, the Adelantado received pressing orders to put to sea at once, with the ships, men, and munitions that he had, without waiting for Marco d'Aramburgh, who would follow him,—and to effect a landing at Falmouth. He was to fortify himself upon the site of the two castles, neither of which is of much importance, and then, leaving a sufficient garrison, he was to retire to the Scilly islands, where he would wait the return of the English fleet. If he learned that the West India fleet had been captured, he was to give battle to the English, and on winning the victory—as was expected—he was to advance again on Falmouth and land the rest of his men. From Falmouth he was to press forward and capture all he could. He was to keep his Majesty informed, and he would receive the necessary instructions from time to time.

The Adelantado, since his return, has written to his Majesty declaring that had he pushed forward with his fleet in that weak and unprovisioned state, and after the accident to Marco d'Aremburgh, he would have suffered more damage from the enemy than from the storm; for he hoped that very few ships were really lost. He begged leave to come to court, in order to explain personally to his Majesty what steps must be taken if he thinks of renewing the the attempt next year. It ought to be undertaken only at the proper season, the month of May, and after due preparations; otherwise it would be more to his Majesty's service to disband the the armada, rather than to maintain it at such excessive cost.

Madrid, 16th November 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

635. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from the Azores that the Indiamen are safe there. No signs of the English at St. Michael's, so it is to be hoped that either the bad weather or the rumour of the Adelantado's voyage to England

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has caused them to retire. The merchant fleet from Havana, which sailed separately from the gold ships, and steered another course, has almost entirely fallen into the hands of the English.

Marco d'Aramburgh is thinking of exchanging some of his Italian ships for Flemish hulks, and will then go to join the Adelantado. Thirty ships of his fleet are still missing, among them the flagship of Don Diego Brochiero. The English, off Cape Finisterre, have captured the nine ships which the Adelantado left behind to bring up the six hundred men they were expecting from Portugal.

Some two hundred Catalans, who had crossed the French frontier to recoup themselves for the losses inflicted by the French, have all been cut to bits; and now we hear that a considerable number of French have pushed across the borders to the fortress of Jaca (Sacca), in the kingdom of Aragon.

Madrid, 16th November 1597.

Postscript.

News has just come that the English have left the island of St. Michael. Some have gone to the Azores in the hope that the islanders will declare in their favour, as they have the son of Don Antonio of Portugal on board.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 19. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

636. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At a visit to Hassan Pasha, son of Mehmet, the Pasha asked whether Pasquale Dabri was not hidden in Galata, at the request of the English Ambassador, who libelled Hassan (by accusing him of Dabri's death). Hassan asked for a large table clock.

The new Grand Vizir, Hassan the eunuch, has the name of being tenacious, and is also reputed a man who keeps his word.

The English Ambassador has sent to make grave complaints that the crews of certain English ships have been arrested in Crete and Zante. The Venetian Ambassador replied that they must have committed some excess, and that he had written for information. He thinks that these vessels must be those that assaulted the "Silvestra" and the "Lion".

19th November 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

637. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At this very moment M. de Sillery has gone to St. Quentin. He has taken the place of M. de Bellièvre, who is incapacitated by his infirmities. M. de Sillery is commissioned to broach the subject of a truce for two or three months in the provinces of Picardy and Champagne, to allow the King to rebuild Amiens, and to prosecute the war in Brittany. The agent of the Queen of England has told me in confidence that such a truce would also satisfy the Queen, as she is anxious that Brittany, which lies so near her doors, should be reduced to complete obedience to his Majesty. Nor will the allied*

* Nicolas Bruslart, Marquis de Sillery.

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states object, because at this time of year it is difficult to conduct a campaign.

M. de Maisse, who left yesterday, is to explain all this to the Queen. Indeed, the King is ill pleased that M. de Maisse delayed his journey for a few days, a delay occasioned by want of money.

The Ministers still insist that the King will not make peace unless it be fully consonant with his honour; and they say that if he can arrange the affairs of his kingdom in these few months, as they hope, it will be the Spanish who will find themselves forced to desire and to petition for peace.

Paris, 23rd November 1597.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

638. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish fleet, to the number of one hundred and twenty sail, appeared the other day in sight of England, off the point of Plymouth, where three hundred horse and ten thousand infantry were mustered. There was a panic which lasted for two or three days, until the Earl of Essex and his fleet arrived, which not only comforted but reassured everyone. The Earl came from the Azores, where he had captured a few small ships: the value of the ships and cargoes will cover the expenses of this year. The Earl has put to sea in search of the Spaniards, who are said to be scattered here and there by contrary winds.

Paris, 23rd November 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

639. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish fleet has returned to Ferrol, and disembarked its troops. On the return journey thirty ships of the fleet parted company, and of these certainly ten are lost. The alarm caused to the English is over; they thought that the object of the fleet was Ireland, where the governor died only a few days ago.

Paris, 28th November 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

640. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English attempted a landing at the Azores, but the difficulties of that coast, where the winds create a heavy surf, prevented them from carrying out their design, especially as they intended to land artillery. St. Michael's has been sacked and plundered, though no churches nor houses were burned. The English intended to build a fort at Villafranca, but on the arrival of some pinnaces (*patacchii*), despatched by the Queen of England with news that the Spanish Armada was going to sail for the Azores, they abandoned their design. A small number, however, may have remained behind, for some few English vessels, supposed to be the

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residue of the fleet, have been observed cruising off the coast of Portugal.

His Majesty has given leave to the Adelantado to come to Court to explain his conduct and to discuss the affairs of his command. Some of the Ministers wish to make the soldiers winter in the islands, for fear that if they are left on the mainland they will desert. Some of the Adelantado's missing ships have come into harbour; and they say that Don Diego Brochiero has been sighted near Corunna in miserable plight.

Madrid, 30th November 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

641. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At present there is no resident English Ambassador at this Court, but an agent,* who seems to be a very discreet person. To him, in obedience to your Serenity's orders, I addressed the complaints against the acts of violence committed by English vessels in the waters of the Republic, pointing out to him what a serious effect such actions had upon the navigation of those seas, and reminding him that the English had always been well treated in Venetian ports, in virtue of the amity which exists between the Republic and the Queen, from whom were expected the necessary steps, especially the punishment of the offenders.

The Agent gave evident signs of displeasure, and said that what had happened was contrary to the intentions of the Queen. She had given orders to her subjects to damage, the King of Spain, in every way, and her Lord High Admiral had issued letters patent in that sense; but the actions complained of were in excess of orders. The Agent promised to write vigorously on the matter, and, if the guilty parties are in England, he assures me that your Serenity shall be satisfied.

I urged him to action by pointing out that, if satisfaction were delayed, your Serenity's officers might be forced to take steps to secure the safety of the navigation. This would greatly displease the Republic, which desires that English vessels should be well treated in all Venetian ports.

The Agent promised to write and to communicate the answer; and he asked for a list of the skippers, and for the names of the places where they committed their piratical acts. He added, "I am sorry that people of this sort usually delay their return for many months." I did not let this pass without a suitable answer, namely, that I was sure that if the Queen wished to capture them she could.

We then entered on other matters, and particularly the question of peace. He assured me that his Most Christian Majesty would not make peace without the approval of the Queen, who is not really averse from it, while it is desired by her subjects. A truce for a year was offered, but rejected. Even if the King did resolve to conclude peace without the intervention of the Queen, which he, however, did not believe, he would not gain much; for he would

* Thomas Edmondes, cf. Calendar of State Papers. Domestic, 1595–1597, p. 408.

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not have made peace to enjoy it, but would find himself embarked on a fresh war on account of the injury done to the Queen and the States, his allies, from whom he would receive more damage than from the King of Spain; for it would be a more serious matter for him to have the war inside his own kingdom, in his very bowels, than at the extremities and at the frontiers. In saying this the English agent hinted at a rising of the Huguenots and other malcontents, who are not wanting in this Kingdom, and with whom the Queen is in constant and close communication. He added that the fleets of England and the States, if united, would be masters of the sea, and could quite easily attack and damage France from many quarters.

These remarks of his, made with whatever intention they were made, I have thought right to communicate to your Serenity (mi ha affirmato che il Rè Christianissimo sicuramente non farà la pace col Serenissimo Rè Catholico senza la satisfactione della sua Regina, la quale non saria del tutto aliena ad essa, et è desiderata da suoi vassalli, et se Sua Maestà Xma si risolvesse, che però non lo può credere, a concludere alcuna cosa senza l'intervento della Regina, non otteniria quanto pretendesse, perchè non haveria fatto pace per haverla, ma ben far entrar nell' altra guerra rispetto alla injuria che saria inferita alla Regina et alli Stati di Fiandra, suoi confederati, onde potria da questi ricevere forte danno et travaglio tanto maggiori di quelli che al presente riceve dal Rè Catholico quanto che importaria piu haver la guerra nel proprio regno et nelle propris viscere che all' estremità et alle frontiere; accennando a sollevatione di Ugonotti et d'altri malcontenti che non mancono in questo regno, con li quali tutti si sà che la Regina tiene molte pratiche et strette intelligenze; aggiongendo che le armate d'Inghilterra et delli Stati uniti insieme, essendo patroni del mare, con gran facilità potriano assalir et daneggiar la Francia da molte parti).

A courier has been sent to S. Quentin; it is supposed that he bears authority to M. de Sillery to treat for a truce or a peace, but not to push matters far without raising the question of the restitution of the strong places belonging to his Most Christian Majesty; he is not to mention Cambrai, as the Pope desires that it should be restored to its own Bishop.

Paris, 9th December 1597.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

642. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English fleet has returned home and the Dutch fleet has sailed for Zealand, and so, for this year, there is an end of all these rumours from the sea.

Count Maurice has cantoned the army of the States. His half sister has married a son of the late Don Antonio of Portugal. As this took place with the consent of the bride and bridegroom only, the Government have confined both to their house.

Paris, 9th December 1597.

[*Italian.*]

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Dec. 17. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

643. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Michael has written to the English Ambassador and to the Grand Vizir. The English Ambassador acts for him.

17th December 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

644. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The city is full of rumours about the important offers made by the Duke of Luxemburg at his last audience. I accordingly resolved to visit the Duke this morning. The Duke told me that the King had confirmed his offer to the Pope to send three, four, or five thousand good foot soldiers into the Papal service, and proposed that they should embark at Marseilles; and he added that if the King could settle his own affairs he would come in person to serve the Church, and to restore to it all that was unjustly usurped (Ferrara). The Duke then made inquiries as to rumours that the Republic was supporting Don Cesare. I assured him of the devotion of the Republic to the Holy See, and then proceeded to inquire how matters were going in France about the peace. He replied, that he held it for certain that the whole negotiations would vanish in air; for the King was resolved to have Calais, while Spain was willing to restore all the other strong places except Calais. He added that, as soon as the opportunity permitted, the King would move to Blois so as to carry on the war in Brittany.

By the King's orders the Duke had represented to the Pope that the King of Spain, who professed such devotion to religion, had lately sent out two important embassies, one headed by a Jew, was commissioned to treat for peace with the Turk; the other was addressed to the King of Denmark, also a heretic, to induce him to mediate between the States and Spain; both had received unfavourable answers and little honour.

The King's victories have relieved the States of the burden for the maintenance of several garrisons, and they now offer to keep more men in the field for his Majesty's service, if his Majesty will abandon all negotiations for peace and will attend seriously to war. The Duke added that the Queen of England made similar offers. He thought that if peace were not concluded within one or two months it would not be concluded at all. I laughed and said: "Well, if all these wars go on, the King will "hardly be able to send to the Pope the promised support."

Rome, 20th December 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

645. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Juan de Fria, secretary to the Prince Cardinal, reached here twelve days after he set out. He has been sent to represent to his

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Majesty the dangerous condition of those provinces owing to the want of money, and the mutiny of the troops, who are creditors for one million and a half of gold. The secretary has instructions also about the negotiations for peace. *When he left, the Cardinal had not yet received his powers. The secretary brings word that a suspension of arms is out of the question, as the King of France will negotiate for a peace only; he is holding his head very high as to the conditions, and especially about the surrender of the strong places. Further, he insists that in any reconciliation the Queen of England must be included.*

Madrid, 27th December 1597.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

646. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

We have news not merely that M. de Maisse has reached England safely, but that he has had an audience of the Queen. She has not yet made known her pleasure as to the answer which will be given to him. I heard that a conference between representatives of the King and the Queen will be arranged, and Dieppe is conjectured as the place of meeting.

Paris, 30th December 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 31. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

647. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News received from the commander seems to show that the provisions for war by land and sea are proceeding coldly. The desire for peace continues. The new Grand Vizir urges the Patriarch to interest himself in the matter. The Patriarch has written to the Walachian; Michael is willing, and the whole affair is greatly favoured by the English Ambassador for various reasons; but Michael will not accept terms which do not guarantee him completely. About the Transylvanian various views are held.

The skin of a brave Hungarian soldier has been brought here. The man had the courage to enter Belgrade in disguise.

The English Ambassador who supplies all the news of Christendom (*l'Ambasciatore d'Inghilterra, che riporta tutte le nouve di Christianità*) has announced the death of the Duke of Ferrara, the succession of Don Cesare, and the Papal claims. He adds that all this will be of service to the Sultan, who will be able to take advantage of it in the negotiations for peace.

The Sultana Mother has begun to pull down some houses belonging to Jews in order to build her mosque, which is to cost a great deal.

31st December 1597.

[*Italian.*]

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Jan. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

648. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News that the Father General* had arrrived at S. Quentin, on his way back from Brussels. He and M. de Silery are bound for Paris. *The General complained that the French were cold about the peace; they were waiting to see whether the news of the King of Spain's death was true. He was also much displeased that they paid so much attention to the Queen of England as to seem almost as though they would conclude nothing without her consent. He added, moreover, that the French believed that the Cardinal Archduke had not sufficient powers. The Spanish desire peace, and will restore the strong places. But when asked if they would give back Calais the General did not answer.*

Paris, 3rd January 1597 [m.v.]

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

649. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Letters from Holland, dated the 11th of last month, bring news that Don Emanuel, son of the late Don Antonio of Portugal, has married the sister of Count Maurice. Here they are afraid that this marriage has been arranged with a view to creating some disturbance in Portugal.

Madrid, 3rd January 1597 [m.v.]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

650. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The General is conducting his business so secretly that neither Prince nor Minister knows aught of what is going on. The English agent, who has been at great pains to send information to his Mistress, said to me that the object of this secrecy was to alarm the Queen and the States, and to compel them to offer larger support than they had given in the past. But he added that they were deceiving themselves, for before the alliance with France, the Queen and the States had defended themselves against the King of Spain, and so they would in the future without the King of France, who was not invited to join the confederation, but had begged to be allowed to do so at the moment when, out of all reason, he had declared war on Spain. He affirmed that the support afforded was in excess of that stipulated for, more especially at that period when the King, hard pressed by the League and in want of everything, withdrew to Dieppe, whence he would have been forced to embark and fly to England, had not the Queen come to his aid with upwards of four thousand English infantry and other succours.

The agent of the States here is in a great rage, and calls the French faithless cowards.

* Buonaventura Calatagirona, General of the Franciscans.

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M. de Villeroy, who has the matter in his hands, said to me that the General must have patience and make a journey or two more.
Paris, 17th January 1598.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

651. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The negotiations for peace are being conducted in such silence and secrecy that the agents for England and for the States, the two powers interested, are, so to speak, stark mad to find out what is going on. As yet they have found out nothing in spite of their important connexions in this country. Perhaps the Queen is waiting for news from France before she gives an answer to M. de Maisse who, in spite of his insistence, is continually put off.

I have the greatest difficulty in obtaining information. However, from a good source, which I think may be trusted, I am told that the Father General, in the name of Spain, has offered to the King a truce for four years and the restitution of all the strong places except Ardres, which is to be dismantled, and Calais, which they wish to keep, as its surrender would hardly be honourable for the King of Spain; it would be taken as a sign of extreme weakness if he restored everything; besides that, Calais, in the hands of Spain, gives the Spanish the key of France, Flanders, and England. A truce of such a length, of course, means a peace. The eventual surrender of Calais, if conceded under a truce, can be made with less dishonour under the name of a peace. In the meantime the Spanish will have an opportunity to put their affairs in order; to see whether the Duke of Mercœur is able to make head against the King, and to observe the action of Flanders and England. The King, I am told, is in great anxiety of mind because on the one hand he holds his honour to be affected if he renounce so important a place as Calais, for in the hands of Spain it will be a serious menace to his colleagues, against whom, and especially against England, Calais would serve as a most valuable instrument for inflicting great damage; on the other hand, he is implored by his people to make peace.

Up to the present the King of France will not speak of a truce without the restitution of everything. They are awaiting the return of M. de Maisse from England to know how he has succeeded with the Queen. The Father General, after waiting ten days, has set out for S. Quentin. Those who saw him say that his face showed him to be very anxious and melancholy.

It is thought that the Cardinal Legate will move to Cambrai, seven leagues from S. Quentin. Cambrai may be considered neutral ground. The Cardinal Archduke will also go there. On the publication of his marriage he has presented, two credentials one from the King, the other from the Prince.

This proceeding has roused some suspicion at this conjuncture of affairs, and Antonio Perez has had occasion to say that this is either a trick, or a huge madness in diplomacy, for neither French

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nor English advisers could have given worse counsel to the King of Spain.

Paris, 17th January 1597 [m.v.]

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

652. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Huguenots, who hate the peace with Spain, are thinking of arming for fear lest the flood may set against them (*per sospetto che la piena possa andar contra di essi.*) M. de Tremouille and the Duke of Bouillon have massed troops under pretext of assisting his Majesty in Brittany, where the populace continues to invoke his Majesty's coming, declaring that a truce is of no benefit nor service to them.

Paris, 17th January 1597 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

653. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Your Serenity will see from the enclosed report that, of the currants belonging to the illustrious Andrea Zane, which were on board the English ship wrecked off Almeria, no part has been saved. It is therefore superfluous for me to take any steps with the Minister, as the fact of the loss bars all further proceedings.

They are in some alarm on account of the news lately to hand, that thirty English ships have been sighted off Cape S. Vincent; and towards the Azores another squadron of fourteen sail is reported.

The whole English fleet is expected out immediately, so as not to lose that rich booty which they now know to be stored at the Azores.

His Majesty has a little gout, which attacked him the very day he intended to take the Infanta out into the country to see the hunting of the cats which the Grand Duke of Tuscany had sent in a present.

Madrid, 20th January 1597 [m.v.]

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

654. REPORT from ALMERIA of the ship that went ashore at the Rochetta in the month of May 1597.

Half a league off the Rochetta an English ship was cast away. She was standing in about nightfall, and ran on the shoals, which she could not see for the high water; she was only aware of them when she struck. This happened at the worst part of the whole coast.

When the English saw they were lost and that their consort did not come to their aid, they took to the boats and reached this city, to present themselves to the Lieutenant-Governor, who at once put them in prison in the fortress. He and the Captain went down to

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the wreck. They found her with her bottom stove in and full of water.

They began salvage work at once; but it proved very risky and troublesome, and what was brought ashore was all soaked with water and damaged. The Lieutenant-Governor sent to fetch eight Flemish sailors to lend a hand. With their help a good many sacks of currants were recovered, but in very bad order. They were sold dirt cheap to a ship's owner. The artillery, shrouds, powder, a little senna, manna, drugs, lutes, glass, and a slab of jasper were recovered. All the currants in barrels were lost, as they were stored in the hold.

Not a barrel bearing the mark of the Venetian owner was recovered.

His Majesty gave orders to sell everything except the glass, the lutes, and the jasper, which are now in his hands. The proceeds of the sale are deposited, and will be divided among the soldiers who helped in the salvage.

The master's name is John Bedford, and the supercargo Thomas Argol. The gunner is called Tronchiasgui. The crew numbered thirty-six men and two boys. If I learn the name of the ship I will communicate it.

Three days later the consort turned up, but seeing that the ship was lost, she drew off, and has not been heard of since.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 28. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

655. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador is dead. The Venetian Ambassador has not failed to perform his duties of ceremony, so that the staff of the English Embassy may report to the Queen. By the death of this Ambassador the Turks have lost their intermediary in treating of peace with the Emperor.

[*Italian.*]

Jan 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

656. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In addition to the Spanish conditions of peace which I have already reported, the Spaniards also require that the Duke of Mercœur should be maintained in his government of Brittany. They will restore Blauet on condition that they are refunded in the moneys spent on the place. The Father General added, however, that these conditions notwithstanding, if the King desired to really come to any conclusion he should send two representatives to treat with two others to be named by the other side, who, in the presence of the Cardinal Legate, would discuss all the points. He added, as from himself, that the real difficulty would not arise about Calais or Ardres, for a modus could be found there, and he seemed to hint that if these representatives were only appointed they would meet with less difficulty than they expected. The Father General has obtained the appointment, and with that he left for S. Quentin.

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Here M. de Belliévre and M. de Sillery have been named, and are ready to start when the Spanish representatives have been appointed; it is thought that they will be the President Richardot and Jean Battiste Tassis. The place has been chosen; it is a small town called Vervins, on the borders of Flanders, and ten leagues from S. Quentin. The conference between the two Cardinals at Cambrai has been absolutely abandoned, *on account of questions of title and precedence, they say.* In fact, matters are coming to a head so fast that in a short time we shall see the conclusion or the abandonment of peace; and a suspension of arms is imminent.

M. de Maisse has returned from his journey to England, where the Queen loudly complains of these negotiations for peace; she also resents the rumoured truce with the Duke of Mercœur and the inclusion of the Spanish, in Brittany, and the exclusion of herself, which is a violation of the terms of federation. As regards the peace with Spain she said that she would abide by what the confederates in council might advise. This proposal of a conference of confederates is advanced by the Queen and by the States of Holland, with a view to breaking through the negotiations for peace.

Persons of high importance and with wide powers have been named to represent the Queen, and to offer to the King support in men and money if he will continue the war; and they are especially commissioned to inform his Majesty that the aim of the Spanish is to sow discord among the confederates, so that when once divided they may never be united again, which would be to the benefit of Spain.

The Ministers return pacific answers to the agents of England and of the States, who are here to complain that M. de Bellièvre and M. de Sillery have been sent to treat with the Spanish, and assure them that this step is taken so as to avoid breaking the thread of certain other schemes.

From what I have said it is clear how fortunate is the conjuncture for France; for the Spanish in their desire for peace will condescend to terms they would not otherwise have accepted, and the Queen of England and the States of Holland, in their suspicion of French diplomacy, are forced to make offers of help to his Majesty. And so the issue of these subtle but important negotiations hangs in doubt.

Paris, 31st January 1597. [m.v.]

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

657. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News has been brought to Lisbon that the Queen of England will not send out a fleet this year, owing to dearth of money, of corn, and of other necessaries. She will merely send twenty-five or thirty ships to Brazil. Six hulks (*urche*) are ready at Lisbon, waiting to transport four or five hundred men to Brazil.

Madrid, 31st January 1597 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

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Jan. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

658. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. d'Aldegonde has come to Paris to take possession of the Principality of Oranges in the name of Prince Maurice. *He has easy access to the King and his Ministers, and he urges his Majesty to continue the war against the King of Spain. He argues that the Spanish readiness to renounce what they have acquired at such cost of time and money, if it is genuine, is an infallible sign of their weakness; if it is false, as is highly probable, then it is certainly wiser to continue the war. He recounts the difficulties of the Spanish because the Cardinal Archduke is quite unable to take the field with mutinous troops, who are in revolt for want of pay.*

M. d'Aldegonde while visiting me declared that it was almost impossible that the cession of Flanders to the Cardinal Archduke should take effect; it will be long before the States will give their consent.

I enclose copies of the letters from the King of Spain and from the Prince to the Archduke; also the Archduke's proposal.

Paris, 31st January 1597 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

659. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The fleet with the gold and silver was ready to sail from the Azores on the 13th of December last, and was only waiting fine weather. The long delay in its arrival causes some fear that it may have fallen in with the English.

Madrid, 10th February 1597 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 10. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

660. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Chief Butler (*Cesnegir*) has been deputed to convey a scimitar to the most Christian King.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

661. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

No sooner were the passports received from the Archduke than M. de Bellièvre and M. de Sillery set out last week for the appointed place. The Spanish representatives are at Cambresis.

Five days ago the King went to Fontainebleau. He will wait there some time for the Envoys of England and of the States. If they do not appear he will continue his journey.

Paris, 14th February 1597 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

662. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English agent came to see me after having received an answer on the subject of those English vessels which have committed acts of hostility on the vessels of your Serenity's subjects

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and inflicted damage upon them in the waters of the Levant. He declares that the Queen was highly displeased at the news, as the occurrence is entirely contrary to her wishes, and gave orders at once to find out whereabouts those were against whom the charge was laid, with a view to inflicting the merited punishment. As yet nothing has been discovered, which has been the cause of the delay in his communicating with me. He assures me that such diligence shall be used in this affair as will leave your Serenity quite satisfied; of which the Envoys, who are coming here on other business, will also more fully convince me. I made a suitable reply and expressed my belief that everything would be done to satisfy the Republic. I went on to remark that my representations, made in writing, had for object to secure the safety of Venetian subjects and also, by removing disorders, to make the English welcome in Venetian ports and marts. But when the Envoys arrive, about whose coming nothing is known at present, as the weather is unfavourable for the passage of the Channel, I will not fail to make such further observations as I may deem necessary to obtain your Serenity's object. I am convinced that the Queen is disposed to show all complaisance towards the Republic, especially for the reasons given to me by M. de Maisse. I met him after his return from England, and in course of conversation he lauded the Queen for her prudence, and explained the admirable order of her government, her power by sea; he mentioned that she asked questions about the Republic and showed regret that there was no resident Venetian Ambassador at her Court, as there used to be during the reigns of her predecessors. She declares that the reason for this is the Republic's regard for the Pope. M. de Maisse assures me that the Queen and some of her council entertain the idea of asking your Serenity explicitly to send an Ambassador.

Paris, 14th February 1597 [m.v.].

[*Italian*].

Feb. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

663. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal Legate* reached Vervins, the place appointed for the discussion of the peace; and on the same day the French representatives also arrived. The Spanish representatives were delayed by the rain, and the weather which retarded them till the following day. The Spanish representatives are the President Richardot, Tassis and a Spanish Secretary of State; they are accompanied by the General of the Franciscans and a large suite.

The following morning they met in church, and exchanged compliments, and the necessary acts of courtesy; then they visited each other at their lodgings. The French paid the first visits, as was their duty, seeing that they were at home. Before any views were exchanged, a doubt arose as to the method of procedure. The Cardinal Legate found a way out of the difficulty by summoning the Nuncio Gonzaga, who otherwise would not have been present. He took his seat at the right of the Legate and next to him

*Alessandro de' Medici.

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came the Spanish representatives. On the Legate's left sat the French; and opposite the Legate sat the General of the Franciscans. This arrangement satisfied everybody, for each could in a way claim the place of honour.

The powers and commissions were then read and found sufficient for the purposes of the conference. The discussion began, but nothing will be concluded until they have learned what representations have been made to his Majesty by the English and Flemish Deputies, who are coming to meet him. Meantime a suspension of arms in a circuit of six leagues round Vervins has been proclaimed.

At Vervins, owing to a stroke of apoplexy, the Franciscan who was acting for the Duke of Savoy is now lying at the point of death.

Paris, 24th February 1597 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

664. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As the English and Flemish representatives delayed to arrive, and as the weather still continued unfavourable for their journey by sea, the King has resolved to go into Brittany. Last week he left Fontainebleau, and is expected in Angers in four or six days. The Constable has been left behind in Paris, with orders that if the said representatives arrive, and are willing to confer with him, he is to hear what they have to say. For this purpose also. M. de Maisse is waiting here: he is to be present at every interview. But if the agents desire to confer with the King they are to be directed to Brittany by the shortest route; and the King will come back some three or four days' journey to meet them. This is what will probably happen, for the agent of the States has announced that *to treat with Ministers in a matter of such moment, is to run too great a risk; for, to repeat his words, they are of all colours, and have objects which do not conduce to the good of this kingdom, and so the Envoys will deal with the King in person.*

The English deputies must be across the Channel by this time; but they have orders from the Queen to wait by the shore until the Flemish vessels, which must pass within sight, shall arrive; they are then to continue their journey together. To represent the Queen comes her first secretary, Sir Robert Cecil, son of the Lord Treasurer, accompanied with Ottiwell Smith and by two other doctors. For Flanders come the Admiral of Zealand,* bastard brother of Count Maurice and M. de Barneveldt, who is held in higher esteem than anyone else. When joined together there will be a train of two hundred horse.

Paris, 24th February 1597 [m.v.]

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

665. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the examination of powers, many conferences have been held by the Deputies at Vervins in the presence of the Cardinal

* Jean de Nassau.

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Legate. These terms have been reached; the Spanish, within three months, are to restore all the strong places they hold; that is to say, Ardres and Calais within two months, and the rest before the expiry of three months; Blauet is to be dismantled. As regards the King's confederates, it seems that the powers to deal with them, especially with the Queen of England, are somewhat restricted. The Spanish representatives are applying for a safe conduct for a courier who is to go to Spain for orders.

The articles were written out and ready for signature, when the French demanded a delay in order to consult the King. He replied that he would grant a passport for the courier, but that he must go in the name of the Cardinal Legate. As to the terms about the restitution of the strong places, he required their immediate surrender, and shows that his suspicions are aroused. The Spanish, however, offer to give hostages for the loyal observance of the terms.

Matters are at such a pass that peace or war is now absolutely in the King's hands. The delay in concluding peace comes from this side; but it is not quite clear which of two motives governs the King, the desire to obtain some advantage for his allies, or the desire to continue the war now that the advantage is so clearly on his side.

Paris, 28th February 1597 [m.v.]

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

666. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 21st of last month the fleet from the Azores reached Seville. It brings seven millions; two and a half belong to his Majesty. They say for certain that one ship, with a cargo of the value of five hundred thousand ducats, was captured by the English; and that the damage they have done will cost his Majesty as much again at the very least.

The Marquis of Santa Cruz told me that the Earl of Cumberland (*Conte di Tamberlan*) most certainly was to have left England at the end of January last with twenty-four ships in order to waylay the fleet. As he failed in his design, he will now go to St. Helena to waylay the East India fleet, which usually touches there for water. They are seriously afraid lest the English fleet should this year attempt some surprise in Portugal, or sack some towns on the sea-shore. The Marquis added that here they never took any preventive measures till they were compelled by necessity.

Madrid, 2nd March 1598.

[*Italian.*]

March 7. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

667. GIOVANNI DOLFIN, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Luxembourg has shown to the Cardinal St. George, letters declaring that the Spanish will withdraw from the surrender of Calais, which they intend to hand to the English in exchange for Flushing. The Duke of Sessa thinks that the French are feigning to wish for peace, but preparing for war.

Rome, 7th March 1598.

[*Italian.*]

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March 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

668. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal Legate has drawn on Paris for a considerable sum of money for his current expenses, owing to the pause in the peace negotiations, and the despatch of the courier to Spain. They will have to wait his return. Moreover, the King is resolved to conclude nothing until he has heard what the English and Flemish Ambassadors, who are entrusted with this business, have to say. Not only his word pledged, and his faith engaged, but his interests as well induce him to take this course. For supposing the Spanish do not observe the terms of the peace, as some doubt they will not, then the King would have lost one of his main supports, owing to the suspicion which his assent to the peace would introduce into the minds of his allies. There may be also on his part a certain unwillingness to make peace, as I have already explained, and this journey into Brittany may have been taken all the more readily on that account.

Meantime we hear that some three thousand Spanish under the command of Don Sancho da Leyva, have landed under Calais with a considerable sum of money, so Spanish prospects are rather brighter than they were some days ago. Forty ships sailed with these soldiers from the coast of Spain, of these ships thirteen are missing, owing to a storm, and one went on shore in sight of Dieppe; the larger part of her crew was drowned, the rest made prisoners.

The English Ambassadors, unable to wait the coming of the Flemish any longer, have crossed the Channel and entered France eight days ago. They are expected here to-morrow. Their third colleague has been left behind at Rouen ill of a very serious infirmity. Almost the whole weight of this Embassy rested upon him, so highly do they think of him in England.

Don Emanuel, son of the late Don Antonio of Portugal, has been banished from the Low Countries on account of his secret marriage with a daughter of the Prince of Orange. He has gone to Germany, followed by his wife, who will not abandon him. But this punishment is thought to be merely a show, and he will soon be released.

Paris, 10th March 1598.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

669. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A few days ago a courier arrived from the Cardinal Archduke with despatches for the King, but addressed to the Nuncio for greater safety. I have found out that the Cardinal asks for ampler powers to treat for peace; *and especially on the subject of the restitution of Calais. For although the Cardinal had received, through the Nuncio, the very fullest powers, yet these were curtailed by private instructions. The Cardinal also writes about the proper method for the inclusion of the Queen of England; and he says that there is every hope that the States also will come to terms, as the populace shows the highest satisfaction at the marriage of his*

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Highness and the Infanta. It is true, however, that neither among the government nor in Holland and Zealand is there such a disposition evident. Here they suspect that the Cardinal is exaggerating, induced by a desire to hurry on his marriage.

Madrid, 17th March 1598.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

670. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I am informed on good authority that the King of France will not conclude a peace unless negotiations are carried on contemporaneously with the Queen of England and the States. The Nuncio remarked to me that he had noted the same intention on the part of the most Christian King. He added that the King of France at first had not shown himself in perfect accord with the Queen of England, and had even informed the Pope that he was willing to treat for peace without including her. The object of the French may have been to stimulate his Holiness to intervene, for it was not suitable for the Pope to treat with heretics (che sua Maestà Christianissima da principio della negotiatione non mostrava d' intendersi compitamente bene con la Regina inglese, et però fece dir al Pontefice che separatamente da lei si contentarebbe di dar orecchie alla trattatione; il che alhora fecero forse Francesi per riscaldare sua Santità d'interponersi, imperochè non le conveneva trattar accordo con heretici). Now the Pope will close his eyes and act merely as intermediary, and for this reason the Legate, perhaps, did not wish to show openly that he had any part in the despatch of the courier.

Madrid, 18th March 1598.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

671. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassadors of the Queen of England entered Paris the day after I sent my last despatch. They were merely accompanied by their own suites, which are very numerous, and by a brilliant following of English nobility, but without any reception on behalf of his Majesty. This has caused some dissatisfaction. They intended to lodge the Embassy in the suburbs, for fear lest they should meet with some annoyance from the people, on account of their different religion, especially in this season of Lent, during which the English eat all sorts of food; and because rumour has spread that the Embassy is intended to prevent the conclusion of peace, which the people in particular ardently desire. However, as the resident Ambassador objected to the Embassy being left outside the city, the house of the Duke of Montpensier was appointed for them, and at the gates some archers are placed on guard, at the request of the English themselves, to prevent any insult being offered*

* They entered Paris on the 11th.

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them. And certainly, from the murmurs which I hear about me, the smallest excitement might cause a disaster.

I went to visit them, and after formal compliments, the son of the Lord Treasurer, who is supreme head of the Embassy, explained to me the objects of their coming. He said that on hearing of the negotiations for peace the Queen, who was quite indifferent to peace or war, resolved to send an Embassy, on the King's express invitation to her to unite with him in this matter, especially as he thought that the Cardinal Archduke would not be averse from an agreement with the Queen. She, as a good Christian, deprecates the shedding of blood, and so, if fair and honourable terms are offered to her, she will not refuse them; nay, she is ready to lay aside her desire for vengeance, and to forget the injuries inflicted not only on her kingdom and on her subjects but also on her person. It is not to be supposed, however, that she is suing for anything: she merely takes a part in the proceedings on a formal invitation. I thanked the Ambassador for what he had condescended to tell me, and replied that I was sure the Queen would act with that prudence which had hitherto sustained her dignity and preserved her noble kingdom from the attacks of powerful arms. *But I am of opinion that this ostentatious readiness to accept the peace is intended to upset the peace both in her own interest and in the interest of others as well.*

Leaving that subject, I informed the Ambassador of the satisfaction your Serenity derived from the promises given in the matter of the English ships which had done so much mischief in the Levant, and that your Serenity was awaiting the fruits of the Queen's favourable attitude. The Ambassador answered that the Queen's intention to please the Republic was beyond all doubt. Orders were given that the moment the accused parties appeared in England they were to be arrested and handed over to justice.

That closed the interview.

They sent a gentleman to return the visit, and to excuse themselves from calling in person, as they had not yet kissed hands. The third Ambassador is dead at Rouen.

Paris, 19th March 1598.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

672. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By the acquisition of Brittany, the King has reduced the whole kingdom to obedience, and there is not now a single one of his subjects who, on any ground whatever, refuses to recognise him as legitimate sovereign. The accord with the Duke of Mercœur was effected by his wife. The Duke renounces all claims on Brittany, and the King pays him two hundred and fifty thousand crowns down, and sixteen thousand crowns a year as pension.

The negotiations at Vervins are entirely suspended for the reasons I have already explained.

Paris, 23rd March 1598.

[*Italian.*]

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March 23.
Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

673. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

An envoy from the Queen of England is here. His mission is to negotiate about the recent proclamation to the damage of English commerce. This was published to please the Spanish, but as there is now some coldness with Spain,* it is supposed that the proclamation will be modified or suspended. Besides, it is recognised that the Queen of England's counter proclamations are damaging to many German subjects.

Prague, 23rd March 1598.

[*Italian.*]

March 31.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

674. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As the English Ambassadors refuse to treat with any Minister, but are resolved to negotiate directly with the King, after spending six days in Paris they have set out for Brittany, intending to return here. *They are all the more willing to take this journey as they will find the Duke of Bouillon in those parts, and he, for his own reasons, will do all he can to help them.*

M. de Maisse preceded them by two days. He was commissioned by the King to wait here till he had found out their intentions. The Flemish Ambassadors, we hear, have passed Dieppe escorted by sixteen men of war. They, too, are making for Brittany.

The Cardinal Legate is awaiting with intense eagerness the return of the courier from Spain. He is resolved to see the end of the business as soon as possible, for he thinks that it does not comport with his honour to be waiting so long on the frontier. The King will be obliged to declare his intention either for peace or for war.

There is a rumour that the Low Countries are making great preparations, so that they may be ready, in case, by the conclusion of the peace, they should find themselves forced to a single-handed conflict with the King of Spain.

Paris, 31st March 1598.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 2.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

675. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ministers declare that the Cardinal has ample powers to negotiate, the difficulty lies in the conditions. Here they would raise no objection to the inclusion of the Queen of England and the States in either a truce or a peace, but she must give up all the strong places she holds on this side of the Channel. The Queen will very likely object to this, as she has no confidence in the Spaniards, and these places are the doors through which England might be attacked.

* The Emperor was jealous of the cession of the Netherlands made by Philip in favour of the Cardinal Archduke Albert.

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As to Calais the Spaniards insist that the decision should be left to the Pope. To this the French will not consent, chiefly at the instigation of the Queen. Orders are issued to try a middle course.

Madrid, 2nd April 1598.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

676. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia told me that there was news from England that one hundred and fifty ships, including forty Dutch, were going to put out to sea, and that in order to raise troops the Queen was pressing every fifth man. The departure from here of the eighteen ships for Brazil has been suspended. A great ship with eight hundred troops has been made ready to go to Malacca. They fear this year that the English designs are directed against the Indies.

Madrid, 4th April 1598.

[*Italian.*]

April 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

677. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The courier with the answer from Spain has passed through Paris on his way to Vervins. The Commissioners can now resume their deliberations.

Paris, 8th April 1598.

[*Italian.*]

April 10. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

678. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Hassan, Grand Vizir, has been suddenly deposed and sent to the Seven Towers. His house and goods have been sealed up. The cause was his tyrannical nature, and the fact that he concealed from the Grand Signor the events in Hungary. Mehmet has been made Grand Vizir in his place.

The Ambassador was for some time in doubt whether Sciavus Pasha would not return to his post of Grand Vizir.

[*Italian.*]

April 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

679. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The fleet for Brazil had hardly passed St. Catherine's when news came that the Earl of Cumberland (*Tamurlan*) was at hand with twenty-three sail, lying-in-wait to plunder the ships whose cargoes were worth two millions. Orders from his Majesty were awaited.

Madrid, 18th April 1598.

[*Italian.*]

April 20. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

680. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Hassan Pasha, late Grand Vizir, has been put to death at the Seven Towers by order of the Sultan.

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Mehmet, the present Grand Vizir, gives out that he will not accept presents.

The French Ambassador has begged the Venetian Ambassador to write to the Republic requesting it to obtain pardon for M. de Lancome from the King of France.

[*Italian.*]

April 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

681. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Tassis and the Marquess of Lulleri, envoy of the Duke of Savoy, have returned to Vervins. The Cardinal Legate has sent a messenger to Brittany to urge the King to come to the conclusion of peace now that he has heard all that the English and Flemish envoys have to advance in their own interests.

They were presented by the Marshal de Bouillon, and have had several interviews with the King separately and also with the Council. No one knows what the King's intentions are.

Paris, 22nd April 1598.

[*Italian.*]

April 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

682. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The East India fleet is blockaded in the port of Lisbon, and we are informed that the Dutch have given a large present to the Earl of Cumberland on condition that he prevents it from leaving that port, in order that their ships, which are already despatched to the East Indies, may meet with fewer obstacles to the completion of their designs. The merchants who had put their money on board ship have now withdrawn it in despair of the fleet sailing this season.

The English ships are lying three leagues off Lisbon, towards Cape St. Vincent. They capture all the shipping that passes, and have just seized some hulks (*urche*) from Flanders, and four Aragonese, laden for the most part with grain. On board these Aragonese were one hundred bales of Venetian goods which had been transhipped at Cadiz from a Ragusan which was placed under embargo.

In Lisbon the cries of the people rise to heaven at the sight of their trade hampered and their city, so to speak, blockaded, and in straits for corn; besides, worse is expected unless vigorous steps are taken.

News has been received that about twelve English ships have been to Evizza and have seized a quantity of salt, so it seems that the English, not content with piracy on the high seas, are thinking of the Mediterranean too, where they have begun to make themselves felt.

Madrid, 24th April 1598.

[*Italian.*]

May 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

683. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has been very ill, with fever. The doctors, with the approval of Dr. Mercato, first physician, who has always avoided

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bleeding, resolved to draw four ounces. It flowed freely, but the King felt little benefit and had a slight fainting fit. While his Majesty was at the height of his trouble, he remembered the business about the renunciation of Flanders in favour of the Infanta; and on the first day of his mending, impelled by a desire to see the matter finished, or fearing that if he delayed he would not find time to carry it out, and that others would not do so, he caused the deed to be drawn up in French, and in the presence of the Prince, the Infanta, Don Christoforo de Mora, Don Juan d'Idiaquez, the Marquis of Velada, and the President of Flanders, the Prince signed it first in the King's name, and then in his own, and swore on the Gospels and on a crucifix that he would inviolably observe and maintain the provisions of that deed.

Then the President of Flanders went down on his knees to the Princess and asked permission to kiss her hand as his Natural Sovereign. While she was giving her hand, her father desired that she should place it on the President's shoulder, according to the custom of Flanders.

The terms made public are that the King renounces in perpetual fief to his daughter, as her dower, all the Low Countries and the county of Burgundy, retaining for himself the Grand Mastership and headship of the Golden Fleece.

They say that the form of renunciation is carefully drawn up; and that the King, under pretext of preserving the fortresses for the Infanta, intends to keep them in his own hands.

In case the Infanta dies without issue the States are to revert to the Crown of Spain. But if the Cardinal Archduke survives her, he is to remain governor for life. The Prince will give the Infanta his hand as proxy for the Cardinal Archduke, and this ceremony may very likely take place on the 22nd of this month, his Majesty's birthday.

Madrid, 5th May 1598.

(*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*)

May 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

684. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is at Nantes. The Pope has addressed to his Majesty an autograph letter, in which he urges the King to conclude peace. The Ambassadors of England and Flanders do their best to secure the very opposite. From Angers they have set out for Nantes. Until they are dismissed nothing will be known for certain.

Paris, 6th May 1598.

[*Italian.*]

May 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

685. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English ships which were lying off the port of Lisbon have been driven by the north wind towards Cape St. Vincent; all the same the fleet has not had the courage to leave Lisbon, as they are afraid of exposing two millions of capital to a serious risk.

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The English have asked fifty thousand ducats as ransom for the ships and cargo, though they are worth over one hundred and fifty thousand. If the Portuguese will not recover them at that price, the English will likely throw a great part of the grain into the sea.

News has been received that the Queen of England has undertaken the strengthening of the castle at Falmouth*; and also that she will despatch a large fleet, reinforced by the Dutch; but as there are no signs here of any preparations, neither by sea against the English, nor by land against the French, and as their whole attention is absorbed by the marriage, it is likely that they are in possession of good hopes for a peace or a truce.

All the same in Portugal they are exhorted to exercise the militia; and rumour says that Don Emanuel, son of the late Don Antonio, is on board the English fleet. *If the fleet appeared at this moment when the Portuguese are more than usually exhausted and irritated, the danger and the trouble would be doubly great.*

Madrid, 9th May 1598.

(*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*)

May 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

686. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I suspect that the King has dismissed the English and Flemish Envoys, and has sent a courier to the commissioners at Vervins, with a statement of his wishes. Rumour has it that peace is concluded, and that the Cardinal Legate sent a courier at midnight, and with all secrecy, to inform the Pope. He has sent to Paris for provisions to give a banquet to the commissioners. Before saying anything to your Serenity, I sent my secretary to Vervins to discover the truth.

Paris, 13th May 1598.

(*Italian.*)

May 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

687. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

My secretary at Vervins found out what I now report.

On Saturday the 2nd of this month, at three in the afternoon, at the usual place of meeting, three documents were signed by all the Envoys; one of these was presented by the Flemish, another by the Spanish, another by the Ambassador of Savoy. The contents were that within two months the cities of Calais, Ardres, Châtlet la Chapelle, and Doulens are to be restored to the King, and Blauet in Brittany dismantled. During these two months the King is to hold four hostages, two Spanish and two Flemish.

The journey of President Richardot to Brussels was caused by the fact that the King would not come to terms unless his allies were included in a truce for three months at least. The Cardinal Archduke would not consent to this because he had a number of troops ready to fight the States of Holland. The Cardinal Legate accordingly obtained from the King his consent to accept a truce for two months only. The King wishes the treaty kept secret yet, perhaps so as to avoid publishing it in the face of

* *Cf.* Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1598–1601, p. 18.

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the Envoys of his allies. The Spanish, on the other hand, want it published at once. The Princes have a month allowed them to sign the articles. The news has been announced to the King, to Spain, and to Savoy.

Paris, May 13th, 1598.

[*Italian.*]

May 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

688. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Envoys of the States of Holland are here. They declare that nothing will induce them to come to an accord with the King of Spain. They say they are well prepared to resist, having a fleet of upwards of one hundred sail, and their frontier towns are well garrisoned and provisioned. They are confident that the Queen of England will not abandon them, nor will she make peace. She has no reason to do so, as her kingdom is not exposed to the injuries which war usually inflicts. If she were at peace with Spain she would never be free of alarm at the Spanish fleet, which might suddenly attack her while apparently directed against Holland, and she would be obliged to maintain a fleet just the same as if she were at open war. Moreover, it would not be to her interest to see her neighbours reduced. They feel very bitterly that the King of France is going to remain in the confederation for one year only. The Envoys told me what arguments they had used to induce the King to continue in the League; and they explained that the Queen of England had offered to pay for six thousand foot, and the States six thousand and two thousand horse, artillery, and munitions of war, besides eighty ships manned and armed at their own charges.

His Majesty returned a gracious answer, but explained how sorry he was to be unable to second their intentions as the kingdom was unable to support the war any longer; and therefore, to satisfy his subjects, he was compelled to take the steps *to which he was little inclined. They say that the Duchess of Beaufort* and M. de Villeroy have been his chief advisers; and that had the Marshal de Bouillon had more time things would never have reached this pass.*

Finally, the Envoys pointed out to me the reasons which will induce other Princes to support the States of Holland, for it was their opposition to Spain which had prevented the King of Spain from dictating to the world at the present moment, and from making himself Monarch of Europe. They begged for the good will of the Republic. I confined myself to answering in general terms. The Envoys have gone to Rouen, and thence they will go to the coast in order to reach England, where they will await two other Envoys, who are setting out from Flanders. They will all see the Queen, and decide upon what course to pursue.

In order that your Serenity may see what the English have been doing, I enclose a letter from the English Agent, written from Nantes. I beg your Excellencies to observe the utmost secrecy on this and all other information contained in this despatch, so that

* Gabrielle d'Estrées.

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I may be able to retain the confidence which I have gained at so great a price, for the loss of it would be an injury to your service.

Paris, 13th May 1598.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

689. SIR,—I have delayed answering your letter, as I was in expectation that the course of these important negotiations would issue in something definite. As yet, nothing but discussions have occupied one side and the other. But the King, when pressed, has declared that necessity will lead him to peace. To this the States of Holland, when invited to display their views, replied that their position absolutely excluded the idea of peace. The King insisted and said that he could not, without serious risk, change his first opinion, and he has invited the Queen to join with him in accepting peace. The English Ambassador has declined to take any step, for he was commissioned not to move, except in conjunction with the States. For this reason he has hurried his departure, and also in order to inform the Queen how the parties are disposed, and to receive her instructions on this important affair. He is taking me with him that I may bring back the Queen's decision. At present I cannot give you the particulars of what has passed in these negotiations, but as I shall remain in England only three or four days, owing to the haste and the importance of the whole affair, and will then come straight to Paris, I will defer until I can tell you everything by word of mouth on my arrival there.

Meantime I beg you to keep this in your hands a secret; and to preserve me daily in the honour of your gracious favour as him who will ever be, my lord,

Your most humble and most affectionate servant,
THOMAS EDMONDES.

Nantes, the 30th April 1598.

[*French.*]

May 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

690. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have succeeded in finding out some further details about the renunciation. The text was completed in three deeds. In the first the King renounced the Low Countries and the county of Burgundy in the same terms as the Emperor had conveyed them to him; reserving the Grand Mastership of the Golden Fleece, and the claims of the Duke of Burgundy to the crown of France, which title constitutes the pre-eminence of the Golden Fleece. In the second the Infanta accepts the renunciation with all its conditions. In the third the Prince swears to observe the pact. *The object of the employment of three deeds is that the King may be able to publish the first only and to lead the rebels in Flanders to think that the renunciation is absolute and unconditional.*

The fief is a perpetual fief in tail male. Failing legitimate male offspring the fief reverts to the Crown of Spain. If the Archduke

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Albert survives the Infanta he shall remain governor for life. If he predeceases the Infanta she may not marry again nor may she give her daughters in marriage without the consent of the Prince her brother. His Majesty reserves five of the principal strong places, in which he will put a garrison. Until matters settle down the King is bound to maintain order at his own charges.

After the deed of renunciation had been signed the marriage contract was also signed.

The King in honour of the occasion has allowed the ladies of the court to appear in his chamber masked. There was a great festival, and Don Juan d'Idiaquez told me that the King, though in bed, gave his orders and directed the ball with as quick and lively spirit as if he had been at the head of his army. He insisted on seeing the Prince dance, but with the Infanta, not with any of the ladies, as he showed a modest wish to do.

Madrid, 17th May 1597.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

691. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

While writing this despatch news has been received from the Cardinal Archduke that he has agreed with his mutinous troops for a payment of five to six hundred thousand ducats, and he insists that larger sums must be sent. He is in the greatest straits for money.

The Duke of Mercœur is also asking for money. It will be as much as he can do to recover the money he has advanced to pay the garrison of Blauet.

From England we learn that the Queen is fortifying the most exposed points along the shore. She has recalled eight ships from France. As the Earl of Cumberland has been seen no more off Lisbon some Flemish hulks (*urche*) have sailed for Flanders and for Brazil. The Portuguese fleet, however, has not had the courage to weigh anchor as yet, for they are not convinced that the Earl is really gone for good.

Madrid, 19th May 1598.

[*Italian.*]

May 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

692. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal Archduke has sent a Spanish gentleman called Don Luis de Vanegas to the King. He will, after seeing the King, go on to Blauet to take the troops to Flanders.

The hostages have arrived; for Spain they are the Admiral of Aragon and Don Luis de Velasco; for the Flemish the Duke of Ærschot and Count Aremberg. Troops are said to be massed with a view to crushing the rebel States.

The peace is unpopular with three sorts of men, the soldiers, the financiers, and the Huguenots. The rest show signs of indescribable joy.

Paris, 20th May 1598.

[*Italian.*]

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May 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

693. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ministers here declare that the question of peace with the King of France is well forward, but they will not condescend upon particulars.

The Cardinal Legate in France writes to the Nuncio in the same sense and adds that there is no talk of the Queen of England nor of the States, but the Duke of Savoy will be content. Sig. Molio, secretary of the Duke, declares that a basis for agreement has been discovered, and that the Spanish will surrender all the strong places in Picardy, and even Calais; he adds that the position is such that they can hardly draw back now. The Cardinal has received, from point to point, sufficient powers. The Empress, however, has declared that she does not consider it settled yet. With England and the States they are negotiating for a suspension of arms, and, out of regard for the King's honour, there is a proposal to authorise the Archduke to conclude the treaty in his quality of Lord (Signor) of the Low Countries. It is said to be already concluded for four months. The (courier) has come with a passport from the King of France, and under obligation to return within a month. They are hastening to prepare a reply. The general opinion is that the peace is necessary, but that its terms are hardly honourable to the King and its endurance very doubtful. For the French will accept the peace in order to recover their strong places and then break it again when it suits them. It is also said that peace was far more necessary with the States than with France, and still more necessary with the Queen of England. But with her the peace cannot be concluded, for she refuses to restore to the Spanish the places she holds, and the King can accept no other terms.

Madrid, 25th May 1598.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 25. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

694. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Envoy sent here to negotiate about the prohibitions upon English commerce has not made any way as yet, thanks to the representations of the Cardinal Archduke and the Spanish Ambassador. He is much annoyed and shows copies of a letter written to the Emperor by the Queen of England and couched in very strong terms, declaring that to please the King of Spain his Imperial Majesty is doing himself an injury.

Prague, 25th May 1598.

[*Italian.*]

May 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

695. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As soon as the Envoys of England and the States of Holland had left this kingdom, his Majesty published the peace in Brittany. When this was known at Vervins the Cardinal Legate also allowed it to be understood that it was concluded.

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The King is expected here in three or four days, on his way to Amiens, where the oath will be taken and hostages given, and where the Cardinal Legate will go to meet him.

The English Agent (Thomas Edmondes) has come back in haste from England. He goes in great agitation to the King, for he affirms that the King had passed his word to the Ambassadors that he would conclude nothing with Spain until the Queen's answer was brought back, and a period of forty days was allowed for that purpose. The Agent will inquire whether special envoys should be sent, whether they will discuss together or separately, and finally whether there is still time for his mistress to take a part in the negotiations. The Agent himself gave me this information. (E ritornato in diligenza d'Inghilterra l'Agente di quella Regina, et se ne va al Rè con molta alteratione di animo, perche afferma, constantamente che sua Maestà haveva data la parola alli Ambasciatori con promissione di non concluder alcuna cosa con Spagnoli se prima non le fosse riferita l'intentione della Regina, per ciò le haveva prefinito il spatio di 40 giorni per ricever la risposta. Dimanderà l'Agente se si doveranno mandar persone expresse per la trattatione, se si parlerà unitamente o separatamente, et in somma se vi è più tempo per la sua Regina d'introdursi in questi negotii. Li quali particolari mi son stati conferiti da lui medesimo.) He tells me that in England they are in great perplexity as to what they should do. The people are very desirous of peace, for it is they who live on navigation and trade, and so feel the burden of these times. They are shut out from Spain, and from the ports of the empire on the ground of their seizure of vessels carrying provisions to Spain. Longer voyages, such as to Italy and elsewhere, are possible only for those who have capital. The English accordingly are reduced to get their goods through Holland and Zealand. The Dutch, though at war, are not excluded from trading with Spain, and so they have amazingly increased their wealth. The Irish rebellion, which is fomented by many sovereigns and by her own subjects, is causing the Queen anxiety, and will require vigorous action and much money. The treasury is in such a state that it will take time to recover. Besides all these considerations there is at present facility for a peace with Spain, for as to the places which the Queen holds in Flanders, she holds them merely as security for money advanced and will give them back the moment she is paid.

On the other hand, there is this important reflexion that if the States of Holland are deprived of the support of two great sovereigns they may succumb, to the irreparable damage of others, especially their neighbours, not so much because they have not strength to resist, but because they may be terror-struck and rush to make peace on their own account. Their example might be followed, *and thus the King of Spain would become the master of the States of Holland without fighting.* These are the grave thoughts which occupy the mind of the Queen. They would be less serious if she were certain that the renunciation of the Netherlands to the Archduke and his marriage would really take place as the

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Spanish say. But she fears that before alienating those provinces they will do all they can to reduce them to obedience.

Paris, 27th May 1598.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

696. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Agent has had an audience of the King, and left at once for England. They say special envoys will be sent to negotiate a peace with the King of Spain.

Paris, 3rd June 1598.

[*Italian.*]

June 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

697. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As yet the Ministers are very reserved on the subject of the conclusion of the peace with France. They say the French desired to postpone the publication of the peace for a month, which expired on the 2nd inst. The King of Spain is extremely angry that in spite of this the French have actually published the peace and printed the terms before he had signed. His Majesty's signature was forwarded quite lately by the same courier who brought the news that the Cardinal had reached an accommodation. Peace must be proclaimed here immediately as well as in France and by the Cardinal Archduke. Don Juan d'Idiaquez told me that that would take place as soon as a certain answer they were awaiting should arrive. *This is supposed to be the signature of his most Christian Majesty; for the French insisted on seeing his Catholic Majesty's signature first.*

I enclose the terms of the peace. *They were communicated to me by the Nuncio who had them from the Cardinal Legate.*

Here they await with vehement desire the conclusion of an accord with the Queen of England and with the Flemish rebels; for without this the peace with France would bring but little profit. Don Juan d'Idiaquez tells me that the King of France is extremely anxious that England and the States should share the benefit of this reconciliation, and says "Dimidium facit qui bene cœpit." A Minister of great importance tells me that the Queen having done all she could to hold back the King of France, even to the length of threatening war, he replied that "he wished to free himself first "from the lion's paws and then he could easily protect himself "from the cat's claws."

(Qui si aspetta con vehementissimo affetto che segua medesimamente accordo con la Regina d'Inghilterra, et ribelli fiamenghi, poiche senza di questo quello con Francesi apportarebbe poco giovamento; et il Signor Don Giovanni predetto mi disse che il Rè di Francia mostrava anchor' lui molto desiderio, che questi altri potentati godessero della reconciliatione con dire Dimidium facit qui bene cœpit habet (sic). *Et in oltre ministro principalissimo mi ha raccontato, che havendo la Regina col mezzo*

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de' suoi Ministri fatto ogni cosa possibile per ritirarne sua Maestà Christianissima, fin col minaciar di farle la guerra, lei haveva risposto, che prima voleva liberarsi dalle mani del leone, et che poi facilmente si diffenderebbe dalle ungie della gata).

I understand that the King intends, if matters in Flanders settle down, to bring both the Cardinal Archduke and his cousin who is destined to marry the Infanta here, and to celebrate both marriages.

Madrid, 11th June 1598.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

698. The TERMS of the PEACE.

The Spanish to restore all strong places occupied in France, within the period of two months, which will expire on July 2nd. Up to that date the Queen of England and the Low Counties shall be free to come in.

The fortress of Blauet to be demolished.

All old claims suspended for the present.

The Duke of Savoy shall be included on condition that he restores Bera and some other places.

The question of the Marquisate of Saluzzo shall be referred to the Pope.

[*Italian.*]

June 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

699. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A short way out of Lisbon the English have sunk two great ships of one thousand two hundred tons each. They were come from Ferrol for provisions for the Armada. The English number only thirty-five sail, but they succeed in harrying the coast. The West India fleet has not dared to sail.

Madrid, 11th June 1598.

[*Italian.*]

June 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

700. AGOSTINO NANI and FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I, Soranzo, made my entry into Madrid yesterday.

The movements of the French on the borders of Catalonia towards Perpignan have ceased, as a result of the conclusion of peace. The French have surrendered Opouls le Fort (*Opolo*); although, before arms were laid aside, skirmishes took place with the loss of many lives.

Madrid, 13th June 1598.

[*Italian.*]

June 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

701. AGOSTINO NANI and FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Every day an answer is expected to the message which conveyed the signature of his Catholic Majesty to the peace with the King of France, for they are anxious to know what the consequences of

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this peace will be. Besides the doubt as to the action of the Queen of England, they are afraid of the part the States may play, and especially Holland and Zealand, who have openly declared that they will not hear of any accord. It seems, however, that Gueldres and Friesia show some disposition for an accord, and that they have announced to the islands (Holland and Zealand) that they do not intend to serve as bulwarks to them against Spain. All the same it is obviously difficult to come to any agreement with Gueldres and Freisia without the consent of Holland and Zealand, upon whom all their traffic depends. Besides, Holland and Zealand could easily harass the others, while Spain could hardly help them, for the Spanish have no forts on the Rhine. The Cardinal has sent persons to dismantle Blauet.

Madrid, 26th June 1598.

[*Italian.*]

June 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

702. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Signor Hieronimo Gondi, and the King of Scotland's Ambassador, the Archbishop of Glasgow,* came to visit me. *The Archbishop is acting for the King, though a heretic, with the consent of Rome; and his business is connected with the succession to the throne of England, and hopes that the King may declare himself a Catholic.*

Paris, 26th June 1598.

[*Italian.*]

June 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

703. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Pope has not quite given up his belief that the Queen of England has listened with satisfaction to the ministrations of a certain hermit who spoke to her of the Catholic faith. The hermit is thought to be an Irishman (*Herlandese*) who has passed an exemplary life. He has frequently seen the Queen, and even admonished her in the presence of her nobles; exhorting her to change her life and habits. This has amazed every one, for hitherto her Majesty has hated the Catholics, and has had to force herself to attend the sermons of her own ministers.

The well-known good fortune of the Pope induces him to hope for excellent results from this attitude of the Queen.

Ferrara, 26th June 1598.

[*Italian.*]

July 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

704. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The President Richardot and the Audientiary have left. Before their departure information was sent from the States of Holland and laid before the King by the Marshal de Bouillon, that a plot to murder Count Maurice had been discovered and that the assassin, under torture, had declared that the President Richardot had suborned him to commit the deed. The President strenuously denies the accusation. The Queen of England has sent an envoy

* James Beaton.

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to the Low Countries to discover what their intentions are. For although she was disturbed at first on learning the ratification of the treaty, yet she is now inclining her mind to the conclusion of a peace with the King of Spain; and it may be looked for shortly, so the President Richardot gave us to understand.

His Majesty has been informed by the English envoy, who has just returned from England, that this is the state of the Queen's mind. The King and his ministers use favourable expressions towards the envoy, and seek to justify their past actions; they especially plead necessity, for the smallest hitch would have upset everything, and it was impossible to delay the conclusion for fear lest the thread might snap. All the same the King promises to use his best efforts to bring about an accommodation with the King of Spain, to which he admits that he is bound, not merely out of gratitude for aid rendered to him in his sorest need, but also from reasons of State; for it would not suit France to see England in the hands of Spain.

And in order that the Queen may approach the negotiations without any kind of hesitation, and without fear of being duped, as she says she was on other occasions, the King has shown to the English envoy the powers conferred upon the Archduke which enable him to negotiate and to conclude anything he sees fit in this connection. And thus the tempers, which were somewhat ruffled, are being smoothed down. The Queen, however, has no intention to precipitate matters. She intends to deal with the question as becomes her dignity, her reputation, and her advantage. She declares she will not abandon the States of Holland if they will accept the terms which she considers most opportune in the circumstances. This they will probably do, as we already begin to hear some rumour of it.

Paris, 3rd July 1598.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

705. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have been annoyed at my inability to procure the terms of the treaty of peace; but neither through the Legate nor through M. de Villeroy was it possible. At last hearing that the *Grand Ecuyer was to be sent to Spain with the articles*, I succeeded, through the man who has charge of his papers, in procuring a copy. The Count of S. Pol, as governor of Picardy, has gone to receive the strong places, to be consigned by Spain. Ten companies of French were to enter Calais yesterday. The Spanish garrison of Ardres, to the number of one thousand foot and three hundred horse, as well as the garrison of Doulens, numbering three hundred foot, have both mutinied. Owing to the disbanding of the troops we hear of many murders, and the public roads are not safe, though justice is rigorously enforced.

Paris, 3rd July 1598.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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1598.
Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

706. The ARTICLES of the TREATY of VERVINS.

The Queen of England is mentioned in the preamble. The King of Scotland is included in the treaty as an ally of Spain and of France.

All others may be included on the joint consent of France and Spain, provided that they declare their wish within six months from the publication of this treaty.

At Vervins the 2nd of May 1598.

[*Italian.*]

July 5.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

707. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Ambassador Nani left on the 3rd of this month. The King, and Prince, and Ministers have gone to the Escurial, against the wishes of the doctors, who always dread a journey for the King. But when I had audience of His Majesty I was surprised to find him looking so well.

Madrid, 5th July 1598.

[*Italian.*]

July 6.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

708. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English ships under the Earl of Cumberland, which have so harassed the coasts of Portugal during these last few months, are still there. They have recently captured four hulks (*urche*) bound for Aragon with grain. The five large ships which were destined for the East Indies with troops and munitions have not sailed; they still remain in the port of Lisbon, kept there by fear of the enemy; and indeed the King has given orders that they are not to sail this year.

It seems that the peace is not universally popular here; the surrender of so many strong places is criticised as unworthy of the dignity of this crown. The better informed, however, are aware that in '59 the same course was taken, though then the Spanish had won many more victories than they have in this war.

Every one awaits the decision of the Queen of England and the States; for since they are reduced to making peace they would like to restore complete quiet to this kingdom. The King thinks of nothing but how to leave his son free of embarrassments; and he is extremely desirous for peace.

Madrid, 6th July 1598.

[*Italian.*]

July 9.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

709. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King had resolved to set out for Segovia on Monday next in order to visit a beautiful building he has erected there; he took his decision in spite of a well-known prophecy which said that he would die on a journey. Last night, however, a severe attack of gout made him change his plans. His illness is not so great in

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itself, but these journeys which he insists on taking keep his suite in terror.

The delay in the arrival of a courier from the Cardinal is attributed to the fact that they are waiting so as to enclose the decision at which both the Queen of England and the States have arrived at.

A ship has reached the port of San Sebastian. They fell in with some English at sea, who asked whither they were bound; when they said for Spain, the English answered "A good journey to you. We shall soon be friends, for our Queen is going to make peace, and we are all longing for it."

They say that the King of Denmark has sent an Ambassador to England, and if the Ambassador is not enough he will go himself, to urge the claims of the King of Scotland to the throne. The King of Denmark has declared that if peace is made he will ask the King of Spain to use his good offices for the same purpose.

Madrid, 9th July 1598.

[*Italian.*]

July 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

710. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

We hear that the Estates of Holland are to meet presently in order to consider their answer to the Queen of England; and to settle whether they shall treat for peace or continue the war.

Paris, 11th July 1598.

[*Italian.*]

July 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

711. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The courier from the Cardinal Archduke arrived here, at last, on the 13th. He brought news of the publication of the peace in Brussels and in France, and details of all that took place in Paris when the King received the hostages, and swore the articles, and of the rejoicings which they made.

Here there are no signs of rejoicing; nor has the peace been even published, nor will it be. The Ministers declare that there is no need to publish the peace, as war was never declared. As I informed your Serenity, the peace is not so universally popular, especially among the grandees, who consider the conditions too unfavourable for Spain. For example, when I asked the Count of Fuentes if the peace would be solemnly published at this Court, he replied, "It will not be published at all; neither solemnly nor otherwise, for we are ashamed of it; and it was concluded by those who don't understand the use of arms."

Madrid, 19th July 1598.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

712. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

We have seen a letter from the Marquis d'Havre,* one of his Majesty's principal Ministers in Flanders, declaring that there is

* Charles Philippe de Croy.

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good hope that the States will lend an ear to terms of accord, for they find themselves entirely abandoned by the Crown of France, and are greatly alarmed lest they may lose the protection of England. But although the Marquis holds out this hope, he does not give it as certain until he sees what course the Queen of England will adopt. It seems that she has sent to ask the advice and the opinion of the King of France. Here they are afraid that his most Christian Majesty may be the medium of this accord; this is all the more likely as there are fresh outbreaks in favour of the nomination of the King of Scotland as heir to the throne. The King of Denmark is supporting the claim of the Scots King. The Ministers here only say that if the Queen wants a peace she will find it. The Spanish certainly desire it, if only to free themselves from the continual mischief which is wrought by the English vessels on the Portuguese coast, and the damage done to the India shipping. The Earl of Cumberland has, quite recently, seized some spice ships making for Lisbon. There is also another serious difficulty before them, namely, that the Dutch are carrying on the East India trade, and bring merchandise straight to the Low Countries without recognising customs dues nor any superiority in those parts. This would disappear if an accord were made, for in the act of renunciation in favour of the Infanta, the East India trade is absolutely prohibited.

Madrid, 22nd July 1598.

[*Italian.*]

July 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

713. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has resolved to send an Ambassador resident to England. It is thought that the brother-in-law of M. de Maisse will be chosen.

The Envoy of the Queen of England in Holland will return home, and the States will send three representatives to urge the Queen to continue the war, as in her councils there are not wanting those who recommend this course, chiefly the Earl of Essex, who has the military command; but the Lord Treasurer is opposed, and, more important still, the Queen herself is inclined to peace as she desires to settle the affairs of her kingdom.

Paris, 24th July 1598.

[*Italian.*]

July 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

714. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has ,been troubled by the gout and a little fever, but they are past. The idea of the journey to Segovia has returned, and it is said that the marriage of the Infanta may take place there where his Majesty himself was married to his German Queen.

Madrid, 27th July 1598.

[*Italian.*]

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1598.
Aug. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

715. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is suffering from the gout and, what is worse, from fever, which has become a double tertian, never leaving him quite free. They do not show any grave alarm here.

The Nuncio tells me that at the Escurial they are highly pleased with the news that the King of France has set the hostages at liberty on the restitution of Calais. In this he has displayed great generosity.

They have put off the Fair at the Escurial on S. Lorenzo's day, so as not to disturb the King.

Madrid, 2nd August 1598.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

716. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Envoy came to see me. I raised the question of the damage which English ships were doing at Zante and in other places; and inquired if any steps had been taken to punish the corsairs. He replied that he considered the episode closed, for at the time he was in England the Lord High Admiral had given satisfaction to Signor Giovanni Basadonna, who is at present in London. I, however, suspect that this answer was given to avoid coming to any resolution, and thinking that, in this affair of the safety of the navigation, the question should not be shelved in this way, I urgently begged him to write again; pointing out that this insistence was quite as much in the Queen's interest as in that of your Serenity, with a view to keeping the navigation free for the benefit of both parties. He promised to do as I wished. I hope that at this juncture especially the answer will be favourable, for at present the English are excluded from trade in the Empire; and I hear that the Emperor has dismissed the agent sent by the Queen to secure free trade in those parts.

The Envoy told me that the three representatives of the States of Holland are sent to England with a double commission, the one to persuade the Queen of England to continue the war against the King of Spain, the other to induce her, if she is determined to make peace, to do nothing prejudicial to the States in the matter of the fortresses which she holds as security for money advanced to the States. They offer to pay a part of that debt at once, and the rest in time, in order that the fortresses may be consigned to them. They are to point out to the Queen that she most certainly ought not to hand them over to Spain, both for her honour's sake, by which she sets great store, and also for reasons of State, which forbid her to place a sword in the hands of those who some day may be able to do her a great injury. I inquired how much the debt might be; the agent said that it amounted to three millions of gold, but that the States claimed that a third part should be cancelled. He also told me that the Earl of Essex, who is the chief supporter of the war, had left Court in some anger, but returned again. Although no decision has been reached as yet, still he holds for certain that the peace party will

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win. Envoys will soon be sent to the borders of Flanders where they will meet the Envoys of the King of Spain, and some representatives of his most Christian Majesty, namely, M. de Bellièvre and M. de Sillery, as the King has promised. He added that the Spaniards were greatly desirous of peace; and in order to drive her towards it they do all they can to annoy her everywhere, as, for example, by causing the prohibition of English commerce throughout the Empire—an act entirely due to them, and by fomenting the troubles in Ireland, and such like proceedings. In conclusion he remarked that when once the Envoys met the peace ought to be established in a few days, as very few points of difficulty present themselves.

Paris, 2nd August 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

717. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has been in constant pain from the gout and fever, which attacks in paroxysms every day. The doctors are much alarmed. The gout settled at last in the knee and it swoll. As the part is very sensitive his Majesty suffered great and continual pain. The consultations between his physicians in ordinary and others specially called have been many; they finally resolved to make incision, although they took the step in great dread of the results, either from the acute pain or from other consequences. The cut was made, however, and a large quantity of matter like plaster of Paris passed out. The King is relieved, though the fever continues. All the same everyone has more hope of a favourable issue than dread of a fatal one.

The military movement in Flanders leads to the fear that the States will not make peace so easily, and, therefore, no more will the Queen of England, for the interest of one and of the other are so closely allied. The States will not be alarmed about the forces of the King of Spain so long as they have the protection of England, nor the Queen as long as Holland is not subdued.

Madrid, 7th August 1597.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

718. FRANCESCO SORANZA, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE AND SENATE.

The King is worse; after the operation the fever, instead of decreasing, has increased. The cause of the fever must therefore be something other than the swelling of the knee. The King received the viaticum last night, and the doctors have told him quite frankly, that he should ask for extreme unction whenever he thinks the moment come.

Madrid, 8th August 1598.

[*Italian.*]

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1598.
Aug. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

719. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King continues extremely ill; the fever is continuous and with violent paroxysms; his strength is failing. Everyone is in alarm and the doctors frankly declare that they have little more hope, on this account everything is at a standstill. Nothing is spoken of, nothing done, the eyes of all are fixed upon the issue. For though it is generally believed that few changes in government will be made, yet as a young and high spirited Prince will mount the throne, everyone is absorbed in discussing what will be the upshot of so grave an event. The topic and even the recollection of the peace grow cold; the same of the marriage. Moreover they say that the Princess herself has a quartain fever. She is the fourth of four sisters intended in marriage to the Prince. The first two died when the marriage was to have taken place, the third fell sick and was unable to marry; this is the fourth, and may God protect her.

There is news from Flanders that the Archduke has taken up arms to attempt Ostend, though with but slight hopes of success, and the Queen of England has sent six thousand infantry to help the rebel States, as well as money and exhortations to hold out. She promises not to abandon them; nor to desert them for any consideration that might be offered to her.

The sailing of the Turkish fleet makes them fear to expose the shores of Italy to an attack from Cicala, by withdrawing the galleys to act as an escort to the Princess.

Off Lisbon some English vessels have captured a Portuguese of five hundred tons, with a very rich cargo. A very large ship, with a cargo worth two millions, belonging to the Crown, has been burned at sea sixty miles from Lisbon. And they say, quite openly, that if peace is not made with England, and things are governed as badly as they are at present, the whole commerce will be ruined.

Madrid, 12th August 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

720. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Carlo Doria has arrived to-day from the Escurial. He says the King is as bad as he can be; though they will not let the news leak out. The fever is continuous and violent, and his strength very low.

Madrid, 12th August 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

721. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

They say that the fever paroxysm of yesterday was much milder; and that the King has had some good rest. He has asked the

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Nuncio to sing a pontifical mass to-morrow, the Assumption of the Virgin.

Madrid, 14th August 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

722. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The fever still continues. The gout has attacked the King's arm and they are thinking of making an incision there too, but they fear for his life, as his strength fails daily, although his natural constitution still resists the attacks of malady.

A scandal has occurred at Burgos, where the French Ambassador, M. de Belgarde, has arrived. Some of his suite were called Lutherans by the Spanish, and when attempting to avenge the insult with arms, they were overpowered and two were slain. Orders have been issued from the Escurial to hang the insulters and all who had part in the deed.

Madrid, 16th August 1598.

[*Italian ; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Aug. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

723. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I went to an audience of his Majesty, whom I found very tired with his previous business with the Legate, the Scottish Ambassador, and others. I resolved to be brief.

Paris, 19th August 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

724. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is certain that as yet no decision has been reached in England, either about continuing the war or concluding peace. The division in the Council has not permitted the Queen to make up her mind. But a resolution cannot be long delayed now.

Paris, 19th August 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

725. AGOSTINO NANI, retiring Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The slight recovery of the King after the eclipse is attributed to a miracle, for he was touched by a relic brought from Toledo, the finger of S. Alifonso. Fra Francesco, of the barefoot Carmelites, has been sent to the Escurial to pray and read to his Majesty.

The Earl of Cumberland is at the Azores waiting the fleet.

Barcelona, 24th August 1598.

[*Italian.*]

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Aug. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

726. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

We hear that a truce between England and Spain has been concluded. Peace will follow. The Spanish desire it.

Ferrara, 30th August 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

727. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since the date of my last despatch it has always been thought that the King could not last more than three or four days, and yet he has dragged on, aided by the prayers put up for him and by his constitutional strength. That he can hold out against so many ills is considered a miracle. The fever is continuous, and the doctors declare it is phthisical (*et per quello che dicono i medici s'è fatta ettica*). The paroxysms are violent and have reduced his strength, and continue to do so every attack; his vital forces sometimes run so low that his death is expected from moment to moment. But in the intervals between the paroxysms his Majesty, thanks to rest, sleep, and food, recovers sufficiently to resist the new attack. So the days pass in a great fear that he cannot recover; and the news of last night reports him worse.

All this time his Majesty has displayed incredible patience in his acute sufferings caused by the gout and the numerous sores all over him. His courage has never deserted him; he has made himself most familiar, not only with the thought of death, but with the details and the discussion thereof, and with all that should be done after he is gone. He has arranged every detail of his funeral, and has ordered the purchase of a large quantity of black cloth to drape the church of the Escurial. He has caused them to bring into his room and to his bedside a shirt of lead in which he is to be wrapped after he has breathed his last, and a leaden coffin for his corpse when his hour is come. He examined both and caused himself to be measured, and gave orders for the necessary alterations. At the moment when the Nuncio was about to consecrate the Archbishop of Toledo his Majesty sent for him and begged him as the Pope's minister to impart his blessing at this extreme moment of his life.

Three days ago he summoned the Prince and the Infanta to his presence and gave them his blessing in words full of affection. He exhorted them to govern their subjects with love, to administer justice impartially, and to support and defend religion and the Catholic faith with all their might. He gave the prince two sealed packets, with instructions to open them only after his Majesty's death; and he charged him to read, to study, and to observe the contents, as they would prove of the highest value to him, a fact to which his Majesty himself could testify.

The Prince through tenderness shed a few tears, whereupon the King, to avoid the contagion, turned his face away and dismissed the Prince. To secure the observation of his wishes the King has placed in the Prince's service all his favourite ministers, and to make surer he has caused the Prince himself to nominate them, thereby

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pledging him not to dismiss them without necessary and legitimate reason.

In addition to the post of Equerry to the Princess, he has assigned to Don Juan d'Idiaquez, as a help towards expenses, the sum of twenty thousand crowns, and everyone admits that he has fully earned them by his loyal service in so great a ministry, and because he never accepted a gift or a present of any sort.

The King has commanded that the estate of the Duke of Villahermosa, who was executed for the Aragon rising, shall be restored to his heirs. In gifts and in discharge of his conscience, his Majesty, they say, has spent upwards of seven hundred thousand crowns during his illness. A new creation of grandees is hourly expected, so as to please Don Christoforo de Mora; the number will be four or five; and so Don Christoforo will have obtained everything he ever wanted. The Count of Chinchon is appealing to his Majesty's clemency to restore him to favour, and not to leave him a laughing-stock to all the world after so many years' service.

There are not wanting those who say that the Prince will, perhaps, not carry out all these dispositions made by his Majesty's intimates in their own favour, for they are too greedily seeking their own advantage.

Madrid, 31st August 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

728. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Above twenty-four English ships have been sighted off Lisbon in addition to those under Cumberland which are cruising about the Azores. But here little they think and less they do, about this matter, for all attention is devoted to the King. Everything is in confusion. For three days the bakers' shops have been quite empty, but the people make no other demonstration than to crowd to the bakeries with their money in their hand shouting "Bread," "bread."

The King is in such a state that he can neither understand nor provide for affairs. The Prince has no authority, and the King will not divest himself of his dominion and his empire, warned by his experience of that regret, and one might almost say despair, which pursued his father after his abdication. So far from resigning while alive, His Majesty does all he can to rule after he is dead.

Madrid, 31st August 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

729. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The decision of England is expected every moment. The delay is caused by the Queen's desire to consider the matter thoroughly, so that her people shall have no cause to complain; partly, too, because her Council is divided. The States make her great offers if she will continue the war. They promise to pay their debt by assigning her two hundred thousand crowns a year till it is all paid off.

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Besides this they offer troops and ships. They point out, and with reason, that if they are abandoned and fall into the hands of Spain, that will be the death-blow to England. But if the news that the Lord Treasurer is dead, at the age of seventy-seven, be true, that will cause more change than anything else. He was a personage of the greatest weight, had been Councillor for fifty years uninterruptedly under Edward, Mary, and the present Queen. He was the chief advocate of peace, and now that he is gone the Earl of Essex may carry his way.

Paris, 1st September 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 1. Original Despatch. Venetian Archives.

730. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A courier has arrived here from Madrid in ten days. He bears, he says, despatches to the Archduke announcing the death of the King.

Paris, 1st September 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

731. AGOSTINO NANI, retiring Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Letters from Madrid of the last of last month declare that for twenty days his Majesty has been in a desperate plight, quite unable to shake off his infirmity, or even to rise from his bed. The doctors, one may say, keep him alive, but his strength is failing, little by little; the gathering in the knees was very foul. The Doctor Affaro has fallen ill through the stench of the sores, &c., and they are going to pierce the mattresses. His Majesty has told them to give him extreme unction while he is still conscious, and can make the responses. He has made all his dispositions. The doctors have received ten thousand crowns.

Barcelona, 4th September, 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

732. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France to the DOGE and SENATE.

Two days ago they wished to change the King's bed; in doing so he had such a sinking fit that for some time they thought him dead. He recovered, however, but remained so weak that at night they administered extreme unction for the first time. Though very feeble the King was in full possession of his senses, and asked for the cross which his father, the Emperor, held when he was dying. But what was more surprising was that he sent for the Prince and told him to remain during the ceremony, and contemplate this example of mundane misery: exhorting him never to forget, when he had entered on his kingdom, that he too must come to a like pass and must die. The Prince burst into tears, but the King continued to speak calmly in most Christian spirit.

His Majesty continues in this state, neither better nor worse, though it seems that he experienced some relief from the bursting

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of a gathering in his leg yesterday. Everyone says he can only last a few days. He has begged those about him not to conceal his death. All affairs are at a standstill, and Don Christoforo de Mora plucked up courage to ask if it was the King's pleasure that the Prince should despatch business. His Majesty shook his head. The general famine is increasing; they have given leave to everyone to sell at his own price, and prices accordingly are excessive; yet one hears of no riots.

The ship "Pigna" came in sight of Lisbon. Her cargo was rice and was worth forty thousand crowns. She fell in with an English galleon, and fearing that she was a pirate, the "Pigna" lowered her ensign of S. Mark and opened fire. The combat lasted some hours and the "Pigna" was sunk. The crew, who were saved, made an affidavit that they lowered the ensign and opened fire.

Madrid, 5th September 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Sept, 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

733. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The death of the Lord Treasurer is confirmed. The Queen has informed the King of France, in order that he may tell the Archduke, that although she truly desires peace, yet, as the Archduke is on the point of departure for Spain, she will put off negotiations till his return. *This reply is intended to gain time and prolong the negotiations, and I am informed that his Majesty is really pleased; for though he ostensibly favours peace he is secretly of opinion that the continuation of the war is favourable to the stability and repose of France. A minister of importance, discussing the irresolution of the Queen, declared that she can receive no advice from France, since France has accepted the peace; meaning to infer that if any advice were given it would be in favour of war.*

The Earl of Cumberland, with his twenty ships, returned to England last month from the Azores. He has brought in some prizes.

Paris, 9th September 1598.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

734. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is still in his evil plight. The fever never leaves him; his strength is failing, and from hour to hour we expect the news of his death. Yet he retains his consciousness, and his intellect is perfectly clear, as they say is usually the case with those who are dying of a phthisical fever.

They have finally and unexpectedly determined to publish the peace, and have ordered its strict observance, under severe penalties for those who break it. It was published on the ninth of this month, a Wednesday. Six Alcaldes issued from the house of the President of the Council, in the afternoon, and, to the sound of trumpets and Moorish drums, a brief publication was read by a

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minister from a platform all hung with tapestry, which had been raised before the Palace gates. It was read again in the main street, and for a third time before the door of the Church of Our Lady. No other ceremony has been observed, for the peace is far from popular.

Madrid, 11th September 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

735. Terms of the publication of the Peace of Vervins made in Madrid on the ninth of September 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

736. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English continue to keep watch over the route of the India fleet; though when Cumberland learned that the East Indiamen for whom he was waiting had come to port, he drew near the coast of Portugal, and made a junction with the other English, with a view to raiding the shipping. No steps are being taken here. The Infanta is in constant tears, for she feels that she is going to lose a father who has always loved and honoured her to her heart's content. The Prince shows no emotion, neither when his father is better, nor when he is worse. So completely is he master of his feelings, that no one can penetrate, even superficially, his thought. But when he sees his father he is deeply moved, and sheds copious tears.

Madrid, 12th September 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

737. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is dead. His Majesty expired at the Escurial this morning at daybreak, after having received all the sacraments of the church with every sign of devoutness, piety, and religion.

Although change is usually popular, yet nobles and people, rich and poor, universally show great grief.

His Majesty lived seventy-one years, three months, and twenty-four days; he reigned forty-two years, ten months and sixteen days. He was a Prince who fought with gold rather than with steel, by his brain rather than by his arms. He has acquired more by sitting still, by negotiation, by diplomacy, than his father did by armies and by war. He was one of the richest Princes the world has ever seen, yet he has left the revenues of the kingdom and of the Crown burdened with about a million of debts. He owes to his good fortune rather than to the terror of his name the important kingdom of Portugal, with all its territories and treasure; on the other hand, he has lost Flanders. In Africa he has gained Pignon, but lost Goletta. Profoundly religious, he loved

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peace and quiet. He displayed great calmness, and professed himself unmoved in good or bad fortune alike. He had vast schemes in his head, witness his simultaneous attack on England and on France, while assisting his son-in-law to acquire Saluzzo, while attempting to expel the French from Italy, while facing the revolution in Flanders.

On great occasions, in the conduct of wars, in feeding the civil war in France, in the magnificence of his buildings, he never counted the cost; he was no close reckoner, but lavished his gold without a thought; but in small matters, in the government of his household, in his presents and rewards, he was more parsimonious than became his station. He sought aggrandisement for his kingdom at the expense of others; yet he did not hesitate to dismember his kingdom by ceding Siena to the Grand Duke, Piacenza to the Duke of Parma, Flanders and Burgundy to his daughter. He held his desires in absolute control and showed an immutable and unalterable temper. He has feigned injuries, and feigned not to feel injuries, but he never lost the opportunity to avenge them. He hated vanity, and therefore never allowed his life to be written. No one ever saw him in a rage, being always patient, phlegmatic, temperate, melancholy. In short, he has left a glorious memory of his royal name, which may serve as an example, not only unto his posterity and his successors, but unto strangers as well.

The Prince who succeeds him is his only son, born on 14th April, 1578, of his last wife, the German Princess Anna, daughter of the Emperor Maxmilian and the Empress, his Majesty's sister. The Prince was educated by his father in great obedience and piety. He resembles his father. It is difficult to say at present what his views may be; he has always kept them concealed, out of respect to his father. But it seems that he is peacefully disposed, and he has shown himself satisfied with the peace of Vervins. If he has any idea of taking up arms it would be against infidels. He is of an excellent condition, not large, but well formed; a pink and white complexion, a pleasing countenance; with the Austrian lower lip, and his colouring more German than Spanish. Active and graceful in his movements, with exquisite manners, affable, grave, temperate, beloved by those who serve him. Not given to youthful pleasures, to luxury, to anything of bad repute. He is fond of music, of weapons, of horsemanship, and the chase.

His Majesty's favourites are the Archbishop of Toledo and the Marquis of Denia. They will have more to say than anyone else; both are able men, but of little experience. Of the late King's ministers, it is thought that Don Juan d'Idiaquez will remain, because he really deserves it, and perhaps Don Christophoro de Mora may also keep his place.

The King will remain in retreat for forty days.

Madrid, 13th September 1598.

[*Italian.*]

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Sept. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

738. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King's death was announced last night, and to-day the churches have begun the funeral ceremonies, which will last nine days, with continuous prayer and the tolling of bells that never cease day nor night. To-day the King was buried at the Escurial, without any of the usual ceremony, and, by his own orders, without embalming. After the corpse was placed in the leaden coffin the whole Council of State was summoned as witnesses; the coffin was locked and the key taken to the King. The whole nation, men and women alike, are to go into mourning; and those who are too poor to buy mourning are to wear a veil.

The King had hardly breathed his last when the new King confessed and communicated, and then withdrew into a secret chamber with the Marquis of Denia. After a while the King came out and the Marquis was declared a member of the Council of State.

Fifty-eight ships have reached Lisbon. But among them are not the ones which bring the gold and silver. Those were stopped at Havana by orders from Spain, when they knew that Cumberland had sailed towards those waters. The English were not sighted, either because they feared to attack so strong a force or because they have retired towards Cape St. Vincent, to catch the fleet on its way to Seville, where it usually is registered and discharged.

News has been received from England that the Lord Treasurer has died in London. Of all those about the Queen he was the stoutest advocate of peace. They also say that the Queen has given orders that no corsairs are to put to sea without her permission renewed. This leads to the hope that negotiations for peace may make way now, a thing greatly desired by the whole kingdom. The garrison of Blauet has been brought back to Ferrol.

Madrid, 14th September 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

739. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Confirmation of the death of Philip II. sent by the governor of Bayonne. It took place on the nineteenth of last month. But as this news has not been supplemented, there is still a doubt.

Paris, 18th September 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

740. AGOSTINO NANI, retiring Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Your Serenity will have learned from the illustrious Ambassador Soranzo, that at midnight of Saturday the thirteenth and the beginning of Sunday, the King died.

Barcelona, 18th September 1598.

[*Italian.*]

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Sept. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

741. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

While in Portugal they thought that Cumberland was cruising off Cape St. Vincent and waiting for the fleet, news came from the Indies that, on the 15th of June, he had arrived at Porto Rico with twenty-one ships. The island is of great importance as a port of call for the fleets that come from New Spain and Peru. Cumberland landed his men and seized the tower. The town was sacked and yielded a booty of four hundred thousand crowns, for it was full of merchandise. Cumberland is also master of the harbour, which is an excellent one, and able to hold any number of ships. He bombarded the citadel, which, however, held out. The news has caused great sorrow, both for the injury inflicted and because, if the English establish themselves there, they will hamper all the traffic. Besides, this event will disturb the negotiations for peace, though, as Cumberland has been a long time absent from England, he may very well be acting on orders which are very old.

Madrid, 18th September 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

742. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Earl of Cumberland was reported as having returned to England, but it was only a part of his fleet. It is not known where he is. *The Queen will not attempt anything against Spain this year, so as not to render a reconciliation impossible.*

The Dutch Envoys have left England quite content with the Queen's promise to lend them her protection. They trust that this answer will quiet the people and encourage them to remain firm in their refusal to come to terms with Spain.

Paris, 19th September 1598.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

743. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The terms arrived at between England and the States of Holland are these. The previous confederation is confirmed, and the Queen may not treat for peace with Spain without informing the States. The States being debtors to the Queen for eight hundred thousand sterling, which amounts to two million seven hundred thousand crowns, they pledge themselves to payment of the debt in rates of one hundred thousand crowns a year. They bind themselves to pay for one thousand one hundred troops kept as English garrison in Flushing and in Brill; if the Queen wishes to maintain a larger garrison she must bear the cost herself. If England is attacked Holland will furnish five thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry. If England attacks Spain, Holland shall supply forty men-of-war. These are the terms which the Dutch Envoys have undertaken to see ratified within one month. (*L' accordo seguito ultimamente fra la Regina d' Inghilterra et*

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li Stati di Olanda, consiste in questo, che si conferma la precedente confederatione che era fra loro; ne la Regina possi trattar di Pace col Rè di Spagna senza participare con Essi. Et essendo li Stati debitori della Regina di $\overline{\overline{800}}$ *lire di sterline, che sono doi millioni e settecento mille scudi, si obligano alla satisfattione in ragion di cento mille scudi l' anno. Sono tenuti di pagar* $\overline{\overline{1,100}}$ *fanti per le guarnigioni di Inglesi trattenute in Flessinghen et in Bril et se la Regina volesse introdursi maggior numero di gente la satisfacci dei proprii denari. Se fusse assaltato il Regno d' Inghilterra doveranno mandar in soccorso cinque mille fanti et cinque cento cavalli. Dovendosi far impresa contra Spagnoli vi concorreranno con XL^ta^ vasselli da guerra. Questa è la sostanza delli capitoli li quali hanno promesso li Deputati delli Stati di far ratificar nel spatio d' un mese).* I will endeavour to procure a copy of the articles.

The Queen intended to send the Earl of Essex to Ireland to put down the rebellion. He refused on various pretexts. She became exceedingly angry and he retired from Court. He has been recalled, and says he will not return until certain satisfaction is given him. The matter will be accommodated, as he is greatly loved and esteemed by that Princess.

Paris, 26th September 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

744. FRANCSECO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

They have resolved to send thirty ships and six thousand men to recover Porto Rico. Don Diego Brochiero will have the command, and the troops will be drawn from those lately returned from Brittany. They also say that a very large armament is to be prepared in order to attack England if the Queen will not make peace. But, considering how unfortunate previous attempts have proved, it is difficult to understand the grounds on which they base their hopes for success in this attack.

Probably the Council of State wishes to mark its disapproval of past delays and irresolution; and I myself have heard the Adelantado of Castile declare that they would see what the Spanish were worth now that they have a free hand, and are no longer subject to a single brain that thought it knew all that could be known, and treated everyone else as a blockhead. Pray God they don't stir the King up to take some incautious step.

They are thinking of selling a large quantity of jewels, as the gold and silver from the Indies have not arrived. It is all stayed at Havana for fear of English corsairs; and this is enough to show the straits they would be in if the Queen of England succeeded in getting command of those waters. If Cumberland can stay at Porto Rico the danger will be immense.

Madrid, 27th September 1598.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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Oct. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

745. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Of the old Ministers, Don Juan d'Idiaquez is the only one who keeps his place, the Marquis of Denia is aware of his value. News that the Queen of England has entered into a new alliance, offensive and defensive, with the States of Holland, for fourteen years. And the States are bound to consign to the Queen other four strong places in addition to those she holds. This will hasten the expedition for the recovery of Porto Rico, and will exasperate the Spanish more than ever against the Queen.

Madrid, 3rd October 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

746. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Last month, seventy-six ships sailed from Holland. One part steered north, and starting from Norway, they will make, by way of Muscovy and Tartary, for the strait which they discovered three or four years ago, and by which they intend to reach China by a route different from that followed by the Portuguese.

The success of the Earl of Tyrone against the Queen of England, is more important than was at first announced. He was attacking a small town, when a colcnel in command of three thousand men came up to its relief. An engagement ensued, and the colonel was defeated with a loss of two thousand men. The town was captured. This action, important in itself, is even more important from its results, for many waverers have now joined the rebels. The Queen is turning her attention to vigorous measures, with a view to repairing the mischief.

Paris, 10th October 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

747. AGOSTINO NANI, retiring Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As soon as his Majesty heard of the loss of Porto Rico, he gave orders that twenty ships, the remains of last year's Armada, lying at Ferrol, should sail at once. They were to embark the infantry which had returned from Blauet. Don Alonzo de Bazan is to take the command, and if the ministers carry out the orders as the King has issued them, by the end of this month they ought to be in sight of the enemy.

Savona, 11th October 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 17. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

748. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In the matter of a truce with Spain opinions vary; it is thought beneath the Sultan's dignity to write to the King of Spain before receiving letters from him. The negotiations are hampered by the Mufti and the Chief Eunuch, chiefly because they fear that the

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Queen of England will withdraw her friendship if the truce is concluded. This view is fostered by English agents and merchants who use loose and threatening language.

The English are establishing a traffic in the seas and islands belonging to the Republic; and have opened relations with Zante, Cephalonia, and other places. Many of the natives come to Constantinople with English capital, and lodge in English houses. Some English have applied for passports; the Venetian Ambassador in these cases makes difficulties.

17th October 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

749. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Imperial Ambassador has urgently implored the King not to abandon Flanders, although he has renounced it in favour of his sister, but to lend the Archduke Albert all his aid in men and money. He has assured the King that grave troubles are brewing as a result of this recent accord between the Queen of England and the States of Holland. It is impossible for the small forces of the Archduke to hold out long against attacks which kept the King, his father, in such continued trouble. If Flanders is lost, the King runs a great risk of losing the India trade, which is so important for this Crown, and Spain itself will always be exposed to joint attacks from the fleets of the States and of the Queen.

The King returned a gracious answer, and promised that he would do all that was needful. *It is certain that were the deed to do again the alienation of these States would not take place. The grandees openly declare that it would have been better to have given Portugal to the Infanta rather than Flanders, so important do they consider Flanders to be, both on account of the ocean traffic and as a bridle on France.*

Madrid, 23rd October 1598.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

750. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de la Boisiers (de Boisize), brother-in-law of M. de Maisse left last week as Ambassador in ordinary to England.* He is a Catholic and so will have leave to cause Mass to be celebrated in his own house, but he is instructed to allow no strangers to be present without informing the Queen and gaining her consent. She will refuse such consent to her own subjects, but will grant it for all foreigners residing in England for trade or business.

The Earl of Cumberland has reached Spanish Isle, in the West Indies, and has made a rich booty. He captured, by force of arms, St. John of Porto Rico, though at a heavy loss in men. This was a plan designed by Drake, but interrupted by his death. In

* Cf. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1598–1601, pp. 105, 118, 121. He married a daughter of President Harlay.

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England they are manning many ships to send them in that direction. If this be true it cannot fail to greatly injure the King of Spain. The Count of Feyra has put out from Portugal with a view to fighting the Earl of Cumberland.

They are recruiting vigorously throughout England, to raise men to send to Ireland, where the Earl of Ormonde, who is for the Queen, is reported to have defeated the rebels.

Paris, 24th October 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

751. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King will not hear of raising new loans. He says he has found the kingdom burdened by his father to the full, and rather than create fresh debts he will sell his jewels and his trappings. The ships which ought to bring gold and silver have not appeared yet, and it is supposed that they are blockaded by Cumberland in Havana. No news has come from those parts since the fall of Porto Rico.

The Portuguese fleet, which went out to protect the West Indiamen, has captured a single English ship with twenty thousand crowns on board. There is great dread of the effects which the union of the English and Dutch fleets will produce.

Madrid, 24th October 1598.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Nov. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

752. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish Ambassador is advised that the Queen of England's affairs in Ireland are going very badly. She will not easily make peace with the King of Spain.

Ferrara, 1st November 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

753. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A daughter of the Marquis of Denia has married the son of the Duke of Medina Sidonia. The Duke is the King's debtor for one hundred thousand crowns, the remainder of the account for the administration of the Armada of eighty-eight, which was lost in the attack on England. The King has given this credit in a present to the Duke's daughter.

Madrid, 8th November 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

754. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The armament designed for the recovery of Porto Rico will not be sent. Orders have been given that four ships with ammunition

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and sappers shall be despatched, and that the forts are to be put in order. Artillery to take the place of that carried off by the English has also been sent out.

There is great alarm at the prospect of a joint fleet from Holland, Zealand, and England. In that country they are preparing a large armament. Here they deliberate what to do, but settle little. There are difficulties in every case. Only the voice of the Adelantado is heard in disparagement of any forces the enemy may put together. But the truth is they are bound to be alarmed, for the confusion and deficiency discovered on the King's death are quite incredible.

Madrid, 9th November 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

755. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Seeing how slow the Dutch are to open negotiations for an accord, the King has ordered all their shipping to be seized. They require the ships and the men, perhaps for an attack on England.

Madrid, 28th November 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

756. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal of Austria is in very secret treaty with the Queen of England to come to terms. They are desirous to avoid appearing more anxious for this peace than comports with the dignity of the Spanish Crown, and so the negotiations are carried on with the utmost secrecy, though I have had an opportunity to see an abstract of the Cardinal's letter. The Queen lends a more ready ear than ever she did before. No formal steps have been taken as yet, only the original aversion to even listening to proposals for an accord has been surmounted. Preliminaries have been begun, however, and it is thought that the chief difficulty will lie in the four strong places which the Queen holds; Ostend in Flanders, Bruges in Brabant, Brill in Holland, and Flushing in Zealand; but if the parties can agree on other points and are really desirous of peace, a way will be found, and the means to surmount even this difficulty. The States maintain their pertinacious attitude; but if the Queen ratifies a peace they will be obliged to come to terms as well; especially as they are to enjoy the presence of their Sovereigns, and to make submission to Princes of such humanity as are the Infanta and the Archduke. Here, in the meantime, they are unspeakably content with the government of the Cardinal of Austria.

Madrid, 9th December 1598.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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Dec. 21. Original Despach, Venetian Archives.

757. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The plague is raging at Lisbon. Half the population has left the city. The authorities wished to withdraw to the villas, but the King has given orders that they are to remain at their posts. Famine, too, is severely felt; both bread and all other provisions are wanting; and if God should send us a war, which we greatly fear will break out very soon if the Queen of England will not come to terms, this country would be exposed to the most formidable and terrifying scourges that exist.

Madrid, 21st December 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

758. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England's Agent came to see me, and explained that there were two reasons for the delay in the answer to my request about the English ships which had been doing damage last year about the islands belonging to your Serenity; first, that for the last four or five weeks the wind has been contrary for any passage from England to France; and secondly, that the High Admiral has failed to lay his hands on any of those named in the memorial; it being impossible to identify the real owners among such a number of vessels as put out each year. However, if the Venetian Government will give such details as will lead to their recognition, they will most assuredly be punished. The Queen, he says, is very kindly disposed towards the Republic. He told me that the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who had cause to complain of an English vessel, had furnished such details as led to the identification of the true owners.

The Queen, the moment the King's Ambassador in ordinary arrived, appointed her Ambassador to France; and the Agent has informed the King of the fact.

Two Englishmen have just been executed in London. They had attempted to poison the Queen; and were sent on this errand separately, one after another, *by two of the principal Ministers of the late King of Spain.* They had very subtle drugs to ensure the success of their design.*

The booty captured by the Earl of Cumberland in the West Indies is not so great as they at first supposed, and he proposed. This expedition has turned to little profit. He held Porto Rico for ten days, but as he has had no orders from the Queen, nor means whereby to hold it longer, for he was merely a corsair, he was forced to abandon it and to return to England.

The Irish rebels have acquired another part of that island, and at present they are masters of the country. To put them down it is proposed to send the Earl of Essex with the fleet. He, however, makes very high demands, and wishes to be appointed Lord Lieutenant, to be placed at the head of twelve thousand infantry, and one thousand horse, with artillery and ammunition in great quantity,

* John Stanley and William Monday. They intended to poison the Queen's saddle. Cf. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1598, pp. 98, 106–112, 115, 116.

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that the armament shall be recruited every two months by two thousand men, and finally, sound security for all the foregoing expenses. No one knows as yet what the Queen will decide.

The Spaniards, by means of the Cardinal of Austria, leave no means untried to separate the Queen from the States of Holland, and the States from her. They tempt the Queen with offers if she will come to terms; they tell the States that the accommodation with the Queen is in their hands, and that therefore it would be wise of the States to make peace before they are left in isolation, when the terms would be far less favourable.

Paris, 22nd December 1598.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Dec. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

759. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The most recent letters from the Cardinal of Austria do not offer much prospect of an accord with the Queen of England, though he had not quite abandoned all hope.

The Almirante of Aragon is pushing on towards Holland. If an accord is not reached the King has expressed his ardent wish to prepare for war on England.

Don Christoforo de Mora has been forced to yield to his change of fortune and to avoid dismissal he has resigned his post of Grand Chamberlain.

Madrid, 23rd December 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

760. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

While the English in Flanders are holding out hopes that they may be induced to negotiate for peace, *perhaps with the object of checking the preparations for war which are going on here*, news comes from England itself that vigorous preparations are going on there with a view to despatching a powerful fleet to harry this coast of Spain in conjunction with the Dutch fleet. It is the earnest persuasion of the Earl of Essex which has chiefly moved the Queen to this step. Active measures are being taken here, but the plague in Portugal, which is the muster place, will cause a considerable delay. The King is most ardent. The Adelantado of Castile will take the command. They found great hopes upon the diversion which the rebellion in Ireland must cause. That rebellion is spreading rapidly, and if it continues the Spanish expect to be relieved of the danger which at present threatens these seas and these shores.

The King has applied to his subjects for money. The Procurators replied that they would do all that in them lay to meet his Majesty's wishes. They at once promised him an extraordinary donation of one million four hundred thousand crowns, and that they would take into consideration the proper means for raising money. They say that the grist tax (*macinata*) will be applied, and will bring

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in at least three millions a year; and that as it will be employed against England the question of conscience may be waived.

Madrid, 27th December 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

761. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Robert Crichton, Baron Sanquhar* (*Sarchievo*) presented to me your Serenity's letters instructing me to assist him in his object of being employed by his Cesarean Majesty in the present war. The absence of the Court on account of the plague makes all business difficult. I will do what I can.

Prague, 28th December 1598.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

762. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I hear from England that the Queen has given orders to seize all French ships found carrying provisions to Spain provided always that they are so far off the French coast as to leave no doubt about their destination. She has informed his Majesty of her instructions. They hope that some arrangement will be reached on the matter.

Paris, 29th December 1598.

[*Italian.*]

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Jan. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

763. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After hearing of the great preparations in England to furnish a fleet to harass the commerce along the Spanish coast, we learn that a part of this fleet has already put out and has made for the West Indies. As there is no news of the gold and silver fleets, there is alarm lest the English may have fallen in with them.

Orders have been sent in haste to the shore to send out at once the twelve galleons lying in Seville to protect the fleet. They are afraid lest if the Turk makes peace with the Emperor he will send out his fleet to infest the waters of Sicily, Naples, and Barbary to divert the forces of Spain from an attack on England.

Madrid, 2nd January 1598 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

764. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

What his Majesty will do after the marriage is quite uncertain; it will depend upon the news from England and the progress of the preparations there. In the meantime, so as not to remain inactive, they have, in addition to the orders for as large a number of ships as possible, given leave to any and all to fit out buccaneers on their own account. This step is very popular, and the number of volunteers, attracted by the prospect of booty, is great. Federico

* The sixth lord; hanged at Westminster, 1612.

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Spinola has been appointed to the command of twelve galleons which he is building at his own charges.

Madrid, 3rd January 1598 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

765. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have received your Serenity's despatches of November 12th. These ought to have reached me in twenty days instead of in forty-eight. The delay was caused by the want of couriers.

In audience of the King, his Majesty asked for information about the person who had arrived in Venice, and who gave himself out to be the King of Portugal, Don Sebastian. I said I had no information from your Serenity, but that I was convinced this was a repetition of the case of the Emperor Baldwin, who fell in battle against the Bulgarians; after his death an impostor arose in Flanders, who eventually paid the penalty with his life. No one has any positive information on the subject, and every one makes his own conjectures. But the Portuguese especially annoy me with inquiries, and some of them are ready to take horse and to set out for Venice.

Paris, 5th January 1598 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

766. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Holland and the United Provinces have solemnly renewed their oath never to make peace with Spain, but to fight on to the end, even though completely abandoned by the Queen of England. They have increased the ordinary taxation by two hundred thousand crowns a year, and they intend to take the field in force at an early period. They think that the Spanish army can move only slowly for want of money. Archduke Albert is already spending on his journey the money intended for the war next year; he has raised one hundred and twenty thousand crowns before reaching Milan, and as many again in that city.

This week a duel took place at St. Germains between two archers of the Scottish Royal Guard. One was killed, the other seriously wounded.

Paris, 5th January 1598 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

767. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since I last wrote there is no news from England; but preparations continue here, as they are certain they will be called for. The Adelantado will leave one of these days for Portugal to take up his office. The King leaves for his journey to Valencia shortly.

Madrid, 8th January 1598 [m.v.]

[*Italian.*]

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Jan. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

768. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The embargo imposed by the King of Spain upon all ships in the harbours of Portugal is confirmed. This leads to the conjecture that the negotiations for peace with the Queen of England are broken off; and that both powers will arm for war, which may drag other Princes in. The warlike nature of the King of Spain leads the Spanish to expect this issue.

Rome, 9th January 1598 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

769. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A proposal to prohibit English woollen goods, which pass in great quantities into Normandy, Guienne, and Brittany, is before the Council. The English Envoy has presented a memorial couched in language of protest. The memorial loudly complains of the proposed resolution as being injurious to the commerce of both countries and to the friendly relations which at present subsist between them. The injury, it says, will be all the more deadly as it will coincide with the prohibition of English trade in Spain and in the Empire, where the trade ordinarily lay; and if France, the only market left to them, is also closed, the English wool trade which supports so many thousands of persons, will be forced to cease, and these people driven to desperation will take to the sea as so many pirates, to the signal damage of France, and the Queen would not find it in her heart to prevent them. The memorial concludes that such a prohibition can have no other effect upon the minds of the English than to renew the former conviction of the natural hostility which must exist between the two races. These representations have carried such weight that the decision has been postponed.

Paris, 14th January 1598 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

770. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is news just arrived that the Queen of England is very ill of a sore in her breast, and cannot live long. It is understood that she has made the King of Scotland her heir, and has sent a gentleman of her Court to inform him of all he ought to do after her death; especially exhorting him to make no change in religious matters, otherwise he would destroy his own peace and that of the kingdom, because there is nothing that would so much arouse the English, and make them throw off their due obedience as to touch their scruples of conscience.

The Pope has been urged to consider how excellent is the opportunity to succour religion and relieve oppressed Catholics. It is generally thought that no one will mount that throne without a large number of pretenders putting forth their claims; and so they

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advise that some English Jesuit of spirit should go there incognito, and take the risk of observing and reporting all that is going on.

Rome, 16th January 1598 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

771. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day comes news that the fleet has been sighted not far from the shore, and that it has escaped the perils of the English squadron which had sailed to meet it. This causes universal joy.

Madrid, 17th January 1598 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

772. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is a rumour at Court that four thousand Spanish troops have landed in Ireland; if this be true it will greatly encourage the rebels of the Queen. She had not intended to send her troops to Ireland before the spring, thinking that she would not be further molested this winter; but things have turned out differently. The rebels have made such progress that the Queen, they say, holds only the places on the coast. She intended to send the Earl of Essex to Ireland, but her alarm at the prospect of a Spanish attack will make her keep him at home. The new King of Spain is resolved to attack England.

I enclose the terms agreed on between the Queen of England and the States of Holland after the peace of Vervins. It was very difficult to obtain a copy.

Paris, 25th January 1598 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Preceding Despatch.

773. TERMS of AGREEMENT between the QUEEN of ENGLAND and the STATES of HOLLAND.

The States-General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries to all who read or see these presents, greeting,

Seeing that we, on the proposal made in our assembly on behalf of the Queen of England by Sir Francis Vere, knight, and George Gilpin, counsellor, who presented themselves on the 29th of June in Council in virtue of Her Majesty's credentials, dated the seventh of June—have sent our envoys to England, namely George de Duvennarde, Lord of Vuarmont Vuonde, Admiral of Holland, Van Oldenbarneveldt, Lord of Tampel, Advocate General and Keeper of the Seal of Holland and West Frisia, George de Vuarck, Councillor and Pensioner of the City of Middleburg, George de Holtinga, Esquire, Andrew de Hassels, Councillor of Brabant, and have commissioned them in conjunction with Ibois (*sic*, Noel ?) de Caron, Lord of Schondobal, our agent in England, to negotiate with Her Majesty upon the points raised by the said Sir Francis Vere and George Gilpin, and upon some other difficulties which have arisen subsequently to the treaty of 1585, between us and her Majesty, and

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which her Majesty has constantly sought to resolve, to which intent she has frequently approached us by letter and by envoys:—

And seeing that our Envoys have held many conferences with her Majesty's Councillors appointed for that purpose; and with a view to preserving the favour, friendship, and royal graciousness of her Majesty towards our States, and in the desire to give her Majesty every possible full satisfaction:

Our Envoys shall come to terms of accord with her Majesty's Council upon the said points and difficulties, with her Majesty's consent. Our confirmation and final adhesion shall be submitted to her Majesty within one month from the date of the said treaty, and her Majesty's within ten days of the presentation of ours to her, in accordance with the dispositions of the treaty made, subscribed and sealed by her Majesty's Council and by our Envoys on the 6th (which ought to be the sixteenth) of August last; the tenor of which here follows, word for word:

Whereas in the year of our Lord 1585 on the instance, solicitation, and request of the States General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, her Majesty was pleased to concede them some help against their foes, a treaty to that effect was made at Nonsuch on the tenth of August of that year, by which the amount and the manner of that succour were defined. After the conclusion of that treaty some difficulties arose, and though her Majesty frequently pressed for solution of these difficulties on one side and on the other, and opened negotiations both by letter and by Envoys, she never received, neither by letter nor by Envoys, a reply which gave her complete satisfaction:

The States have now sent their Commissioners (as named above) to England to negotiate both upon these difficulties and upon the propositions laid before them by Sir Francis Vere and George Gilpin. The Commissioners have held many conferences with her Majesty's Counsellors appointed for that purpose, and finally the Commissioners for the States, actuated by a desire to preserve the favour, friendship and royal graciousness of her Majesty, have proposed certain terms and offers on their side; but on being approached upon other points they declared that they were not authorised to concede them. Nevertheless in order to give all satisfaction that in them lay they came to the following agreement,—subject to the approval both of her Majesty and of the States, which approval of the States is to be signified to her Majesty within a month of the signing of this treaty, and her Majesty's approval within ten days from the presentation of the approval by the States:

One. The treaty of 1585 is to remain in all its original force and vigour, except such clauses as concern the State, the government or the policy of the said Provinces, as regards the authority of the Governor or Lieutenant-General, and those clauses which shall be either abolished or modified, or which lapse in virtue of this present treaty. But it shall always be understood that her Majesty may continue to appoint a qualified Councillor to the Council of State as long as the war lasts.

Two. The States relying on the benign favour and affection of her Majesty towards the maintenance of the common cause and the

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preservation of the United Provinces, are ready from this time forward to accept the amount of support which it shall please the Queen to send them of her Royal free will. With such help they will, with God's assistance, pursue the war as best they can.

Three. The States General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries will acknowledge within a month from the signature, in sound and legal form and in words which are binding, that they are her Majesty's debtors for the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, payable in the following manner; as long as her Majesty shall be at war against the common enemy, the States shall pay annually to her or her Ministers in the City of London, the sum of thirty thousand pounds sterling, such payments to begin at the close of the month following the conclusion of this treaty; on which day the States shall pay fifteen thousand pounds sterling, and at the end of another three months the remaining fifteen thousand sterling: and subsequently year by year thirty thousand pounds in one single sum at each year's close, until four hundred thousand pounds of the debt have been extinguished.

Four. As to the remaining four hundred thousand pounds, the moiety of the eight hundred thousand pounds, in which the States are debtors, her Majesty's rights as to time of payment, which were defined by the first treaty, shall be in no way affected by this treaty; but her rights are understood to be precisely what they were before this treaty was drawn up. Should her Majesty at any time before or after the complete extinction of the four hundred thousand pounds mentioned in the preceding article, think fit to enter into negotiations for peace with the King of Spain, his heirs or successors, present or to come, or with any one who claims the kingdom of Spain or other kingdoms or the Low Countries, her Majesty shall advise the States in time, so as to allow them to send their commissioners to England to negotiate about the payment of and security for the remaining four hundred thousand pounds, as may suit the condition in which one party and the other finds itself, and also about the restitution of the cities and fortresses which her Majesty at present holds as security; in which negotiations her Majesty will act graciously and benignantly.

Five. Should it happen that her Majesty concludes a peace with the enemy while some part of the first sum of four hundred thousand pounds is still unpaid, the annual payments shall continue, but at the rate of twenty thousand instead of thirty thousand a year, payable on the days already stipulated, until the extinction of the entire four hundred thousand pounds.

Six. The one thousand one hundred and fifty soldiers destined, by the treaty of 1585, as a precautionary succour, to the garrisons of Flushing, of the Castle of Ramechan, of La Briella and its fortresses, shall be maintained under the oath which, in virtue of the said treaty, they took to her Majesty and to the States, and as long as her Majesty remains at war the States shall pay to her Commissioner or Treasurer in the city of London either one thousand twelve hundred lire in coin of the United Provinces or one hundred and seventy pounds sterling every month for the payment of each company of one hundred and fifty men. The said sum amounts

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every three months to five thousand one hundred florins or five hundred and ten pounds sterling, and shall be payable every three months, together with the interest at the ordinary rate; the interest to be paid by the places held as security. The obligation for the States is to begin on the twentieth day after the conclusion of the present treaty. Should her Majesty desire to increase the garrisons of the places she holds in security she shall do so at her own expense, though the troops she puts in shall take the oath as prescribed in the first treaty.

Seven. On the expiry of twenty days from the signing of the peace her Majesty is free to disband all the cavalry and infantry which she has maintained in the United Provinces, except the one thousand one hundred and fifty men in the cautionary fortresses, or any additional reinforcements she may have added at her own charges. But the States may take into their service under English officers any of these disbanded troops that they please. Further, her Majesty, if it suits her at the time, may permit the States to recruit among her subjects for service in the field or elsewhere. From this time forward her Majesty is absolutely freed from her obligation, under the previous treaty, to maintain five thousand foot and one thousand horse for the support of the States.

Eight. If at any time during this war the enemy should make a naval attack on England or the islands belonging to her, the Isle of Wight, the Scilies, Guernsey or Jersey, and her Majesty prepares a fleet to repel him, the States shall furnish thirty or if possible forty well-found ships, half shall be of two hundred and half between one and two hundred tons burden. These shall be under the orders of the English Admiral as agreed by the treaty of 1585, and as prescribed by the conditions therein expressed.

Nine. If the enemy effects a landing in England or the Isle of Wight, the States, at her Majesty's request, shall raise and pay five thousand infantry and five hundred horse, to serve under the English commander or as her Majesty pleases. Payment to be as determined in the treaty of 1585, to begin on the day of the landing and to cease only when the enemy is defeated, expelled, and driven out.

Ten. If during the war her Majesty should see fit to make a naval attack on Spain, Portugal, the Spanish islands, or the Indies, with a fleet of fifty or sixty sail, the States shall be bound to furnish a similar number, in similar condition, or should her Majesty resolve to land in Flanders or Brabant with at least ten thousand infantry and two thousand horse and artillery and munitions to match, the States shall be bound to pay half the costs of her Majesty's army, and shall share in the acquisitions in a like proportion.

Eleven. Her Majesty out of special grace towards the States General of the United Provinces, hereby renounces all claims she may have against them contracted later than 1585, always excepting the eight hundred thousand pounds sterling above provided for.

Twelve. Further, Her Majesty abandons all the claims of private persons, except a debt to Sir Horatio Pallavicino, which is to remain as it at present stands, so that neither Pallavicino nor

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the States shall be injured by the present treaty. But all her rights and claims against other cities and provinces which are not now of the union, shall remain in full force.

Thirteen. Similarly the States General renounce all claims, pretensions, rights that they had or may think they had previous to the date of this contract.

Made, agreed, concluded and signed by the Lords of the Council of the one part and by the Commissioners of the States General of the other, at Westminster, 6th August in the year of our Lord 1598.

Signatures.

Thomas Egerton, Essex, Nottingham, G. Hunsdon, R. North, F. Buckhurst, N. Knollys, Ro. Cecyll, J. Fortescue, J. le Duvennarde, Jehan de Oldenbarnvelt, Jan de Vuarck, Jehan de Holtinga, Andrew de Hessels, Noel de Caron. Seals of the Lords of the Council and of the Commissioners.

We, finding each and everyone of the conditions and articles set forth in the treaty to be satisfactory, do hereby ratify, approve, and confirm the said treaty, promising and pledging ourselves to its punctual observance as far as in us lies, without directly or indirectly contravening it in any way whatsoever. In conclusion of which we have caused our great seal to be affixed and subscribed by our Secretary.

Done at the Hague in Holland the 20th September 1598.

Subscribed, Sloeth, by order of the States General,

[The seal is of red wax in golden strings with red tails.]

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

774. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Envoy of Holland has asked the King's permission to raise two thousand infantry and five hundred horse for service of the States and with leave for M. della Nua to command them. The King has consented about the commander and the infantry, but refused the horse.

Giovanni Battista Tassis has been appointed Spanish Ambassador at the French Court.

Some persons complain that his Majesty has given his consent; for this personage, when he was here before as Ambassador, laid the broadest and the strongest foundations of the League.

Paris, 1st February 1598 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

775. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is news from England that some hulks laden with grain, harquebusses, powder, copper, morions and other munitions of war, the property of some Hamburg merchants who had contracts with the royal officers in Portugal, have been arrested in England and their cargoes confiscated.

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The preparations for war are growing slender, and it is certain that for this year they must content themselves here, with a weak defence.

Requena, 7th February 1598 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12. Original Rubricario, Venetian Archives.

776. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Jew who was acting for Spain in the matter of the truce will soon leave Constantinople with letters of a favourable import, but without money, and they say the English Agent has upset his negotiations.

12th February 1598 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

777. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In twenty-five days the Earl of Essex is to start for Ireland. The Queen has intimated to the States of Holland that if the Earl's expedition is successful in suppressing the rebellion she will send his forces to Holland to fight Spain, as she intends in virtue of her recent treaty, to lend more protection than ever to the States.

In a few days an English resident Ambassador will appear at this Court; we have heard of his departure from London. The Agent of the Queen will retire. In the meantime the Agent has complained of the new French Ambassador* resident at the Court of St. James, on the ground that at the very opening of his career he has assumed too sharp and haughty a manner, very different from the manner formerly adopted by the King. His Majesty has promised to admonish the Ambassador, and took the opportunity to again request that the grain ships on the way to Spain should not be molested (his object being to gather money from that quarter), all the more because the Spanish fleet is not of such a nature as to cause alarm to the English that an attack would be made on their kingdom; *and he promised that if he knew of any designs hostile to the Queen he would inform her and in that case he would absolutely forbid the export from France of a single grain of corn.*

Paris, 24th February 1598 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

778. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal of Austria has sent one of his gentlemen from Flanders to England to open negotiations for peace. He urges the Queen to accept so as to give repose to Christendom, impelled both by his own inclination, the consequence of his sacred office, and because he was quite sure that his cousin Archduke Albert would consent, and so would the new King of Spain. The Queen after replying

* M. de la Boisiers.

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to the credentials most graciously, and after showing every satisfaction with the Cardinal for his own sake and for the sake of the Archduke Ferdinand his father, whom she esteemed, has caused some of her council to inform the Envoy that nothing would induce her to hinder the return of Christendom to a desirable repose, and that their objects were identical, more especially at the present moment when she was receiving no hurt from the government of the Cardinal, nor yet from the young King of Spain; but she was bound to consider carefully her own security and dignity, especially when she remembered that on other occasions, while treating for peace with the late Duke of Parma, she had been attacked by an overwhelming force. Besides she was obliged to remember that what she agreed to would bind her inviolably, as she was a sovereign authority; meaning to indicate that it was not becoming for her to negotiate with the Cardinal, who was not independent, nor possessed of sufficient powers in this matter.

The Queen has informed the King of France most fully about this affair, and seems disposed to remain united with him in perfect harmony. With that object in view she has issued orders that the French vessels carrying corn to Spain are not to be molested, as she intends that trade to be perfectly free. This good understanding is reciprocated on this side for his Majesty has declared on the word of a Prince that if he finds the export of grain is injurious he will at once prohibit it, and has promised to lend every possible aid in harassing the movements of the Spanish fleet if it should ever attempt to molest the English.

It is also clear that, thanks to the representations of the English Agent, the proposal to prohibit English cloth and other goods has been upset, and I think will not be raised again.

The States of Holland have sounded some of these French gentlemen upon the subject of raising cavalry and lending it to Holland, and although his Majesty forbade it at first, their request will be granted. The French men are anxious to go because of the general belief that this year will see some notable actions. The money offered, however, is so small in amount that nothing is concluded as yet.

Signor Zuanne Basadonna, who is in London, asks me to obtain from the English Agent the suspension of the sequestration against certain goods of his until he can bring forward documents to prove that they should be set free. The Agent promised to make representation in the right quarter.

Paris, 6th March 1599.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 8. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

779. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A son of the Imperial Dragoman at Constantinople is here. He brings letters from his father and from the English Secretary at the Porte, affirming that the Sultana mother is anxious for peace.

Prague, 8th March 1599.

[*Italian.*]

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1599.
March 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

780. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The opinion is growing stronger every day that strained relations, if not open rupture, will arise between the King of Spain and the King of France over the question of Saluzzo.

Valentia, 8th March 1599.

[*Italian.*]

March 14.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

781. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France to the DOGE and SENATE.

Your Serenity will have learned from my previous despatches the nature of the representations which I made to the English Agent on behalf of Signor Giovanni Battista Basadonna, in order that the sequestration of the cargo of the ship "Experience" or "Basadonna," which was shipped at Lisbon and fraudulently carried to London by its master, might be suspended until proof was adduced that the merchandise belonged to Venetians. When your Serenity's despatches arrived I sent to inform the English Agent that I desired to speak to him upon matters of importance. He came at once and I explained to him at length the grave injury done to Venetian merchants by the unendurable assassinations committed by the master of that ship. I informed him that your Serenity was moved thereby to an extreme displeasure, and that in virtue of the amity which the Queen professes towards the Republic, as a return for the courtesy and good treatment which Her subjects received in the States of your Serenity, he ought to represent to the Queen the obligation to set all those goods at liberty, and to punish the master as a warning to others not to commit a like excess; an act which would be of benefit to Her Majesty as well, in respect of her trade, which would most certainly be disturbed unless her wisdom made the necessary provisions. I insisted upon the matter as strongly as I was able, so that he might thoroughly grasp the justice of the claim put forward by your Serenity.

The agent showed great concern and promised to make vigorous representations. He sent despatches to England the following day. I will not fail to take all the steps that may appear opportune, especially on the arrival of the English Ambassador. I hear that his luggage has reached Rouen. *In conversation with the Ministers I discovered that they have serious complaints to make of the damage done by the English to French shipping. A remedy is difficult to find, for they tell me that the booty is shared by the greatest personages in England* (*et il rimedio riesce difficile perche mi affermano che delle prede participano li più grandi Signori di quel Regno*).

Paris, 14th March 1599.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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1599.
March 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

782. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

They have raised ten thousand men in Castile, and these will be employed where needed, either in England or in the affair of Saluzzo.

News from Portugal that the plague is raging. The English are harrying the shores of that kingdom. A carvel has brought word to Seville that the West India fleet has cleared the Havana channel, and is quit of the danger of meeting the English. In Ireland the rebellion is very active; and the result is that preparations for defence are relaxed here, as they hope that that island will do the business for them.

Valentia, 18th March 1599.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

783. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Rumours of an English defeat in Ireland. Ireland holds for the King of Spain; and the Queen has sent out sixty ships in the Bay of Biscay to effect a diversion.

Rome, 20th March 1599.

[*Italian.*]

March 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

784. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England is pushing on her preparations against Ireland, where her rebels are still holding out. They are resolved to fight, and are said to be able to put twenty thousand men and upwards in the field, all of them warlike.

Paris, 24th March 1599.

[*Italian.*]

April 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

785. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Bellièvre and his son the Archbishop of Lyons came to visit me. Among other topics, M. de Bellièvre insisted upon the gain to Christendom, if the Pope succeeded in forming a league of Christian Princes against the Turk, naming especially Spain, France, and Venice, who would be the greatest gainer. He added that to attack England would not be a genuine service to Christendom, although the Pope supported the proposal in the hope of extirpating heresy. Such a step would really serve only to foster dissensions among Princes, for the King of France, to speak it out frankly, could never allow England to be subdued by Spain, his own interests entirely preventing him. The true way to extirpate heresy was to make a league against infidels.

The King will very likely visit Picardy, as he is anxious to see all those towns, and especially Calais where, at present, merchandise is brought by English, Dutch, and Spanish ships for

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distribution, as the ports of those countries are closed against one another.

Paris, 3rd April 1599.

[*Italian.*]

April 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

786. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal of Austria intends to send another Envoy to England to continue the negotiations for peace; as it seems that the Queen will not refuse to listen to proposals if she is once assured that the Cardinal is empowered to treat with her.

The date of the English Ambassador's arrival is not known yet, although his baggage and part of his suite are already here. It is true that for some days past the Channel has been very stormy; and this is a reason why no reply about the liberation of the vessel and her cargo has been received.

Paris, 3rd April 1599.

[*Italian.*]

April 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

787. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of Spain is arming for war against the Queen of England, and the embargo on shipping in the ports of Spain is confirmed, and fifteen thousand troops have been raised.

Rome, 10th April 1599.

[*Italian.*]

April 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

788. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English fleet, very strong in numbers, has been sighted off Galicia, sailing apparently to the West Indies. *This causes alarm lest they may work some mischief there; for let them do as they like here it is impossible to prevent the English this year.*

Letters from the Cardinal of Austria, written from Flanders, announce that the Queen of England has expressed a wish to re-open negotiations for an accord. But her artifice is easily seen through, for she works for peace with one hand and prepares for war with the other; although some say that these preparations are only intended to assist her in her negotiations.

Valentia, 10th April 1599.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

789. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The agent of the Cardinal of Austria has lately returned to England. He is called M. de Coemans (*Commans*), is of the long robe, and has been employed on peace negotiations in Holland. I will inform you of the nature of his mission when I have discovered it.

Paris, 18th April 1599.

[*Italian.*]

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1599.
April 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

790. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Seeing that the answer about the sequestration of the merchandise in England was being delayed too long, I went to the English Agent and made representations once more, with a somewhat heavy hand. The Agent, who is well disposed, wrote at once to England, with the result that the Queen sent an express to inform me that she had ordered the liberation of the goods although her officials had declared that they really belonged to the Portuguese, subjects of Spain, and were therefore liable to confiscation; she also begged your Serenity to receive this as a proof of her readiness to serve you.

The Agent asked if representations had been sent from Venice; I replied that I believed not. The Agent informed me that the Queen has given such orders to her vessels that enter the Mediterranean that, for the future, no further complaints will be heard.

The English Ambassador's arrival has been delayed by fever. He is now convalescent.

Paris, 18th April 1599.

[*Italian.*]

April 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

791. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The effigy of the Duchess of Beaufort (Gabrielle d'Estrées) has been shown to the public for four days continuously. It was made of plaster, is life-size, and was placed in one of the rooms of her house in a large bed to which one mounts by three steps. The figure appeared to be sitting up, and had a ducal coronet on its head and a golden mantle lined with ermine; there was a baldachino overhead, also of cloth of gold. All round about were seated her relations clad in mourning, and there were many clergy who took it in turns to sing litanies at two altars. At the foot of the bed two heralds in black tabards *semé* of fleurs de lys *or*, offered the holy water to the Princes and other gentlemen who approached the bed. Under the bed was the coffin and the corpse. The room was hung with the magnificent arras belonging to the King. The archers of the royal guard were on duty, as also the masters of the ceremonies, the gentlemen-in-waiting, and other officers of the household. At dinner time these officials brought in the dinner and offered it to the image of the Duchess, and waited upon her precisely as though she were alive, and the Princes, besides the other hours of attendance, were also present at the dinner and served the Duchess.

When the four days were over the funeral was celebrated in the neighbouring church of S. Germains, and the body was sent to the monastery of Monbisson, where it will lie till further orders.

The King is well; he has taken a purge and been bled. *He declares openly that he intends to marry again, and has shown some inclination towards the Princess Maria, niece of the Grand Duke of Tuscany; the Huguenots also suggest a wife for his Majesty, as they wish him to marry one of their sect, for although she would be obliged to become Catholic, they think she would*

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*always retain a partiality for their faction; among others they suggest a Princess of the house of Saxony, who would bring a large dower; and an English lady, a daughter of the Earl of Derby, a relation of the Queen of England, through whom the King would acquire a certain claim to the English throne.** (*Figliula del Conte di Arbi, parente della Regina, con che si veniria ad acquistar qualche pretensione sopra quel Regno*).

Paris, 25th April 1599.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

792. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The news from Ireland about the rising in that island frees the Spanish from alarm at the prospect of an English attack this year; although they are anxious about the English ships which were sighted on their way to the West Indies; for some of the Indiamen are still to come in.

Valentia, 25th April 1599.

[*Italian.*]

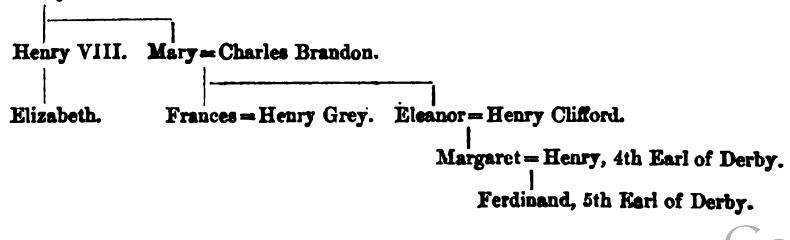
April 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

793. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Coemans, sent by the Cardinal of Austria on a mission to the Queen of England, has explained to her that the Cardinal, having reported his action both to the Spanish Court and to the Archduke Albert, it has not only been approved but highly commended. Therefore he now exhorts the Queen to begin to enter upon the details of the affair, as he has the greatest desire to see the end of the matter, both for the public benefit and for the honour he himself would acquire by concluding this negotiation before the Archduke Albert returns to those parts, and he is absolutely sure that in the meantime all necessary powers will be sent him. To this the Queen replies, declaring that she is equally anxious for peace, but that she cannot initiate nor conduct any negotiations at all, for she has no guarantee that the terms agreed upon would be maintained, as she is not dealing with a person of sufficient authority. She repeats what she said before, that while she was negotiating with the late Duke of Parma she found herself tricked, for the Spanish attacked England with a powerful fleet. All the same she promises not to lose time, but to make inquiries as to the opinion of the States of Holland, and in this way she puts off the business because she wishes to see whether Flanders is to be entirely separated from the Spanish crown.

The Irish expedition of sixteen thousand men and one thousand three hundred horse has been despatched, and on the sixth of this

* The fifth Earl of Derby had three daughters, Anne, Frances, and Elizabeth. Their relationship to the Queen may be gathered from the following table.—



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month the Earl of Essex left London. He was accompanied by many gentlemen and officers, and the current opinion is that if anyone is capable of terminating that difficult and dangerous business, he is the man.

The King has issued an order forbidding anyone to make levies of troops for foreign service, and this to please the Spanish, and to show his disposition towards peace.

Paris, 25th April 1599.

[*Italian.*]

April 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

794. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is in great doubt as to the intentions of the Queen of England. In that country twelve thousand infantry have been raised, they say for Ireland; but of this they are not sure. The Adelantado has been ordered down to the shore.

Valentia, 28th April 1599.

[*Italian.*]

May 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

795. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is news which has caused the greatest satisfaction, namely, that the ships which were sighted off the coast of Galicia, and were supposed to be English, were really French, making for Setubal for salt. On their arrival the inhabitants fled; and as the place is plague-stricken, anyone would easily have captured it. The Dutch fleet is said to be out, and may form a junction with the English. But here they do not seem alarmed, for they feel sure that no attack will be made from that quarter this year.

Valentia, 7th May 1599.

[*Italian.*]

May 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

796. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador resident in England has written to say that he is certain the Queen is desirous of peace with Spain, and that it may be brought about on the return of the Archduke Albert, for the difficulties to be resolved are few.

This same opinion obtains in Flanders; and the Dutch themselves believe it, although they affirm that the Queen will never cease to help them, and perhaps even more readily than in time of war, which demands so much money, the only thing they require; all else they have in abundance.

Paris, 15th May 1599.

[*Italian.*]

May 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

797. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The fleet of the Earl of Essex encountered a storm on its way to Ireland, and one ship with about three hundred men on board went down. On the arrival of the expedition several Irish chiefs entered into treaty to return to their allegiance.

Three Genoese have been captured while secretly taking soundings in English harbours. They have confessed who sent them. One of

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them tried to forestal his execution by stabbing himself, but was restrained.

I have visited the English Ambassador. He says his mistress gave him special orders to cultivate friendly relations with your Serenity's Ambassador. He has been to Fontainebleau for his first audience.

Paris, 29th May 1599.

[*Italian.*]

June 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

798. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England has sent out a fleet of one hundred sail. The troops are to be landed in Ireland, and then they say that, as the undefended state of Spain is known to the English, the fleet will sail to plunder in Galicia and to burn the shipping in Corunna, and, if occasion offers, they will push on to Portugal, which is all in confusion because of the plague.

Barcellona, 7th June 1599.

[*Italian.*]

June 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

799. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Dutch fleet to the number of eighty sail has appeared off Corunna. They wished to land, but were repulsed. They sailed away towards Lisbon.

No news of the English fleet. The troops which the Queen of England landed in Ireland have, in a large part, been cut to bits by the Catholics.

Barcellona, 24th June 1599.

[*Italian.*]

June 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

800. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Béthune, a Catholic, though brother of M. de Rosny, a Huguenot, has been sent as Ambassador to Scotland; this has not taken place ever before. He is to renew the ancient confederation between the two crowns, which has existed from the days of Charlemagne. It is true that, as the quarrel between England and France is at an end, some clauses of the treaty will be modified at the request of the English Ambassador. M. de Béthune will stay some time in Scotland, in case his services may be required on the death of the Queen of England, who, although well preserved and quite healthy, is still at an advanced and perilous age.

Paris, 26th June 1599.

[*Italian.*]

July 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

801. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is news here that the English fleet has captured Cascaes, a place near Lisbon. They sacked it and carried off thirty pieces

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of artillery, and then retired towards Biscay to capture a port. A large number of Dutch ships have put out to joint the English. They have more than ten thousand souls on board.

Rome, 3rd July 1599.

[*Italian.*]

July 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

802. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A private gentleman, a Flemish knight, has appeared at court. He is sent by the Cardinal of Austria, and has obtained letters from him. He is commissioned by the Queen of England, so he says, to set some negotiations on foot, but under orders to treat with no one but the King. As yet he has not been received in audience, nor has he opened any negotiations; it is generally believed that his ideas and intentions are founded on vanity, and that he has no authority to treat nor to negotiate. Perhaps the Queen is using her accustomed artifices, in employing these diversions and negotiations, until she sees herself a little freer from the troubles which the disturbances and rebellion in Ireland are continually causing her. News comes from Ireland in confirmation of the rumour that of the troops recently landed there three thousand have been cut to pieces. The Queen is afraid that while she is occupied in subduing this rebellion she may be attacked by Spain, or that the Irish Catholics may receive fresh support from here, and so she adopts this method to cool the warmth of schemes and preparations in Spain. However that may be, even supposing this gentleman to be really possessed of authority to negotiate, no resolution will be taken here till the Archduke and the Infanta return to Flanders. The interests of the States of Holland are always conjoined with those of England, and they wish to see what effect the presence of the Archduke will have if on nothing else at least in ameliorating the conditions of the negotiation, if indeed there is really any desire to treat.

The Flemish gentleman will be kept on here, and they will endeavour, if he shows a disposition to negotiate, to induce him to display his hand to the Ministers first before he has any sort of dealing with the King.

Barcellona, 6th July 1599.

[*Italian.*]

July 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

803. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

From England we hear that the Earl of Essex is making progress in Ireland, especially as the rebels have resolved not to fight in the open. But that untamed people withdraws to the marshes and the forests and prolongs the war. They burn their own castles and houses; and they hope that the English will suffer greatly and fall sick on account of that malaria which is deadly to foreigners. Skirmishes have taken place, however, always to the worsting of the Irish, who have lost several people of importance and many

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waggons belonging to the Earl of Tyrone, head of the rebellion. Some other chiefs have surrendered and demand pardon. The English have captured by assault some castles; and they hope that before winter sets in they will have settled that troublesome business; all the more as there is no great number of Spanish in Ireland as was at first reported. The English interpret this as a sign of weakness on the part of the King of Spain, who by sending a mere handful of troops might have seriously embarrassed the Queen and rendered it very difficult for her to recover and pacify the island in a short time.

Paris, 10th July 1599.

[*Italian.*]

August 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

804. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It seems that the Irish business will be drawn out at great length in spite of Essex's success. The Irish are determined never to come to terms, and seek for nothing but to gain time by retiring to the strongest and wildest places of the island.

Paris, 7th August 1599.

[*Italian.*]

August 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

805. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Adelantado of Castile has taken the command of twenty-two galleys (*galere*) strengthened as best they could be, and of thirty-two other oceangoing vessels (*vasselli di alto bordo*) among which are twelve levantines (*levantine*) kept back on purpose, ten Royal galleons (*galeoni del Rè*), and the rest hulks (*urche*), and other craft. He has eight thousand soldiers and three hundred jennets, with munition, provisions, and one hundred and twenty pieces of artillery. Besides he has called out fifteen new galleons (*galeoni*) just built in Biscay, and is going to arm them. They are lying in Ferrol, with ten others under Don Diego Brocohiero. All this force when united is to be directed on Ireland to the defence of the Irish Catholics and the support of the rebellion against the Queen. But the season is little favourable to these designs on account of the north winds which are dominant just now in those parts and hinder all navigation in that direction. The French Ambassador, who is always expected, has not arrived.

Valentia, 18th August 1599.

[*Italian.*]

August 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

806. GIROLANO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After waiting a long time for the Queen of England's present to the Sultan, they say that the ship which is bringing it has at last passed the Dardanelles. It brings a cargo of woollen cloth (pannine) and other high-class goods; and the letters patent confirming the*

* The "Hector." Cf. English Hist. Review, Vol. v., p. 656.

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English Agent here as Ambassador of the Queen. He is making preparations for the liveries of a numerous suit, and shows that he intends to live in great state. The Turks are much pleased at the arrival of this ship as they consider it a confirmation of their alliance with England which they think is highly important for holding the King of Spain in check. The English, who know their advantage, will make all profit out of it, and will find a ready assent to all their demands, especially if they are accompanied by gifts, of which they are very liberal. If the trade in woollen cloth especially makes way here, as is expected, on account of its excellence and its appearance, in which the Turks delight, the Venetian trade will receive a great blow. The English would open factories throughout the entire Turkish Empire, as I am told they have done in Syria and Alexandria, and will obtain any concessions they care to ask for. (Della venuta di questa nave con il presente, hanno preso li Turchi gran contento parendo loro che con questo mezo sia confirmata l'amicitia di quella Regina, che non intendono essi che habbia a servire per altro che per tenire in gelosia il Rè catolico; et gli Inglesi che conoscono questo loro avantaggio si faranno in questo tempo valere, et troveranno facile l'adito ad ogni loro instanza, quando medesimamente vi concoreranno donativi, de' quali sono assai liberali, et se il negotio della pannina principalmente pigliarà qui indriccio come si dubita, per esser di bella conditione et di vista come apunto si diletano hora li Turchi, potrebbe la Venetiana prendere gran smaco; perchè costoro ampliaranno li loro negotii per tutte le parti di questo Imperio, come di qui ho inteso che hanno fatto in Soria et Alessandria, et obteniranno quà qualsivoglia privilegio che sapranno ricercare.)

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 21st August 1599.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

807. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A vessel arrived some weeks ago at Brest. The Adelantado of Castile had sent it to beg the governor of that place to allow free entry into the port for the Spanish fleet when it shall appear in those waters, and to use all courtesy towards it, as becomes the friendly relations between the crowns of France and Spain. The English Ambassador, here resident, was at once informed of this, and went straight to his Majesty to beg him to refuse the request as a thing repugnant and utterly hostile to the convention and the good understanding with his mistress, as the King is bound neither to admit into his ports nor in any way to succour the enemies of England. His Majesty has pledged his word and his honour that he will never give his consent, and has told the Ambassador that he may assure the Queen of this most absolutely. Her Majesty, in alarm at the prospect of the Spanish fleet, is mustering sixty vessels, of which a considerable number are Dutch. The whole will be under the command of the Admiral or of one of his brothers, and its operations will be guided by the movements of the Spanish. The fleet will take up its station at the extremity of the island, near Plymouth.

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If all this be not a ruse of the Adelantado's to raise the prestige of Spain, and to divert the Dutch fleet which is operating off the Canaries, it is thought that the Spanish will either effect a landing in some remote part of England to sack the district, or else that their object is to carry succour to the Irish rebels, and to augment their forces. Either one or the other, if it succeeded, would utterly upset all negotiations for a peace with the Queen. The Cardinal of Austria three weeks ago sent one of his gentlemen to England to beg the Queen to continue those favourable inclinations towards the peace which she displayed at the time when he sent another envoy to her; for the King of Spain, he declares, is still of the same disposition. The Irish rebels, having surprised five hundred of Essex's troops, killed three hundred; the rest fled. Essex has sent their colonel to England to be dealt with as justice requires, and the lieutenant he has caused to be shot, while he has decimated the two hundred who fled. Two thousand fresh troops were sent to him from England last month, and the like will take place every three months. The Queen is determined to put an end to this business, but that is reckoned very difficult; and Ireland may well be called the Englishman's grave.

Paris, 22nd August 1599.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

808. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Flemish knight who was here with letters of introduction from the Cardinal of Austria, to treat about a peace with the Queen of England, has left. He entered on no negotiations and left suddenly, as was foreseen; for it was discovered that he had no sound basis neither to conclude nor ever to initiate any affair of moment. Nothing definite will take place until the Archduke and the Infanta return to Flanders, where their presence will give the real impulse to the negotiations.

Valentia, 27th August 1599.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

809. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has been informed that the Queen of England is rather suspicious about the Ambassador whom his Majesty lately sent to the King of Scotland. The King, to clear himself of any shadow of doubt, has instructed his Ambassador to leave the Scottish Court and to go to the Queen and explain to her fully all that took place, and then to come straight back to France.

There are many rumours about the Spanish fleet, but none of them is entirely trustworthy; for some say it is off Brittany, others that it has reached England. One thing is certain that the Queen in alarm at these rumours has not only made naval preparations but has mustered several thousand troops, between horse and foot.

Paris, 4th September 1599.

[*Italian.*]

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Sept. 11. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

810. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The affairs of Ireland are hanging in the balance, nor are the Queen's forces in that island as great as was reported. The rebels are making a stout resistance, thanks to the natural strength of their country, and to Spanish aid. The Earl of Essex accordingly has sent to the Queen for reinforcements of men and money.

Letters from Amsterdam confirm the news that the King of Scotland has asked to be declared successor to the throne; and on this account forty thousand persons are in arms towards Scotland.

Vienna, 11th September 1599.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

811. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This week the Cenci were executed. They were convicted of having murdered their father. The eldest son was tortured with pincers and beaten to death (*accopato*); the mother and daughter were beheaded. To a younger brother who discovered the deed after it was done, but did not reveal it, the Pope has granted his life, but he was compelled to be present at all these sufferings and to stand on the actual scaffold, where many times he fainted away when the unhappy victims gave him the last adieu.

Rome, 11th September 1599.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

812. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Adelantado of Castile has already gone to Ferrol with the armament which I described in my previous despatch. There is news that the Irish Catholics are making head against the English, and so the Adelantado has received fresh orders to put out and to attack the Dutch on their route; and they hope if they meet them to punish them for the damage they have done at the Canaries.

Saragozza, 13th September 1599.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

813. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The peace with the States of Holland is held to be very difficult to arrange, not only on account of the religious question, but also because of the great hopes they have conceived about the East India trade which has been absolutely forbidden to them in virtue of the renunciation of Flanders by the King of Spain. In Zealand four ships are being prepared for next year, besides the sixteen ships of Holland already mentioned. They are manning others too with the intention of trying for the third time the route by Nuova Zembla. The King of Denmark is suspicious of this scheme, and is manning a fleet not so much to check that commerce, but to stop the trade of the Dutch, French, and English at San Nicholas in Muscovy.

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The English Ambassador in Scotland, under pretext of taking an English baron, a rebel, to a banquet outside the town, made the baron quite drunk, then put him on horseback and sent him into England. This caused the arrest of the Ambassador, and a threat that he would be served the same way as the Queen served the baron.

Vienna, 18th September 1599.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

814. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English ship, which has kept everybody waiting and expectant for many days, while she lay at the islands to clean up and dress, sailed in eight days ago and dropped anchor at the Kiosk, whither the Chief Gardner, who greatly favours this new Ambassador, and the whole English nation, induced the Sultan to betake himself. The Sultan was saluted from the ship by repeated salvoes of artillery.*

The present consists of an organ† very cunningly designed, which serves as a clock and can play several airs by itself, of a carriage and fittings for the Sultana, of some silver vases and many suits of cloth which they say are all mouldy and ruined. As the English had raised great expectations about the arrival of this ship, it is thought that if the hopes of large presents are not fulfilled, they will soon loose the prestige which they acquired by their lavish promises. The Ambassador has not yet kissed hands, and perhaps he will wait until the Sultan returns to Stamboul; meantime he is preparing liveries for many servants and is spending a large amount of money on his establishment, and on the people that came out on board this ship. She herself is much admired by crowds of Turks; and indeed I understand she deserves to be visited, as she is wonderfully well found in all that is required for fighting, as well as being beautifully decorated and very commodious.

English vanity in showing off this ship, its artillery, and ammunition, which they allow anyone who goes on board to see, will do a damage to Christendom, and will open the eyes of the Turks to things they do not know. (La nave Inglese doppo essersi fatta aspettare et desiderare molti giorni, trattenuta alle isole per porla ad ordine et adornarla, è gionta otto giorni sono, et si fermò a lo Chiosco, dove il Bostangi Bassà, che favorisce grandamente questo nuovo Ambasciatore et tutta la natione, fece ridure il gran Signor, che fù dal vassello, con diversi tirri replicati, salutato. Il presente poi sarà di un artificiosissimo organo, che serve per horologio et che suona da se stesso diversi moteti, una carozza per la Regina guarnita, certi vasi d'argento et vesti di panni diversi che dicono esser tutti fioriti et guasti. Et perche questi Inglesi havevano posti in gran espettatione tutti

* Henry Lello, who had been Agent since the death of Barton.

† Made by Master Thomas Dallam, and brought out by him on board the "Hector."

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con la venuta di questo vassello, si crede che non riuscendo l'effetto conforme alle speranze che tenevano molti di grossi donativi, perderano in poco tempo la riputatione et la stima che havevano acquistato costoro con le sue larghe promesse. L'Ambasciatore non ha ancora basciata la mano al Rè, et forse tarderà sino al suo ritorno nella città. Fra tanto si attende a provisione de vestimenti per molti servitori. Et l'Ambasciatore la passa con gran spesa nella sua casa et con molta gente venuta con questo Vassello; il quale con molto concorso de Turchi viene mirato, et per quello che intendo merita esser visto, essendo benissimo all ordine di tutte le cose per combatter, et molto adornato et commodo. Et la vanità de gli Inglesi con la vista di questo Vassello et di varii fuochi et balle artificiate che fanno vedere a chi vi capita, pregiudicarà alla Christianità et aprirà gli occhi a questi di quello che non sanno.)

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 18th September 1599.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

815. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As I informed your Serenity, the Governor of Brest has been asked by the Spanish to use all courtesy towards their fleet when it appears in those waters, and to allow it free entry into the port, and to permit it to revictual; the like request has been preferred to the Governors of Dieppe and of the other sea ports. They informed the King, who replied that he would never consent, for he could not give shelter to a fleet destined to harass the Queen of England. He has even informed the Queen through his Ambassador at her Court, as the English Ambassador himself told me, that he was ready to go in person to assist the Queen if the need arose.

The Spanish Ambassador shows surprise at these requests, for he has never had any information about them. Everywhere he displays a great desire that the war should not be continued, but that a durable peace should be concluded, not only with the Queen, but also with the States. *He urges the reason given elsewhere that it would suit the King of France to see the States entirely separated from Spain; an argument he advances all the more readily as he is a Flemish gentleman, though it hardly comports with his position as Ambassador to his Catholic Majesty.*

The rumour that the Spanish fleet was off England has died away; only some galleys (*galere*) belonging to Federico Spinola have passed Dunquerque. Nevertheless the Queen will keep up the provision for war throughout all this month, after which there is no further cause for alarm, owing to the stormy nature of the season.

Besides the fleet collected for the defence of the Island, under the command of the nephew of the Lord High Admiral, son of the late Duke of Norfolk, there were about fifty thousand persons assembled, divided into four companies, that is to say, three at three points of the coast, and the fourth with the Queen near London,

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and this to keep the subjects to their allegiances in case anyone should attempt a revolution.

Paris, 19th September 1599.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

816. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A few days ago a Flemish cavalier appeared in Court. He was sent by a large number of officers and other personages attached to the Catholic Army in Flanders to declare that they would own allegiance to no other sovereign than his Majesty, to whom they had taken the oath. Every effort is being made to induce them to obey.

Saragoza, 25th September, 1599.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

817. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador will kiss hands to-morrow morning. He goes working away at various chimerical schemes, principally the idea of asking the Grand Signor to give him one of the churches in Galata for the use of a preaching minister whom he has brought with him. Both the French Ambassador and myself considered this design of his to be obviously important in its effect on the honour of the Holy Church, and we accordingly approached the poor Mufti on the matter. He promised us every support; but now we have had recourse to the Chief Eunuch; nor shall we fail to make every effort in order to thwart this excessive and arrogant pretension of the English, who would endeavour to sow even here the perversity and impiety of Calvin to the ruin of these poor Christian Perots who have applied for our advice and assistance. I will handle the business in the calmest way that may be possible, without, however, permitting the slightest prejudice to the honour of God; but I trust that the Illustrious Gradenigo will be here in time to complete the work I have begun. (L' Ambasciator d'Inighilterra bascierà la mano al Rè domattina; et egli va machinando diverse chimere, ma principalmente di ricercare dal Gran Signor una delle chiese di Galatà per servirsene per uso di un suo ministro predicatore, ch'è venuto quà con questo suo vassello; la quale sua immaginatione, stimata dal Signor Ambasciator di Francia et da me di quella importanza et consequenza, che si vede, per l'honore di Santa Chiesa, havevamo preocupato il povero Mufti che si haveva promesso ogni favore, ma hora si siamo rivolti al capi aga; ne mancheremo di adoperarsi con tutte le forze nostre per sturbare questa troppo arrogante pretensione di questa gente, che vorrebbe in queste parti ancora seminar la perversità et impietà di Calvino con rovina di questi poveri Christiani Peroti, che sono comparsi per il nostro suffragio et aiuto. Et io procurerò di trattare questo negotio con ogni modo più placido che sarà possibile, senza però minima pregiudicio

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dell'honor di Dio, sebene spero che l'Ill^mo Gradenigo arriverà in tempo di perfettionare l'opera principiata.)

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 2nd October 1599.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 2. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

818. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

They say that the Queen of England has obtained from the Sultan a port on the coast of Barbary whence she can harass Spain, and that she is preparing ships and men to send there.

Vienna, 2nd October 1599.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

819. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After various false reports, at last his Majesty has heard for certain that the Spanish Armada left Ferrol on the twenty-fifth of August under the command of Don Diego Pacheco, for the Adelantado remained behind with the light galleys (*galee sottili*). The intention was to go to the Azores to secure the vessels returning from the Indies, and perhaps to fight the Dutch fleet, if occasion offered. But after ten or twelve days at sea the fleet put back on account of the weather, and it probably will not attempt this voyage again. This being so, it is thought that the request made for leave to enter the ports of France and to victual there was merely a ruse either to test his Majesty's attitude, or to alarm the Queen of England. They have succeeded in both.

Paris, 2nd October 1599.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

820. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Adelantado's fleet has reached the Azores. Thirty-six Dutch ships have sailed to join the fleet that sacked the Canaries.

In Ireland the Catholics are doing well, and we hear that the Queen is anxious about a rising in the Kingdom on account of the nomination of her successor; and that she lives in constant suspicion and anxiety as regards the King of Scotland. All this is believed to assist the negotiations between the States and the Archduke, and this is probably the true way to reach an accord between the Queen and the King of Spain.

Federico Spinola, who sailed from Biscay to Flanders with six galleys (*galere*), which he obtained from the King, has captured four ships on his way; one French corsair, one English ship of the fleet, and two Dutchmen laden with merchandize from the Indies. He has begun to make a great name and reputation.*

Madrid, 12th October 1599.

[*Italian.*]

* Cf. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1598–1601, pp. 304, 311.

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Oct. 16.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

821. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador kissed hands on the fourth of this month. His present was forty suits of cloth of various colours, ten ewers and basins of silver, besides the great clock and carriage which had been sent on before. He appeared attended by all the merchants who had come on board the ship, well appointed all of them ; and he had the usual banquet in divan.*

A young Englishman, servant of the late Ambassador, acted as interpreter, and was listened to attentively. The Secretary of the Embassy, who was present, told me that the Sultan, in the middle of the Dragoman's discourse, made several official remarks, a quite unusual occurrence and a high favour. But the Ambassador, while the banquet was being prepared, engaged in a long conversation with Halil Pasha ; in the course of it he touched upon the King of France. The Pasha asked him why the King had deserted his mistress and made peace with the King of Spain ; the Ambassador, as he himself has assured me on his most solemn oath, for your Serenity will hear what a scandal followed, replied that he believed the reconciliation was effected by the Pope ; for the King, who was originally of their religion, having gone over to the Papist's religion, which is that of the King of Spain, caused the Pope to intervene and to settle their differences. This conversation, reported by Halil to the French Ambassador in quite another guise, gave ground for a great scandal between the two Ambassadors. Halil declared that, in answer to his question, the English Ambassador said that the King of France, who was at first of their religion, the good religion, subsequently became an idolater and Papist, and hence the peace with Spain through the mediation of the Pope. Halil added that the Ambassador had further remarked that this being the case, no reliance could be placed upon the amity of France, but only upon his mistress, who was most constant and sincere.

When the French Ambassador heard these words from the mouth of the Pasha he was naturally most indignant ; he came at once to seek me out and to give vent to his wrath. I had great difficulty in persuading him not to make an open display of his resentment on the spot. I told him that I was unable to believe that the Englishman had really embarked on such an imprudent declaration, which was quite contrary to the wishes of his mistress, who maintained most cordial relations with his Sovereign. I remarked that if there had been any error committed it most likely arose from the ignorance of the English Dragoman, who, as I heard, had made a similar mistake upon another occasion, and excused himself afterwards by saying that he did not know how else to describe the difference between Papists and Lutherans, as the English are called

* SEE Dallam's account : "He did ride like unto a King, only that he wanted a crown, and there rode with him twelve gentlemen and merchants, all in cloth of gold, and there went on foot twenty-eight more, in blue gowns after the Turkish fashion, with caps after the Italian fashion. My livery was a fair cloak of strange green silk." Quoted by Mr. Bent, English Hist. Rev. V. p. 656.

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here. I also suggested that perhaps Halil Pasha had put a sinister interpretation on a phrase which the Dragoman had not known how to render clearly.

The French Ambassador was pacified by these considerations, but he intends to make Halil repeat the conversation to me the first time I visit him.

Meantime the English Ambassador, who knew nothing about the whole matter, two days later sent his Secretary to invite the French Ambassador on board his ship, where he wished us all three to meet for amusement. The French Ambassador refused the invitation, and explained the reason to the Secretary, recounting to him the whole conversation with Halil. The Secretary heard the story with amazement, and swore that this was not the truth. He told the Ambassador what really took place. But the Ambassador relies on the word of the Pasha, and will admit of no excuse. I believe his attitude to be embittered by ancient disputes as to jurisdiction which prevent any cordial feeling between the two Ambassadors. The Secretary was dismissed in confusion, and came straight to me, and before saying a word about the quarrel he begged, in his master's name, that I would accept an invitation for Tuesday on board the ship, and added that the Ambassador desired to confirm his friendship with me and to display in part his good will.

I returned thanks, accepted the invitation, and showed that I appreciated this mark of intimacy. Then the Secretary added that the Ambassador had hoped for certain to have received the same favour from the French Ambassador, and that we should all three have met on this occasion, but his hope had not been fulfilled. He then described the conversation, and swore to me that Halil's account of it was false. He did all he could to put the question in a just light. I showed great regret for what had happened, and while seeming to accept his statements, I pointed out to him the serious consequences supposing Halil's statements were wholly or even partially true, especially where the word idolater had been used; an utterly false and most improper epithet, and an insult not only to his Majesty but to all other Christian Princes. This gave me the opportunity to touch—though in the gentlest and most confidential manner—the topic of the English Ambassador's request for a Church in Galata. After dwelling on the position of the Perots and other Christians here resident, I added that all we Ambassadors were here with the object of serving our masters and cultivating friendly relations among ourselves, and therefore it became none of us to stir hand or mouth in matters of religion, for that subject was far removed from our sphere and quite outside our commission from our respective Sovereigns, and, moreover, was so delicate and sensitive that to meddle with it might produce the gravest consequences. The best way to maintain a good understanding between us, I said, and to do our masters' business, was to confine ourselves to our proper functions.

The Secretary, who is most acute, and who really governs the Ambassador, a man more practical than speculative, replied that such was the case. He repeated to me the answer made by the

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Ambassador to Spinelli when, on the request of the Perots, I sent Spinelli to him. He thanked me for such signs of confidence, and said that the Ambassador was always glad to treat with me in all courtesy and affection, and that he would abandon altogether any idea of the Church to please us. He says that the idea was created by the constant complaints of all the English on account of the insults they daily receive from Franks and Greeks, who call them Lutherans, as indeed do all the Turks, and declare that they do not believe in Christ and are infidels. It was these complaints, which daily reached his ears, that determined the Ambassador to ask for a Church where they might establish a minister, who by preaching in Italian should convince the world that the English are Christians and sound believers. And so, had this matter gone any further, they had fully resolved to introduce a husbandman to sow the seeds of poisonous and deadly plants; and God be praised for what has happened.

At the close of his discourse the Secretary left, and on the day appointed I went on board the English ship. The Ambassador came to fetch me from my house, and did all he could and all he knew to give me pleasure, and displayed the simplicity and sincerity of his nature. While we were walking along the street he lamented the incident with the French Ambassador. I answered as was fitting and repeated what the Secretary had told me. The Ambassador swore over and over again that Halil's report was false, and that the conversation took place as reported above. He complained that the French Ambassador believed Halil. I seized the opportunity to advise him to use every effort to convince the French Ambassador of the truth of his version; and that could be done if he went in person to speak to him; but while I was urging this conclusion I was annoyed by the impertinence of a Ragusan merchant, who had also been invited on board, and who, by a breach of manners, approached us and broke in upon our conversation.

After we had gone aboard, where we met the Grand Chancellor and many other Turks who wished to see the ship and came on board to dine, as they had done a few days ago with me,—I did not find an opportunity to renew the discussion of this affair, which I fear will grow bitterer and bitterer on account of the ill will between the two Ambassadors, although I pointed out that if the French Ambassador reports, as in duty bound, to the King his master, it is impossible that the affair should not reach the ears of the Queen, which would be unpleasant for the English Ambassador. I shall not fail to give my services to one and to the other.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 16th October 1599.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

872. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Earl of Essex, who is in Ireland as the Queen's general, has had many negotiations and even a personal interview with the Earl of Tyrone on the banks of a stream. Tyrone seems desirous

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of submitting and returning to Her Majesty's good graces. Terms have been drawn up and sent to England, and it is thought that Essex himself will go there to explain personally to the Queen.

M. de Cœmans has been sent by Archduke Albert into England; he has been there on other occasions; his mission is to initiate negotiations for peace.

Paris, 24th October 1599.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

823. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A Scotchman and an Advocate of the Court of Accounts (*Camera de' Conti*) have begun to print certain books against the Jesuits. The printers have been forbidden to print any more, and the printed copies have been sequestrated.

Paris, 30th October 1599.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

824. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Cœmans has gone to England. He is the same person as was sent on other occasions by the Cardinal of Austria when he was governor of Flanders. He was instructed to inform the Queen that the Archduke is fully empowered by the King of Spain to conclude any manner of treaty; and to exhort the Queen to a prompt acceptance. The Queen replied that she would lay the matter before her Council in order to reach a proper decision. Her first step will be to discover the intentions of the States of Holland, who are her allies, and to find out whether they intend to associate themselves with her in this negotiation.

If the Irish rebellion is put down the Queen will be able to enter with greater prestige upon this negotiation. Things are on the way to a settlement, for after the conference between the Earl of Essex and the Earl of Tyrone a truce was arranged to be renewed from five weeks to five weeks until the Queen's decision was known. The Earl of Essex himself set out to go to the Queen; to give her a detailed report, and he took the draft of an accord with him. The chief difficulty, as far as we can understand, is that the Irish demand the right to live in the Catholic faith; and no one knows whether that will be granted; but it is so difficult to subdue them by force that possibly this consideration will secure the concessions they demand. Throughout all Ireland there is not a single Spaniard who has gone to their aid, as was reported, but the Irish themselves drag the war out in the most extraordinary way by retreating to the forests and the fastnesses.

The Earl of Essex had no sooner reached England than he was placed under arrest at the house of the Lord Chancellor who was

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charged with his custody. They say that the reason is because he returned without the Queen's leave.

Paris, 30th October 1599.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

825. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The questions between the English and the French Ambassadors have been settled in favour of the French. The ill will between them grows intenser; the French Ambassador has received no satisfaction for the remarks of the English about the King of France. The Englishman has but little experience and less prudence, and as he spoke impertinently to Halil Pasha about certain claims he makes, the Pasha rebuffed him in such a manner that he had to withdraw in confusion. The bombast of the English is considerably reduced. Their ship sailed away two days ago and the Ambassador is left with very few people, and I suspect that he will presently lay aside all his imaginary claims; if the Chief Gardner did not support him he would fare ill. I am told that the ship which has sailed will, on its homeward journey from Alexandria, whither she is bound, attack every ship it meets, Turkish or French, as the English are so ill pleased.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 30th October 1599.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 31. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

826. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Adelantado was at the Azores on the thirtieth of last month with his fleet all storm tossed; they write that he has lost twenty-two vessels. He failed to meet the India fleet, and he failed to find the Dutch.

His fleet numbered eighty-five big vessels and a large number of small ones (85 *vasselli grossi et buon numero de' piccioli*). It had fifteen thousand infantry on board; and all this, which cost upwards of four millions of gold, they say, has been thrown away fruitlessly.

In Ireland the Catholics are said to have severely defeated the English, who have lost fourteen thousand men. This has thrown the Queen into serious embarassment, not merely for fear of losing that island but for alarm of a rising in England.

Madrid, the last day of October 1599.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

827. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Béthune, who was sent as the King's Ambassador to Scotland, has returned to Court. As he had orders to go to the Queen and give her an account of his mission, so as to remove any shadow

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of suspicion, he went to London and stayed there six or eight days secretly, without making known his presence to any save to his Most Christian Majesty's Ambassador resident; and then without another word he came on here. This manner of proceeding has greatly increased suspicions, and the Queen is far from pleased.

It was M. de Béthune who brought the news of Essex's arrest. Confirmation has been received with this additional detail that he is forbidden to speak to anyone. The Queen desires him to explain his departure from Ireland without her leave or that of her Council, and also to communicate the secret negotiations with the rebel Tyrone which were not authorised by her. Those who are well informed, however, tell me that there are further reasons for the arrest, and more especially this, that in the capitulations for an accord, the Earl had assented to a most vital point in agreeing to allow the exercise of the Catholic religion in Ireland. This charge weighs all the more heavily upon him seeing that on other occasions he has favoured and courted the Catholics. Besides, his counsel not to make peace with Spain, a counsel he has always maintained, with a view to be constantly under arms, followed by a large train, as indeed he has succeeded in being,—has caused great suspicion on the part of the Queen; all the more on account of the love the people bear to him; for his qualities have won for him in England exactly the same esteem as the late Duke of Guise enjoyed in France. All these suspicions in the Queen's mind are fomented and fed by persons of great weight, his foes. We wait to see the result of the decision to be taken about the greatest personage in England, the man who has enjoyed more of the Queen's favour than anyone else. (*Vuole la Regina che rendi conto della sua partenza d' Irlanda senza alcuna commissiove di lei ne del suo consiglio, et insieme che riferisca le trattationi secrete che ha passato col Conte di Tirone, ribello, senza sua permissione. Ma da persone ben informate mi vien riferto che a queste si aggiungono delle altre cause, et quella specialmente perchè nelle capitulationi dell' accordo habbi assentito ad un punto molto essentiale, dove si parla che possi restar libero l'esercitio della Religione Cattolica in Irlanda; il che tanto maggiormente lo aggrava, quanto che per il passsato ha diverse volte favorito et fatte molte cortesie a Cattolici; oltra che è di molta gelosia alla Regina il parere, ch' esso ha sempre sostentato di non farsi la pace col Rè di Spagna con fine di tenersi del continuo armato et con gran seguito, come in effetto ha; spetialmente per l' amore che generalmente li viene portato da' popoli; essendo per le sue qualità stimato in quelle parti nel medesimo modo a punto che si facceva del già Duca di Guisa in questo regno. Li quali tutti sopetti sono fomentati et nutriti nell' animo di quella Principessa per officii di persone di grand' auttorità suoi nemici. Si starà attendendo dove habbia da terminare la risolutione sopra il più gran sig^re di quel Regno et che più di tutti ha posseduto la gratia della Regina.*)

Paris, 6th November 1599.

[*Italian.*]

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Nov. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

828. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The misfortunes of the Adelantado's fleet and the sums of money sunk in it, *cause a lively desire for peace.*

Madrid, 6th November 1599.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

829. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Secretary has left for Venice on his way to his Court. He came to visit me, Capello, and to beg that I would recommend him to your Serenity, as I have done by letters consigned to him. They say he takes back to his mistress the answers of the Sultan and the Sultana mother and a present of robes and some jewelled girdles.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 27th November 1599.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

830. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Coemans is still in England on behalf of the Archduke Albert. He has been there on several occasions to treat for peace. He is awaiting a favourable answer, and upon that will depend other requests, which he will prefer for a conference between commissioners on one side and on the other, and the establishment of a place of meeting. It is thought that if the Queen consents, Calais or Boulogne may be selected.

The Earl of Essex is still a prisoner. He has been somewhat indisposed on account of his mental anxiety. There is news, however, that he is mending. In Ireland we hear that the truce has been broken, though confirmation of this particular is needed.

Paris, 28th November 1599.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

831. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Adelantado has arrived at Court, and in spite of his relationship to the Duke of Lerma (Marchese de Denia), so bitter is the feeling against him on account of his failure this year, that he has not yet kissed hands. I paid him a formal visit, and he told me that throughout his whole voyage he had met nothing but storms, and that he never sighted a single vessel of friend or foe, except one Flemish ship, which, taking his fleet for the Flanders squadron, heedlessly sailed right into his midst; he says his loss was very heavy, though they minimize it here. He says that things are going very well for the Catholics in Ireland; and that the Queen shows open resentment against the Earl of Essex for his failure; indeed there are rumours that she has caused him to be arrested, and as affairs in England are in no small confusion, it is held for certain that the Queen will be glad to make peace even at a disadvantage.

Madrid, 7th December 1599.

[*Italian.*]

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Dec. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

832. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Coemans, who was in England to negotiate a peace, is now in Brussels. He reports the favourable attitude of the Queen, who affirms that she is ready to treat for peace, and promises to do so.

She says that she will show the world that she is desirous for peace, nor will it be her fault if it is not concluded. All the same, no concrete negotiations are on foot, and this makes people suspect that her words cover another intention.

There is a rumour that the Earl of Essex's arrest will soon be terminated to his complete satisfaction. It seems, however, that the Queen, for her own particular ends, is encouraging both the faction of the Earl and that of his enemies. The ambassador here resident, who is of the Earl's party, has had his despatches stopped for many days, and has sent his secretary in all haste to keep an eye on what is taking place in England and to put an end to such irregularities.

As yet there is no confirmation of the news that the truce in Ireland has been broken. Information received by M. de Villeroy affirms that it is broken, and that everything is in confusion in the island.

Paris, 12th December 1599.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

833. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is news that the Irish Catholics, on learning that the Queen was highly displeased, and that the Earl of Essex was under arrest in the Lord Chancellor's house for the accord made with them without her leave, have broken away from the terms of the agreement, and show themselves more bitter foes of the Queen than ever.

Rome, 18th December 1599.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

834. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

An ambassador from the King of Scotland has arrived here. He has come to seek the support of the King of Spain for the Scottish pretensions to the throne of England, as the Queen seems resolved to confer it upon one of her nieces. The ambassador has not yet despatched his business, and has merely received a general reply. *They want to see, first of all, what will come of the negotiations for peace, which is desired here quite as eagerly as by the Queen,* on account of the continual alarm about England in which she lives. A vessel has arrived here lately with eighty prisoners liberated in England. They all report that the Queen is most anxious for peace, in order that she may attend more calmly to this question of her successor.

Madrid, 21st December 1599.

[*Italian; the part in Italics deciphered.*]

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1599. Dec. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

835. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The States of Holland have replied to the Queen of England that they absolutely refuse to enter into any negotiation for peace with Archduke Albert. It is thought that the Queen will be forced to negotiate alone.

Paris, 27th December 1599.

[*Italian.*]

1600. Jan. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

836. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News has arrived here that Prince Sigismund of Transylvania, on his way back from England, whither he had gone after leaving Poland, has been made prisoner in Pomerania, and that the Duke of Saxony has informed the Emperor and asked for instructions as to the treatment of the Prince. It is believed that the Emperor has ordered him to be detained so that he may not cause fresh trouble in Transylvania. The Vaivode of Walachia fearing lest the Vaivode of Moldavia might seize the provinces of Transylvania, had resolved to admit the Imperial troops.

Rome, the first of January 1599 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

837. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The hopes of concluding a peace with the Queen of England are on the increase, so news from Flanders to the King leads us to think. Both sides are equally desirous, although that feeling is concealed here as a matter of pride. Their Highnesses write continually that they are in great straits for money, although the old supplies are still continued. This may possibly induce the King and his Ministers to come to terms with the rebels, on any conditions; and this is desired by their Highnesses as well, for otherwise everything will remain in the greatest confusion and disorder.

The Envoy of his Most Christian Majesty has withdrawn without concluding his mission, for he insisted on the liberation of those vessels which had been seized even in time of war, on the ground that they were sailing under the parole of the late King of Spain, who allowed the inhabitants of Brittany to trade. He failed to obtain his request, and has left very ill pleased. He says that an Ambassador from France will arrive here in a few weeks, and will be better able to conduct his Majesty's affairs.

Madrid, 4th January 1599 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

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1600.
Jan. 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

838. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome to the DOGE and SENATE.

It seems that the negotiation for peace between the Queen of England, the States and the Archduke is in an excellent condition; the greatest hopes are founded on the exhortation of the Queen of England to the States pointing out that they ought to concur.

Rome, 8th January 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

839. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Archduke Albert has greatly offended the people of Antwerp on the occasion of his solemn entry into that city, because he refused to robe himself according to the ancient custom of the Dukes of Brabant with mantle and ducal coronet. He urged as his reason for not complying with their wishes that his own title was higher than that of Duke. His refusal to accept, as is usual, the city guard, which was all drawn up and waiting, also gave offence. He, however, called out some companies of Spanish infantry. These occurrences have given occasion to many verses in which the disgust of the people finds voice.

Some regiments have been disbanded in Flanders without receiving their pay. They are scattered through the country complaining that they are without the necessaries of life. To meet the present needs his Highness has drawn on his Catholic Majesty for three millions of gold, to be paid in Flanders at the rate of two hundred and forty crowns a month, the other consignments are to cease at the end of February next.

His Highness is expecting the arrival in Brussels of an agent sent by the Queen of England to carry her answer to all the representations made to her on the subject of the peace. If he does arrive his business will be to arrange the place and the meeting of representatives from both parties.

The States of Holland persisting in their resolution to entertain no proposals for peace, and seeing that the Queen of England is inclined thereto, have secretly addressed various proposals to his Most Christian Majesty that he should take them under his protection. The Spanish Ambassador here, having heard of this, begged his Majesty, in virtue of the peace, to break off these negotiations with the rebels of his lawful sovereign. The King replied that the Ambassador should not believe in any such relations for they did not exist. It is possible that the States, by this request for protection, only mean to secure all the support they can before making their complete submission to his Majesty. Perhaps they also desire to upset the peace which the Queen of England is negotiating, for it is not likely that the Queen will assent to the union of Holland to France, for that would cause her serious anxiety for her own safety.

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The Dutch have made a new canal on the river Waal (Vallio), by means of which their ships can sail without being obliged to pass under the fortress of St. Andrew, which the Spanish army built at a great cost last year. And in this way they expect to render that fortress useless as a means for disturbing their traffic.

The Earl of Essex is a closer prisoner than ever. He is ill. The decision as to his fate is still unknown.

In Ireland the truce has been broken and the island is all in confusion again. The winter season forbids the use of arms.

The most illustrious gentleman Signor Zuane Basadonna has arrived here after a residence of seven years in England on account of his important affairs. He is on his way home, where if he is employed it will be seen that to the natural ability of his wit he adds a remarkable knowledge of the world.

Paris, 8th January 1599 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 10. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

840. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from Flanders that the States will not accept peace. They have replied to the Imperial Commissioners who asked for passports, excusing themselves on the ground of excessive occupation, and remarking that the empire should help rather than oppose them. The English agent who was expected has not arrived, and it seems that enthusiasm for peace in that quarter too is cooling down.

Prague, 10th January 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

841. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The negotiations for peace with England are moving ahead, but at a very slow pace, on account of the obstinacy of Holland and Zealand; for it seems that the Queen will not separate her interests from those of the States, and so, though both parties are desirous for the conclusion of peace, difficulties arise on this score. News from Flanders shows that their Highnesses have very little hope of a favourable issue. Here there is no word of preparations for a naval expedition, although it is the custom in this month to issue orders, and the drum is heard all round. This is a sign that they do not want to make much stir, and if the negotiations for money do not end favourably they will have neither wish nor means to do so.

The Emperor has sent an express with news of what has happened in Transylvania, and begs for vigorous assistance. But until the question of money is resolved, this and all the other business of the King is delayed, although they hold it of great importance to keep the Turk occupied elsewhere until they are more certain of a peace with England. If the peace in Flanders comes

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to a good issue, some of the Council would like to send the troops from Flanders to serve under the Emperor.

Madrid, 13th January 1599 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 17. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

842. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Negotiations for peace with the Queen of England are still on foot, but as she insists on keeping all the strong places, which she says she holds as security for money spent, even after peace is concluded, it is not easy to see how their Highnesses can consent. As these towns are the keys of Holland and Zealand the Queen will never permit such a treacherous act towards her allies as the surrender of them would be.

Prague, 17th January 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

843. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Nuncio in conversation with me one day touched upon the subject of the League, about which I have already informed your Serenity, and said to me, "I know that the Pope has great devices in his head; he is also very fortunate in his designs, and if we could only arrange the position of the Spanish crown so that it should be free from attack and secure against damage by the Queen of England, it would be possible to launch some really great scheme."

Madrid, 22nd January 1599 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

844. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A Secretary of Council, named Edmondes, has reached Brussels from England. He served for many years at this Court until the arrival of the present Ambassador. He is an able man, and one begins to see some opening for the negotiations for a peace.

The English Ambassador here has orders from the Queen to say, in answer to questions about the imprisonment of Essex, that she took that step in order that the Earl might recognise his fault and humble himself, not with any intent to destroy him, or ruin him, nor does she intend to remove him from any of his posts. It is thought that he will return to favour, for, in addition to what I have related above, the Queen frequently sends persons to visit him, and in order to encourage and console him the more she sends food from her own table for his use, and says she will go in person to see him. His health is better and he is now out of danger.

Paris, 22nd January 1599 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

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1600.
Jan. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

845. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As the interests of this Crown evidently require that the Turk should be occupied elsewhere as long as possible, they have finally resolved to send three hundred thousand crowns to the Emperor to help him to continue the war. They raise the moneys from the two millions recently borrowed of Florentine bankers, to whom they have assigned the Crusada and other ecclesiastical dues conceded to the King by the Pope, and also the capital which will arrive with next year's fleets, for no other revenue is at liberty here. They are sending to Flanders one million one hundred thousand crowns to pay the troops. This will be consigned to his Majesty's Ministers, for, to say the truth, they have little liking here for the Archduke and his lavish ways, although in fact it must be owned that this is the only way his Highness can ingratiate himself, for he has no commende nor other revenues to dispense. The Infanta has eight thousand crowns a month assigned to her to spend as she likes. It is well known, however, that they pay out this money very reluctantly, and only because they fear to lose Holland and Zealand if their Highnesses are abandoned, for they would then be forced to accept whatever terms were offered them.

The negotiations for peace with England are not moving forward as vigorously as the ministers would like, though they dissemble their desire; while here there are no signs of provision either for offence or defence, and if they do come to any decision it will be so late and so confused that it will end in nothing, as usually happens with their deliberations. There are, however, less than ten thousand foot, partly the residue of the Adelantado's forces, partly raised elsewhere, and these they will keep until they see what is the upshot of the negotiations with the Queen of England, and of the affair of Saluzzo.

Madrid, 24th January 1599 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

846. GIROLAMO CAPELLO and VICENZO GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassadors in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday evening, as the result of snowballing, a violent quarrel arose between the households of the French and English Ambassadors; several were badly wounded on either side, and had not night fallen worse would have happened; for the Ambassadors themselves began to take parts. There are differences between them and also no good understanding on account of past events relating to the question of jurisdiction and other issues, as I, Capello, have on various occasions informed your Serenity. Each attributed to the other the origin and beginning of the quarrel. The moment we heard of the occurrence we instantly endeavoured to calm their passions; both of them readily listened to our representations, and this morning I, Capello, visited both and succeeded in soothing their ruffled tempers. Accordingly this evening the illustrious Signor Francesco Gradenigo, son of the Ambassador, went to renew in his father's name the representations I had already made; he

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fulfilled his mission with great prudence, and deserves the highest praise; for the Ambassadors agreed to send, each of them, three gentlemen of their suite to my house, who, in their master's names, solemnly declared that they had no part in this affair, and were extremely annoyed at what had happened; further, that they left to us to examine and discover the prime mover in this quarrel, and each of them promised that when the truth was revealed they would severely punish the author, whoever he might be. In the meantime the Ambassadors were reconciled in the presence of the illustrious Signor Francesco, promising moreover to forget the injuries received, and to maintain between themselves that same good friendship which existed between their respective sovereigns. This reconciliation has given satisfaction to everyone and to us as well, in view of the evil consequences which might have followed.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 24th January 1599 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

847. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A courier has come from Flanders with the usual announcements from their Highnesses about their difficulty in coming to terms with those people, and begging for money. It is said that between the Infanta and the Archduke there is not that good understanding that one could wish.

Madrid, 26th January 1599 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 7. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

848. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The envoy of the Queen of England was expected in Brussels on the twentieth of last month, to negotiate for peace. Their Highnesses, too, have named Commissioners. Some say the meeting place will be Vervins.

Prague, 7th February 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

849. GIROLAMO CAPELLO and VICENZO GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassadors in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

No sooner had the quarrel between the French and English Ambassadors been accommodated than a fresh conflict broke out. It was caused by the English Ambassador on account of a note which the French Ambassador had sent to Halil Pasha, by the hands of the French dragoman, at the moment when the first quarrel was raging. Its object was to inform Halil of what was happening, and to forestall the English Ambassador should he lodge a complaint.

Accordingly, just as we were beginning our enquiry as to the causes of the first quarrel, in accordance with agreement, the English Ambassador sent his dragoman to Halil to obtain an order for an English merchant; the Pasha, who was already dissatisfied with

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the Ambassador, not only refused the request, but told the dragoman that his master was a lunatic, and that he had heard of the scandal which had arisen with the Ambassador of France. Halil also told the dragoman to warn his master to behave himself, and to keep within bounds and in order, and added other expressions of annoyance. The dragoman, who is a Jew, but lately taken into the English Ambassador's service, went back to the Embassy and reported all that had happened, and without exercising any circumspection, he very likely represented the language of Halil as more violent than had really been employed.

The English Ambassador came straight to me, told me what had taken place and begged me to excuse him if he withdrew from the promise he had given me, for the French Ambassador, after placing everything in my hands, had still presented to Halil a note in which he not merely exaggerated the episode, but accused the English Ambassador of wishing to attack the French Embassy; and, therefore, as the French Ambassador had broken his word and promise, the English Ambassador claimed to be released from his, and to be free to act in defence of his interests and his honour.

I endeavoured to quiet him, and begged him to wait till I heard the account from the French Ambassador. From him I learned how the matter stood; it seems that the note was sent to Halil before I had intervened between the Ambassadors. The French Ambassador offered to send anyone I might name to Halil to inform him of the arrangement which had been reached, to assure him that he and the English Ambassador were friends, and to explain to him all that I had done for the satisfaction of the English Ambassador. But for all that this offer was courteous and prudent; the English Ambassador only grew the more bitter, and next morning went straight away to the Capudan Pasha, who is a deadly enemy of the French, to lodge a complaint not only against the Ambassador of France but against Halil as well, on account of the message he had sent through the Dragoman; and he let it be understood that he would not appear before Halil, as he was an enemy and partial to France. Cigala (the Capudan) willingly espoused the English Ambassador's cause, and promised to support him, and, if it was necessary, to present a petition to the Sultan. But it seems that Cigala subsequently spoke to Halil, and resolved to intrust me with the resolution of the difficulty. Accordingly Halil sent one of the chief cavasses to me and Cigala sent another; they, in the name of their masters, informed me, with every expression of esteem and regard for the Republic, that the quarrel between the two Ambassadors caused great annoyance, and that, as it did not seem to them desirable to interfere between the Ambassadors of Christian powers, they could take no better course than to place the whole affair in the hands of the representatives of your Serenity, for among the allies of the Porte the Republic was the most ancient, the most worthy, and the most prudent; and they most urgently begged me as your minister to undertake this task, as the illustrious Gradenigo, owing to his serious illness, could not support any new trouble.

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I returned thanks to the Pashas, and made a suitable reply to the confidence reposed in your Serenity and the honour done to me, which, to say the truth, was expressed in terms not merited by my poor worth. I said that since their lordships so desired, I would do my best to carry out their wishes. When the dragomans had been dismissed, I informed both Ambassadors of the proposals made by the Pashas, and, reopening the negotiations, by the grace of God they were brought to make peace, though the difficulties were numerous and the rehearsal of them would be tedious to your Serenity. In truth I have found in the French Ambassador—albeit he had more grounds for resentment than the English Ambassador, on account of various injuries received in the course of this affair—a most excellent disposition and pliability.

I immediately reported this new reconciliation to the Pasha who was highly pleased, and made use of expressions of great regard for the Republic. He tendered me his thanks, as have also the Ambassadors.

In the course of these transactions I have had a most favourable occasion to speak to the English Ambassador about the audacity of the English ships which, in the waters and harbours of your Serenity, molest all other shipping, including that of the Republic. I pointed out to him the difficulties that might arise, quite against the wishes of the Queen. I begged him to report the matter home, so that steps might be taken to prevent the mischief going further. The Ambassador promised to make vigorous representations, and he assured me that if these pirates go to England they will be most severely punished. He added that when the Queen hears of these complaints, and sees that there is no other way of preventing them, she will revoke the charter of the Levant Company rather than allow others, under its shelter, to molest the Republic and her allies. I seem to have gathered from the Ambassador's remarks, that the English trade will not last long here; for in the course of his complaints against the French Ambassador for his hostile attitude on the old question of jurisdiction between them, in the heat of his conversation, he said that the French Ambassador ought to leave the English in peace for this one year that they have to trade here; for the English have countries far richer than this to trade in, and seas where they can expand themselves at pleasure (alluding to the Indies), and that they might quite well cease to traffic here, where they are lightly esteemed and constantly insulted. If that really took place it would be of vast service to the navigation of these waters, for the more the English frequent these seas and become familiar with them, the more complaints of damage by them and injuries inflicted shall we hear of; to say nothing of other dangerous results which must arise from the number of ships which they possess, and from the magnitude of their plans which are directed to the capture of booty, and are accompanied by barbarous cruelty which knows no fear, nor knowledge of God, or of law.

However, I am not without hope that their Ambassador and Consuls may leave this place and other places in the Levant; for almost all the claims and pretensions of the English have been

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decided in favour of France. They claimed that all foreigners who desired to place themselves under the protection of the English flag should be free to do so. The English representatives lack a strong support on which they counted to maintain the Ambassador in Constantinople and the Consuls elsewhere; for they cannot draw their salaries except from the dues levied, and their payments can be exacted from the English subjects only, who are few in number, and so their fees (cottimi) will not nearly cover their current expenses. The whole charges, therefore, fall on the company of the Levant merchants (for the Queen will not listen to any other party), and as they cannot support such a strain, they will be forced to abandon the enterprise; besides, it seems that they do not pay a dividend owing to the small profits they make on their business.*

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 7th February 1599 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 12 Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

850. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Holiness has news that the negotiations for a peace between the Archduke Albert, the Queen of England, and the States are not far from a desirable conclusion. The Queen of England is reported to have shown clemency towards certain Catholic prisoners; and although the States declared that they would listen to no one who spoke to them of peace, still they have admitted certain imperial commissioners sent to them for that purpose.

Rome, 12th February 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

851. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Secretary sent by the Queen of England has had two audiences of the Archduke Albert. He made the following communication that the Queen was disposed to negotiate for peace, and would appoint five commissioners as soon as she heard that the Archduke had done the same. The place of meeting is left open as yet; the Archduke desired it to take place inside his states, whereas the Secretary said it ought to be in England, a point the Queen insists upon; but they will end by choosing some place in France. It is quite possible that the Secretary may come here to report to the Ambassador all that has taken place, and to beg him to approach his Majesty as to the concession of a place of meeting. The Spanish Ambassador complains that his Majesty does not assist this reconciliation by interposing as vigorously as he promised to do, and as reason dictates.

The Queen of England, who has left London, is expected back, and on her return they think Essex will be set at liberty. In Essex's

* Cottimi, a tax of two per cent. which the Venetian Consuls in the Levant, London, and Bruges exacted from Venetian merchants on the value of the goods they exported to Venice. Sometimes too, as at Constantinople in the sixteenth century, the tax was levied on goods imported from Venice. Cf. Rezasco, *Dizionario del linguaggio italiano storico ed amministrativo.* Firenze, le Monnier, 1881.

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place Lord Mountjoy has been appointed to Ireland, but with greatly restricted authority. In Ireland upwards of ten thousand of the troops that were sent there last summer, are dead of the malaria; the sickness began immediately with the first rains of August.

The Dutch have seized ten French ships which were on their way from Rochelle to Calais with salt and wine for the most part. Two others escaped into Calais harbour under the protection of the guns. The King is extremely angry at this, and threatens to make war on the Dutch if they continue such conduct; but they reply that they cannot help it for two reasons, one is that all the goods and victuals reach the Archduke's States from Calais, and they wish to cut off that source; and the other that they claim a toll from all vessels sailing those seas as a recompense for the cost of keeping the route free from pirates.

Paris, 13th February 1599 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

852. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A commissioner of the Queen of England has arrived in Flanders. His mission is to keep alive and to continue negotiations for peace. The ministers are about to meet on the subject.

In Ireland the Queen's affairs are going very badly, for a large number of her troops have been again cut to pieces by the Irish at the siege of Dublin, where the viceroy was beleaguered. The Irish are in hopes of capturing the place, which would be a great blow to the whole undertaking. *On account of this news they affect to be indifferent to the peace, though really, inwardly, they desire it extremely, and have sent orders to Flanders that everything is to be done to bring it to a happy conclusion.*

The Scottish Ambassador, who is here, has not yet concluded his business. They do not wish to discourage him by a positive refusal, nor yet to endanger the negotiations for peace by giving him a favourable reply.

The Queen has a continuous tertian fever, and has never been quite free. All the same, the doctors are hopeful, as she received great benefit from two bleedings made since yesterday. As she had never been bled before she was very much frightened, and would not consent until at last the King, who was sitting on her bed, begged her to submit. When the operation was over the King himself removed the bandage for compressing the veins, and asked if she had suffered as much as she expected; she replied that she was not aware of having suffered at all, for she had been dressed by the hand of his Majesty, which was enough to remove any pain whatever. The King tied the bandage round his arm, and, as a reward to the barber-surgeon, freed him and his posterity from al taxes in perpetuity.

Madrid, 14th February 1599 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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Feb. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

853. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Holiness has heard that the negotiations for peace between the Queen of England and the King of Spain were continually improving. Two personages have reached Calais, one to see the King of France, the other to go to the Archduke, to settle the place of meeting.

Rome, 16th February 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

854. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Secretary (Thomas Edmondes), who was lately with the Archduke Albert to negotiate for peace, has arrived here. Seeing that the King of Spain, the Archduke and the Infanta have named four commissioners for these negotiations, Don Balthazar de Zuniga, his Catholic Majesty's Ambassador to the Archduke, the Admiral of Aragon, the President Richardot and the Audientiary, these last two having taken part in peace of Vervins, the Secretary has come here to report to her Majesty's Ambassador. The Ambassador has requested his Majesty to allow the conference to be held in the city of Boulogne. The Spanish Ambassador has preferred the same request, and has been to visit the Secretary, who is living with the English Ambassador, upon whom the Spanish Ambassador also called, an obvious proof of ardent desire for peace on the side of Spain. This is the first interview that has taken place between the representatives of these sovereigns. The English Ambassador returned the visit with every sign of courtesy. The King shows his intention to grant his assent to Boulogne as the place of conference, and in appearance, at least, he seems to desire that peace should be made.

The illustrious Ambassador Vendramin arrived at Pont Charenton on Thursday last, and was to have made his entry into Paris the following day, but, in order to allow of the necessary preparations, it has been put off till to-morrow.

Paris, 19th February 1599 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 21. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

855. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Little news from Flanders, except that the Queen of England's agent has left to return to his mistress. They say he looked highly pleased, and they argue from that good hopes of peace.

Prague, 21st February 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

856. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Certain reports have reached Constantinople from Venice, and have awakened a lively suspicion in the minds of the Ministers, and especially of Cigala. For, besides the rumours of an accord between

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England and Spain, through the mediation of France, of the marriage of the King of France to a niece of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, of the arrangement with Savoy about the Marquisate of Saluzzo, the point which arouses greatest suspicion is the report that your Serenity has secured the services of the third son of Lorraine with one hundred and twenty thousand men. This, in confirmation of the letters received by Cigala from his brother Carlo about the French landing in Dalmatia, has thrown him into doubts, and he has endeavoured by every means to find out what is really taking place. He sent to ask the French Ambassador, and, with even greater confidence, the English; but both replied that they knew nothing beyond these rumours.

The French Ambassador has applied for leave to return to France.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 22nd February 1599 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

857. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador long ago applied for leave to return to France in obedience to the orders of his master. This he easily obtained from Ibraim, then Grand Vizir; but the Mufti, though a friend of the Ambassador, raised difficulties, and persuaded Ibraim that it would not be prudent to allow the Ambassador to go home while smarting under the injuries and insults received from Cigala, besides the insult offered to the King by Cigala's retention of the sword of honour and the imperial letters.

The Ambassador reported this to his master and has received fresh despatches, from which it would appear that the King thinks the Ambassador is staying on here for his own pleasure, and orders him to come home at once or he will be held responsible. This poor gentleman, in great distress of mind, seeks leave to retire, and has taken a translation of the King's letter to the Grand Vizir, the Chief Eunuch and others, but they only grow the more suspicious and refuse leave for him to retire before the arrival of his successor. He came to me for advice as to whether he should retire without leave or should send his household back to France and stay here as a private individual. All this shows the suspicion of the Turks.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 22nd February 1599 [m.v.].

[*Italian; diciphered.*]

Feb. 24. Original Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

858. To the AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.

From the enclosed you will see that five English ships have seized the "Santa Maria," while the commander of the Flemish squadron has seized the ship "Ponte," both of them with valuable cargoes belonging to our subjects.

The enclosed will also inform you of the resolution passed in the Senate upon this subject.

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All this for your information and to enable you to reply with knowledge of the facts.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 24. Original Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

859. The damage done by English and Dutch vessels to our shipping is so serious, as in this case of the ship "Ponte" bound for Brazil with oil, wine, and other merchandise belonging to Venetian subjects, which fell in with the Dutch and was robbed of her artillery, arms, and goods, and her crew badly treated; and as happened also to the ship "Santa Maria," Master Cristoforo Comeler, laden in Lisbon with sugar and bound for Venice, which was captured by five English ships. The masters of these sold the cargo and did what they liked with the proceeds. Orders were accordingly given to place in arrest many English and Dutch ships which were on the point of sailing, until this Council could come to some resolution on the matter.

Therefore let the Chamber of Commerce (*Savii alle mercantia*) summon all the English merchants in this city to their presence and also the Dutch, and compel them within eight days to pay up security for the value of the stolen goods, which can be proved to have belonged to merchants of this city; if this security is not forthcoming a sequestration order shall issse for the amount required, against the estates of the English and Dutch, in this city or on board the vessels under arrest as the Chamber may think best.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

860. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In Flanders there are fresh risings of the troops every day; while the hopes about peace with England increase.

Madrid, 25th February 1599 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Mar. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

861. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The knightly orders have been convened for Eastertide, in order to amend abuses and also to endeavour to extract from them some contributions towards the King's necessities.

Madrid, 1st March 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Mar. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

862. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN and FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Dutch ships have captured two more Frenchmen, besides those they seized some days ago off Calais. M. de Villeroi, on the King's orders, has summoned the agent of the States and has used most threatening language, and shown a thorough determination to be revenged, even to the extent of attaching the agent's person, unless these irregularities are brought to an end. It is supposed that the Dutch are driven to these measures as they find themselves

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abandoned by all foreign help, for the negotiations for peace between the Queen of England and the King of Spain are proceeding vigorously. A few days ago the audientiary* of the Archduke Albert, who was present at the peace of Vervins, crossed over to England to see the Queen. His mission is to accommodate certain difficulties which might possibly disturb the negotiations before the commissioners meet at Boulogne. That meeting will take place during this present month, for the King has given his consent to the Spanish Ambassador and to the English Secretary. The names of the Spanish commissioners were given in the preceding despatches; of the English commissioners we have no notice as yet, on account of the bad weather which has prevented the passage from England to France.

The Dutch fleet has returned from the Canaries with very small gain. The commander and many men have died.

A duel between twenty French and twenty Flemish gentlemen was fought between Bois le Duc and Breda.

Head of the Flemish was the Governor of Bois-le-Duc,† head of the French, the son-in-law of M. de Sansi, M. de Briante (*Briote*), a young gentleman of high spirit who has often been in engagements; he and sixteen of his men were left dead on the field, the rest fled; the victors had half their men either killed or wounded. They say here, however, that the Flemish acted treacherously and had an unfair advantage in arms.

Paris, 5th March 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Mar. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

863. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A personage arrived here from Flanders gives ever surer hopes of a peace between the Queen of England and the Archduke Albert. It seems that her two agents, one to the King of France and the other to the Archduke, have settled that the place of conference shall be Boulogne; and Ambassadors from the Emperor have reached Brussels to take part in the peace negotiations. But the more disposed the Archduke showed himself to open negotiations with the States of Holland and Zealand, in which he is zealously supported by the Queen of England, the more the States threatened bitter war; and recently, to the number of four thousand, their troops seized a fortress in Brabant, which on account of its relation to neighbouring fortresses, is of the highest importance.

Rome, 4th March 1600.

[*Italian.*]

* The Audientiary was Louis de Verreiken. Verreschen he is called in the copy of the Peace of Vervins. Dispacci, Francia, 3rd July, 1598. Cf. Calendar of State Papers. Domestic. 1598–1601, pp. 397, 402, 407, and Sully's Memoirs, tr. London. i., 471.

† Grobendonk, cf. Calendar of State Papers. Domestic. 1598–1601, pp. 397, 407.

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1600.
March 7.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

864. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I am informed that Cigala advises the Sultan that it is necessary to garrison the Morea in order to put an end to the damage which the western galleys are committing. Cigala in conversation with the English Ambassador, who subsequently told me, was very pressing in his endeavour to find out what I had said about him; adding that he was a friend to your Serenity, and that I would soon see what he had done against the pirates. He said that he regretted to find that he was not trusted. Then on the subject of the third son of Lorraine, he remarked that, as your Serenity was at peace with all the powers, these preparations could only be directed against the Grand Signor; though he could hardly believe that your Serenity contemplated breaking the peace. The Ambassador assured him that there was no fear that your Serenity would move so easily; and as to my remarks about Cigala, the Ambassador declared that he had never heard a disparaging word from me nor from any of my suite.

The French Ambassador in alarm lest his most Christian Majesty should hold him responsible for not retiring, has begged me to make an affidavit of the facts. I declined; and he then asked me to inform your Serenity in order that the truth might be conveyed to his Most Christian Majesty's Ambassador resident in Venice.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 7th March 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

865. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As the prospects of the conclusion of a peace with England increase and consequently the need for troops to guard the shores of these kingdoms diminishes, so the number of troops to be sent with the Count of Fuentes into Italy is raised.

News from Seville that the entire fleet has arrived there, without encountering storms or pirates. As regards its cargo it does not bring more than eleven millions. *The larger part of this belongs to private individuals, only two and a half millions go to the King. As the money raised before hand on the cargo of the fleet amounts to three millions, the remaining half million continues as a debt. And although his Majesty is already spending money raised on security of the fleet of* 1603, *the fleets of* 1601 *and* 1602 *being already mortgaged, nevertheless, as the Duke of Lerma was the first to give him news of the arrival of this fleet in Seville, the King ordered the Duke to be paid one hundred thousand crowns out of the royal property on board. We may be sure that this hundred thousand crowns will be first money that is paid out; and the event causes considerable grumbling on the part of the public.*

Madrid, 8th March 1600.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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1600.
March 16.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

866. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The mutiny in Flanders is growing more and more serious. The Spanish troops have made themselves masters of a very strong position and have invited all those who wish to join them. The mass of troops is very great and there is alarm lest they should take to pillaging the country. *Doctor Carrillo has been sent off there post haste with urgent orders to negotiate and conclude a peace with the Queen of England.*

The Dutch fleet has done much damage at St. Thomas. It has sacked and burned the island and the fortress, ruined the sugar mills, carried off the sugar and slain the Spanish garrison; a rising among the blacks is dreaded.

Madrid, 16th March 1600.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 20.
Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

867. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It seems the chief difficulty in the way of peace with England has been overcome by conceding the Queen's demand to retain the security cities. Other two points which do not involve any concession will easily be arranged; one that the Queen insists that neither the King of Spain nor their Highnesses may send a fleet up the English Channel; the other is that she demands security in London for her credit with the States, in case by making peace with their Highnesses, the security places should have to be restored. The Audientiary Vereiken has left for England.

Prague, 20th March 1600.

[*Italian.*]

March 26.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

868. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Ferrando Cariglio has passed through Paris on his way to Brussels. He comes from Spain, and is commissioned by the King to take part in the conference which will meet at Boulogne to treat about peace with England. That meeting should take place this month, but there is a delay because the Audientiary of the Archduke has not been so cordially received by the Queen of England, and is waiting fresh orders from his Highness. For when he had an audience of the Queen in order to sound her disposition before the commissioners met, he encountered opposition to his suggestions which were mainly two, that the Queen should surrender Flushing and Brill, and that the English trade with Holland should cease and be transferred to Antwerp. To the first a resolute and absolute negative was returned, as such a step would not comport with the honour of the Queen, for those places were not captured by force of arms, but were consigned to the Queen as security until the money she had advanced was returned to her by the Dutch, and it would be a slur on her good name if she surrender them to any other than the Dutch themselves, who have always acted honourably by her;

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besides the loss would be too serious if she surrendered the fortresses without recovering the millions she had disbursed. As to the second, it was pointed out that it was impossible for the Queen to assign Antwerp alone as a trading port for her subjects, for they would be exposed to continual annoyances, and run the risk of being plundered on the journey. The meeting of the commission at Boulogne will, accordingly, be postponed till these difficulties are removed.

Paris, 26th March 1600.

[*Italian.*]

April 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

869. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

English ships in Provençal waters have been doing damage.

The Secretary of the Queen of England has gone back to Brussels. They wish to smooth away the difficulties which might hinder a peace before the commissioners meet.

Paris, 8th April 1600.

[*Italian.*]

April 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

870. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from England that the Queen is in very bad health and that affairs in Ireland are steadily going in favour of the Catholics. Nevertheless a considerable number of ships have sailed from England, while others have put out from Zealand and Holland, and have steered for the Indies. All the same the peace negotiations which are being conducted in Boulogne are not interrupted, nor are the parties without hopes of a favourable issue. Perhaps the Queen thinks she will better her position if she makes her fleet felt while negotiations are on foot.

The merchants here have not been able to prevent the King, who is in great difficulties, from keeping back fifty per cent. of the sum secured upon this fleet, and although he has done so with their assent, and they are to draw the ordinary rate of interest, still many of them are very anxious; for, as I have already told your Serenity, the credit on the future fleets is engaged up to the year 1603. *In this way the arrears are sure to mount up, and some fine day a royal decree may be issued, which will throw everything into confusion, as did the decrees of the late King. For although, to say the truth, the King is averse from such a step as breaking his word, and is well aware of the damage which the last decree wrought to the King his father, still he is in such straits that he does not know where to turn for relief. The Duke of Lerma, seeing his Majesty's needs, has sold an office he held from the King, the secretaryship of Seville, for the sum of three hundred thousand crowns and has given them to the King, though one may imagine that he has ulterior motives. The Archbishop of Toledo has also offered to be content with ten thousand crowns a year of his income and to renounce in his Majesty's favour all the rest, which would*

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amount to quite two hundred thousand crowns a year, and although this offer is made out of compliment, still the spirit in which it is made is acceptable.

Madrid, 8th April 1600.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

871. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King came from Toledo three days ago and stayed till this morning, when he returned to Aranjuez. He is expected here the day after to-morrow. The convocation of the Chivalrous Orders is fixed for the 16th.

While his Majesty was here he saw the Procurators of the Cortes in order that they might devise means for meeting the dearth of money. They sat at the palace from one o'clock in the afternoon till daybreak, and in spite of it all no resolution was reached. They have offered his Majesty the eighth part of this year's vintage, which they calculate to be worth two millions and a half, though one may doubt it; but two difficulties arose, one that the King wished them to guarantee that sum, without waiting on the chance; the Procurators declined to do this. The other difficulty is that the Procurators will not allow the King to alienate this revenue, for then they would soon be back in the old position, and they insist that this money shall be handled by the various kingdoms and by no one else. As no arrangement on these points was reached, everything is undecided. They will have to come to some definite resolution soon, for his Majesty's needs are most pressing. Nevertheless he continues to spend money on quite unnecessary objects, which causes great pain, and on his journeys which cost a treasure.

After the news that the English and Dutch fleets were out, a violent quarrel took place in the Council of State between the Adelantado and the Count of Fuentes, about the employment of the three thousand troops in Andalusia and Ferrol, the remains of the Adelantado's expedition of last year. The Adelantado insisted that they were needed for the protection of the coast, and Fuentes said he would not go to Milan without them. Later news announced that the English ships had gone to Ireland, and that the Queen's affairs are in a very bad way, and this led to an order for the embarkation of the troops, which, however, will take place very slowly.

Madrid, 13th April 1600.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

872. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King came back on Saturday last from Aranjuez. The next day the meeting of the Orders, St. James, Alcantara and Calatrava, took place, and three days were occupied with ceremonies. The knights will now have to meet again for the reform of abuses, and to raise money for the King. There will be difficulties in the way, for if any money can be raised at all it must come from the private

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1600.

purses of the knights; there is not a penny of common funds available.

Madrid, 20th April 1600.

[*Italian.*]

April 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

873. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the business of the peace with England we hear that they are endeavouring to induce the Queen of England to surrender the strong places she holds in Flanders. She shows herself little inclined to such a step. The Spanish assert that without this condition no satisfactory conclusion to this important business will be arrived at.

I learn that the King of Spain has sent a personage express to deal with the matter.

Rome, 22nd April 1600.

[*Italian.*]

April 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

874. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Lord Montjoy, who has taken Essex's place in Ireland, has left with three or four thousand men, and fresh troops are following him. Letters from the rebel Earl of Tyrone to the King of Spain have been intercepted. In them the Earl calls himself a subject of the King, and asks for aid in money and ammunition, as he has no need for men nor for provisions. The Queen will soon give orders that Essex is to go to his own house, but in charge of a gentleman; in this way she prepares for his liberation and return to favour.

Paris, 22nd April 1600.

[*Italian.*]

April 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

875. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is well known that the negotiations for electing the King of France as King of the Romans, are very far advanced, both because his Majesty has secured the support of all the electors, and for many other reasons.

The Spanish in particular are very anxious about these negotiations, and I know that they are doing all they can with his Holiness, and with others to upset all schemes that are favourable to the French. There are rumours set about, though credited only by some, that his most Christian Majesty has already appointed a heretic preacher for Pinerolo, in case the Duke of Savoy adopts the resolution to surrender the Marquisate of Saluzzo and to effect the exchange, and also a heretic governor for that province. But these are reports intended to damage the King.

By the death of the Cardinal Madruccio the Spanish have lost an important element in their party.

Rome, 29th April 1600.

[*Italian.*]

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1600.
May 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

876. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Secretary and Dragoman of the French Ambassador in Constantinople have arrived here after a journey of four months. They came to try to raise money to enable their master to pay his debts and come home. They bring letters from certain Pashas in praise of the Ambassador. His successor has not been named. They talk of a brother of M. de Sansi, but as he is a Huguenot, another may be elected, for it does not seem proper to send a heretic to protect the Catholic monks who are at the Holy Sepulchre and elsewhere, which has always been the duty of the French Ambassador. M. de Sansi, however, is doing all he can on his brother's behalf, as his own private interests dictate, especially his desire to sell some jewels, among these two diamonds of extraordinary size, which he has never been able to dispose of neither in Italy, nor elsewhere.

The King has sent the Governor of Dieppe, a Knight of Malta, to England to take part in a Chapter of the Order of the Garter; the King has never been represented since he received the Garter, four years ago.

The Queen of England's Secretary, who has been to Brussels, has arranged the time for the meeting of the commissioners at Boulogne, to negotiate the peace. The date is the 16th of this month. The Queen's Ambassador resident, will go to Boulogne as one of the commissioners. It is thought that within a month or a little more after meeting, we shall see peace made or negotiations broken off. Archduke Albert has assured the Secretary that he will not go beyond what is reasonable; and the question of free trade with Holland will probable prove the most serious difficulty; for if the Spanish assent they will draw but little profit from the peace, if they refuse to assent negotiations will be broken off, for the Kingdom of England cannot afford to lose this commerce for many important reasons.

The King has given fifty thousand crowns to the States, and this year he will give as much as two hundred thousand; he wishes to keep them well disposed.

In Holland they have news that Don Christoforo, son of the late Don Antonio of Portugal, has passed through Venice, and is now in Rome.

Fontainebleau, first of May 1600.

[*Italian.*]

May 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

877. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Procurators of the Cortes have voted the King eighteen millions of gold; of these seven are to go to secure this year's debts, which as I told your Serenity, had but poor security, the remainder is to be paid up in six years. But it seems that the King, as yet, will not be content with this arrangement, for he has the example of the last donative of eight millions, which cost more than other eight to raise, and came in so slowly, that it was of hardly any use. The whole question is still unsettled, for his Majesty's wish is to create a revenue for the ordinary expenses. The desire to

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1600.

find a way out of these embarrassments is heightened by the rumour that the King of France is amassing money on all sides, and already has a considerable sum laid by.

Madrid, the first of May, 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

878. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

From all quarters comes news of the mischief wrought by every kind of pirate; and recently the French Ambassador has been informed by his consul in Zante that two french Sagitte (Saette) laden with spices were captured by an English ship as they were on their way from Syria. They were taken into Patras. This incident has increased the ill-feeling between these two Ambassadors. The French Ambassador claims compensation for damages from the English; and on the top of this injury comes another and a greater to feed the fire, which is this; there have been some months now in Constantinople two French gentlemen, lodging with the Ambassador; they said they were travelling out of curiosity and intended to go into Persia, in the train of the first Ambassador who went there; and for this purpose they obtained permission and the necessary orders from Halil Pasha. Well, the English Ambassador, for what object I cannot say, has spread a report that these gentlemen intend to negotiate with the Persian something unfavourable to the Turk. This conduct reached the ears of the French Ambassador and of the two Frenchmen. They determined to call on the English Ambassador and to address most serious and pungent observations to him; friends however dissuaded them; but I do not think the matter will rest there, as the French Ambassador is determined to take offence at the English Ambassador's conduct, and to complain of it to the Grand Vizir. The French Ambassador also informed me that he would advise the French Ambassador resident in Venice of the capture of the French vessels, so that he might inform your Serenity, for considering that this affair nearly touches your Serenity's interests, the Ambassador thinks that if you and his most Christian Majesty present a joint memorial to the Porte, steps will certainly be taken and possibly English shipping will be forbidden to sail these seas.*

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 6th May 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

879. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The cities have not yet given their consent to the proposals made by the Procurators to give the King eighteen millions in gold; nor is the King thoroughly satisfied, as this scheme will not really meet his wants, especially if seven millions are to go to secure this

* A sea-going vessel, so called from its swiftness. Jal says not to be confounded with the Turkish *Sayka*. The *Sagitta* was propelled by oars. Cf. *Venezia e E. Sve. Lagune*, I.; ii. p. 224.

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year's debts. Nothing will be settled till he comes back in three days. Meantime they continue raising loans, their only means of getting money. They have raised one in Milan for seven hundred thousand crowns, and others for two millions are on foot, and so the royal revenue is growing more and more hampered, and your Excellencies will be surprised to hear that an auction, though under feigned names, was held the other day for the sale of valuable furniture and jewels and silver belonging to the King, which fetched two hundred thousand crowns, to meet current outgoings. This is a sign of the King's necessities, which indeed are common subject of talk owing to the number and the variety of persons who are creditors of the Crown. This diminishes the reputation of the King.

Madrid, 9th May 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

880. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

They do not at all approve of this Medicean marriage of the King of France, and are very suspicious on account of the continual rumours that his Majesty is amassing large sums of money, and they doubt his objects. They learn with displeasure that the negotiations for peace with England are going on very slowly for it is ardently desired, besides the absolute need they have to put an end to those annoyances which they have endured for so long a time from that quarter without any results, and they expect a favourable issue, perhaps because they desire it. Here are no signs, not even the smallest, of preparation for a fleet, nor for garrisons, nor any sort of provision for the defence of the coast, although the season is so far advanced; on the contrary the Count of Fuentes is embarking more and more men for his government of Milan.

In the Council of State they have had a long discussion as to whether it is desirable to send an express to urge his Imperial Majesty to elect the King of the Romans, for there is a certain rumour that the King of France has not entirely abandoned that aspiration, perhaps because he has some very secret information that his Cæsarean Majesty is not in a thoroughly good state; and should death or any other disaster overtake the Emperor without the election of King of the Romans having taken place they see that they run a very great risk, though in any circumstances they fear that the Empire will quit the House of Austria. The Imperial Ambassador, whom they have consulted, has dissuaded them from this step as premature.*

Madrid, 13th May 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

* Hinting at Rudolph's madness.

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May 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

881. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Secretary of the Queen of England before leaving Brussels arranged with his Highness the date of the meeting at Boulogne. That was fixed for the 16th old style, 26th new style. The Secretary wished, and, indeed, insisted in the Queen's name, that the Archduke should declare himself upon the points raised by his commissioner in England, points which were entirely rejected, but he replied that the discussion of these really lay with the Envoys, for if the main points were to be settled in this way it would be quite superfluous to send any one to Boulogne. He promised, however, that in negotiating his Envoys would not go beyond the bounds of what was just and reasonable.

The Secretary returned to England with this answer, and then the four commissioners were named. They are the Resident Ambassador here—who has demanded audience of the King to take leave, a Master of Requests, the Secretary, who has been at Brussels, and another Secretary.* The other side are represented by two Spaniards, Don Balthazar de Zuniga, the Spanish Ambassador in Flanders, and Don Ferrando Cariglia, of the Royal Council, recently come from Spain, and two Flemish, the President Richardot, and the Audientiary, who were at the treaty of Vervins.

Although the Earl of Essex has been sent by the Queen to his own house, yet he is not free to move about, and is under the custody of certain gentlemen, who do not allow him to communicate with anyone. M. de Chatillon, nephew of the late Admiral, has been sent to England along with the Governor of Dieppe, for the reason I have explained.

Paris, 14th May 1600.

[*Italian.*]

May 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

882. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The city is full of pilgrims, among them three heretic noblemen, one of the house of Bavaria, one the Prince de Montpellier, the third the Earl of Derby(?) (*Milord di Derbi*). They all three lodged at the hospital of the Trinità, and were much edified at the sight of Cardinal Mont' Alto washing pilgrims' feet. They were recognised, however, and had to leave.

Rome, 20th May 1600.

[*Italian.*]

May 22. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

883. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Negotiations for peace between the Queen of England and their Highnesses are going on very slowly. It seems that the Archduke made four demands; restitution of the fortresses, renewal of the

* Secretary Herbert. Cf. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1598–1601, pp. 434, 439, 457.

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Burgundian confederation, offensive and defensive, free trade for Flemish ships, closing of the Channel to the Dutch. The Queen refused each as being too prejudicial to the States, her old allies. She, on the other hand, demands free trade, with only the old customs imposed, the abolish of the Inquisition on English subjects in Spain; free trade for England in West and East Indies alike, in accordance with the rights of nations. Edmondes (*Edmone*) has returned to England, and reports but slight prospect of a successful issue. The Archduke wished any one of his commissioners to attend the meetings, and so the Queen on her side, has withdrawn the Earl of Northumberland and sent Edmondes instead.

They say the Queen is very jealous of the prosperity of the French, her ancient rebels and foes. Some weeks ago she told the Scottish Ambassador that his most Christian Majesty had demanded in marriage Arabella, daughter of Charles Stuart, and descended from Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., who is a pretender to the Crown, no less than the King of Scotland, for they are second cousins. The Scottish Ambassador complained to the French Ambassador, who pointed out the improbability of this as his Majesty had concluded a contract of marriage with Tuscany.

The Earl of Tyrone has made a raid in Munster, and the Marquis, his brother-in-law, the best leader the Irish have, pushed on to the town of Coin (?), where the garrison, under their leader, St. Leger, attacked them. St. Leger wounded the Marquis with a pistol shot, and the Marquis wounded St. Leger with a dart, smashing his brains, and both died on the spot; the Irish fled.

Lord Montjoy wrote to the Queen promising to cut off the Earl of Tyrone; but he escaped, and the Queen is highly displeased with the Earl of Ormonde (*Varmont*) an Irishman, who was the cause.

At Embden in Frisia, a meeting between English and Danish commissioners* is to be held in order to regulate the English fisheries round the Kingdom of Norway, over which Denmark claims jurisdiction.

Prague, 22nd May 1600.

[*Italian.*]

May 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

884. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador of the Queen of England has taken his leave and gone towards Boulogne to meet the other commissioners who are to treat of peace. From what I have gathered, the Queen will not consent so easily, but is using this conference as a pretext for gaining time, but I cannot be sure of all this.

Paris, 22nd May 1600.

[*Italian.*]

* For England the Bishop of London, Dr. Herbert and Dr. Parkins. The Mission was unsuccessful. Cf. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1598–1601, pp. 415–438, 439–445.

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June 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

885. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The prospects of peace with England are dying away rather than growing.

The States General in Brussels has been informed of the need their Hignesses have of money, but with little result.

Rome, 3rd June 1600.

[*Italian.*]

June 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

886. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have just received letters from the Proveditore Generale Moro in Candia, informing me of what had happened about the English vessels arrested in the port of Candia, and adding that he has informed your Serenity. These are most certainly important and troublesome events. When the Capudan Pasha heard of it he highly praised the resolution displayed, and showed himself ready on his side to take any necessary steps.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 3rd June 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

887. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In the dispute between the Ambassadors of France and England on the subject of jurisdiction, Achmet Pasha has repeatedly asked me to express my opinion, as I have already told your Serenity. I not only excused myself, but I endeavoured to put an end for ever to this attempt, for I did not wish to mix myself up in a matter in which the Pasha, unable to reach a conclusion himself, sought to shelter his decision behind my opinion. Achmet, seeing that his request was of no weight with me, sent last week to tell me that I was to go to him as he held orders from the Sultan to speak to me on certain matters. The cavass who brought the message is very intimate with the Pasha, and told me that his master desired to consult me in confidence on some important points. I guessed the question to be that of peace through the intervention of your Serenity, as, indeed, the cavass let fall some hint; and this was all the more annoying to me; nevertheless, I neither ought to nor could I refuse to obey the summons. The Pasha showed great pleasure at my arrival, and withdrew with me into a little cabinet, and without more ado, plunged into the question of the ambassadors, complaining that I never consented to express my opinion and refused to inform him how matters really stood, I replied that I never had any intention of hiding the truth, when I knew it, for the truth could injure no one; but, in the present case, I neither knew the truth nor could I affirm anything for certain. The Pasha then opened a large map of Europe, and began by asking me who was master of Flanders. I replied that his Catholic Majesty was the original owner; and being gently invited by the Pasha to explain how that was and in what condition those provinces now were, I gave him a history from Philip I., father of Charles V., to Philip II. I also told him of what had happened

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in Flanders, and was going on now in Holland and Zealand, which are the two provinces in dispute between the Ambassadors. For the English claim that those people shall sail under the English flag because they have thrown off their allegiance to Spain and placed themselves under the protection of England. I also told the Pasha that Philip in the last days of his life had given the Infanta, his daughter, in marriage to the Archduke Albert, brother of the Emperor, and for dower had ceded to her Flanders with all his rights and claims connected with it; and that Prince was now negotiating an accord with the States. For the rest, I assured the Pasha that I knew nothing more nor had I a word to say as to the arguments of the Ambassadors. The Pasha did not seem to have grasped the situation; he expressed himself satisfied with the information and said it was all he wanted, for he now understood that Spain had always been mistress of the whole of Flanders, and even now she retained possession of the larger part, and of the remainder which was very small she would make herself mistress in the long run by arms or by agreement; it was moreover clear from the capitulations that the French ambassador held priveleges over all Christian nations, enemies of the Turks, and therefore the English claim fell to the ground. I neither assented nor demurred, but left the decision to the Pasha, who as yet has made no declaration, and I took my leave. I sent at once to inform both the French and English ambassadors of this conversation with the Pasha in order that they might see that my information had prejudiced neither one or the other, but that I had merely related what was already well-known to history without drawing any conclusions as to their respective rights.

France expressed satisfaction, and so did England, but as one who already doubts about the issue he remarked that he wished I had taken no steps. Spinelli replied that if I could have refused to answer the Pasha I would have done so very gladly, as I have frequently repulsed his agents sent by him to induce me to express my opinion, but that taken by surprise and placed in a difficulty through having no previous warning of what the Pasha was going to say to me, it was impossible for me to decline to answer, though I used such caution that I avoided entering upon the merits of the question, as they would see from the notes of our conversation which the Pasha caused to be made.

Finally the Ambassador showed that he was satisfied, and admitted that what I had said was the truth and could not be denied; but he went on to inveigh against the Pasha and against the French Ambassador, calling the one a meddlesome fellow suborned by money and the other an encroacher (avano) and such like epithets.

I have thought it my duty to report all this to your Serenity. To increase the ill feeling between them there are always the piracies committed by English vessels upon French in these waters, about which the French Ambassador makes constant and vigorous protests, and these, as one hears from all sides, will become general to all the powers, for this accursed race has grown so bold that it goes everywhere without hesitation, using barbarous cruelty,

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sinking ships, and carrying the booty into Patras and other ports where they find those who give them shelter (questo di Francia fa continue et gagliarde querelle, le quali per quello che da tutte le parti s'intende convenirano alla fine esser commumi con tutti, poiche questa gente maledeta s'è fatta cosi ardita che passa senza rispetto in ogni luocho et con barbara crudeltà affonda ogni sorte di vasselli et ne riporta le prede a Patrasso et altrove dove essi trovano chi li ricapitano). The Turks begin to see how little advantage they draw from the English alliance, under the cloak of which these scoundrels commit abominable excesses, and what is worse, are becoming most thoroughly acquainted with these waters, where they freely navigate without fear of meeting any opposition. When the news that the government of Candia had seized three English vessels was brought here a few days ago by vessels from that island, the Capudan sent to ask if it was true that the Venetians had seized two Englishmen at Corfu; I replied that I had no information, but imagined it to be some confusion with the affair of Candia; that some English Bertoni had been doing damage round the coast of that island and some of them were arrested in the port of Candia on suspicion of piracy. The Pasha replied that it was a serious step and that the government had taken a very prudent course; but that he would write to your Serenity asking you to give orders that these vessels should not be admitted to any of your ports, orders which he had transmitted to all the Turkish ports. He seemed to attach great importance to the affair and to be afraid of what might happen unless steps were taken, though I do not see that the Turk is as resolute in the matter as he ought to be owing to the weakness of the government which has not the courage to check the audacity of its own subjects whose frigates (fregate) rifle all the shipping that falls in their way till the Archipelago has become a second Barbary coast to the damage of the Capudan's reputation, at whose door all the blame is laid.*

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 3rd June 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 12. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

888. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

They are not without some suspicion here on account of the news which was circulated these last weeks, namely that his most Christian Majesty had some thoughts of becoming candidate as King of the Romans.

Prague, 12th June 1600.

[*Italian.*]

June 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

889. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen is free of the fever that troubled her these last days, and their Majesties continue their visit to their dominions, which

* "Bertoni, are ships built by the English, and are so called by a corruption either from *Britania* or *Bretagna*. They are very lofty, not long, but with a great capacity. They draw a lot of water; are good sailors; strongly built; have seven sails; are two deckers." Thus in Tommaseo. Dizionario, s.v.

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serves the double purpose of comforting their subjects, *and also of inducing them to come to some resolution as to the assistance they will give the King in his need. The Scottish Ambassador, who was here on a mission to secure his Majesty's support for the King of Scotland in his designs on the English throne, has been dismissed. The ministers handed him the sealed answer, without telling even him what was its purport. These efforts, and the presence of some Spanish vessels in English seas, sent there by the King of Denmark, brother-in-law to the Scottish King, possibly on the prompting of Spain, all tend to make the Queen of England more suspicious and to induce her to desire the conclusion of peace. But one may be sure that if difficulties arise between France and Spain on the question of Saluzzo, the peace with England will melt away, for the King of France, in his own interests, would never allow it to be concluded. Always bad news from Flanders; lack of money, constant mutiny, and recently the mutineers have handed over to the rebel States the fortress of St. Andrew, which commands important passages on the rivers. They say the Queen of England is ill of a serious and very dangerous disease. The resolve to send a special Envoy to the Emperor about the election of the King of the Romans is taking shape. I have found out in a very secret way, that the late King had obtained the investiture of some Italian cities which do not belong to him, and among them Bergamo and Brescia, though this is kept very dark and secret. I must further inform your Excellencies that a great personage informed me that the ministers complain, perhaps in order to show me that they know what I do, that I have very clearly reported to your Serenity the King's financial difficulties. This is, of course, very prejudicial to your service.*

Madrid, 17th June 1600.

[*Italian*; *the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

890. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The difficulties and ill-feeling between the French and English Ambassadors are striking deeper roots of hatred (odiose radici), for besides the question of jurisdiction which is still undecided, the flame is fanned by the continual damage done by the English ships to French in these waters and elsewhere. On this account the French Ambassador not only claims compensation, but does all he can to secure the exclusion of the English from all ports and harbours of the Grand Signor. In this negotiation he has made such progress that he has won over Achmet Pasha and the Capudan Pasha, who has been reconciled with him, assisted in this by the favour of the preaching Emir and the Cadileschier, his friends. The result is that these personages contemplate not merely the exclusion of English shipping, but also the abandonment of the English alliance, for they say they accepted it for the sole purpose of keeping the Queen in active hostility to the Crown of Spain, and now that she is on the point of making peace with Spain, her alliance is no longer suitable nor useful. This is an argument furnished by the French Ambassador, who, in proof that the Queen is really seeking peace with Spain, produces a letter from the

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Queen to his master, and despatched by the King of France to his Ambassador to be used for this purpose. The Ambassador himself has told me that he is charged by his Majesty to forward his interests against England openly and without any hesitation, for it would seem that there are strained relations between the two Crowns on various points. This letter proves clearly enough that it is the Queen who is seeking peace. The Turks are convinced by this evidence that the case stands so, and their hatred and ill-will towards the English Ambassador grow rapidly. (Et è passato con questi ufficii tanto inanzi che egli n' ha persuaso Achmet Bassà et il Capitano del Mare, che s' è riconciliato seco, aiutati insieme li suoi ufficii dal favore dell' Emir predicatore et dal Cadileschier, suoi amici; di maniera che vanno questi pensando non solo di prohibere, come s' è detto, il ricapito de' Vasselli ma di allontanare insieme dall' amicitia di quella Regina, la quale dicono essi che havendola conservata per solo fine di tenerla eccitata contra il Rè di Spagna, hora che ella è per pacificarsi, non torna loro ne commodo ne utile la sua amicitia; concetto somministrato dal medesimo Ambasciator di Francia, il quale per comprobatione che la Regina ricerchi la pace con Spagna, egli mostra una lettara della medesima Regina scritta al Rè Christianissimo, et da sua Maestà mandata a questo Ambasciatore perchè se ne servi in questo proposito; tenendo l'Ambasciatore commissione (come m' ha detto) da sua maestà di trattare alla scoperta et senza nesun rispetto li suoi interessi contra Inghilterra, poiche pare che fra quelle Maestà passino diversi disgusti; nella quale lettera appare chiaro che la Regina faci l'instanza di pace, et con questo testimonio si rendono li Turchi certi che cosi sia, et vanno sempre più concitando l'odio et mala volontà loro verso l'Ambasciatore Inglese). The Ambassador waited on the Capudan (before he had seen the letter or heard of it), and was beginning to inveigh against the French, when the Capudan cut him short, and flung in his teeth the damage the English vessels were doing to all the friends of Turkey, citing the late events in Candia. The Ambassador replied that he thanked God the alliance with Venice too was broken, his Queen would not submit to such injuries, for he had been informed that all English shipping had been seized in Venice as well as in Candia, Zante, and Corfu. The Capudan smiled and said that he did not see what grounds the Queen could have for acting on this misunderstanding, for her kingdom was so far from Venice that she could not hope to occupy the mainland cities, and as for the ports they were so amply supplied that she must send a very powerful expedition. All the harm she could do would be to put your Serenity to some expense to keep up more galleys in Candia, which would effectually check the operations of her ships.

The Ambassador left this subject, and with the air of communicating a great secret, he said to the Capudan that he wished to tell him something of the highest moment, of which he had particular information, that was that the King of France was determined to go to kiss the Pope's hand; that he would go with a small retinue, probably not more than thirty gentlemen; that this

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journey was merely a mask to hide other designs. Cigala could not help smiling at so puerile an invention, and said, "Are they going to fly to Rome? for if they go by land they will have to pass through the States of various sovereigns." The Capudan showed that he made little count of the Ambassador, and said at length that, as far as he could see, the Ambassador was good for anything else, except to be Ambassador at the Porte. The Ambassador left in disgust, and the same day the whole conversation was reported to me by Scander, his renegade, I believe on the orders of Cigala, and then by the French Ambassador, who tells me that he had it from Cigala and confirmed by others.

I have not thought it prudent to make any mention of the subject to the English Ambassador, but I will take care to visit Cigala, and if he confirms this story then I will, with all reserve, hint to the English Ambassador that I am sure his Mistress will be displeased at his conduct and at these rumours, for if any steps have been taken at Venice or elsewhere they must have been taken against pirates, robbers, and outlaws of her Majesty, as the Ambassador himself had many a time assured me, and such as these will always be most severely punished. These considerations will be put forward by me with all possible caution and reserve, and your Serenity shall be informed of the issue.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 17th June 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

891. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is many days now that the commissioners appointed to negotiate a peace between England and the Archduke Albert, have met in Boulogne, but the Spanish here have no news of any satisfactory issue. The question of the foreign garrisons is the greatest difficulty the Archduke has to face.

Rome, 24th June 1600.

[*Italian.*]

June 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

892. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Nuncio has returned from audience, he found all the Ministers and the whole Council with the King. I called on his Lordship, and, at the opening of his conversation, he said "I will frankly tell you all that passed between me and the King and his Council, but pray do not name me for that would be my ruin, for I must tell you that here they profess to know very well all that you report home." I affected to laugh at this and to treat it as a joke. The Nuncio told me that he had found the larger part of the Ministry inclined for a rupture, and chiefly those who should not be (meaning the Cardinals). Orders were all but ready, for it seems that the Duke of Savoy is determined to bring it about. But the Nuncio, speaking with that freedom which he uses to the King and his Ministers, pointed out what a damage this would be to Christendom. and how unjust it was to interfere with a treaty

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already signed. He declared that the Pope would be highly indignant. He pointed out all the considerations which should restrain them, the present war with England, the danger of bringing down on Africa the Turkish fleet if peace were made with the Emperor as was on the point of happening, the unfortunate condition of Flanders, "in short," said he to me "I said so much that I fear I have said too much."

Madrid, 25th June 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

893. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The news from Flanders points to rather better prospects of peace with England. It seems that his Highness is bent on a truce with the States for some years.

Rome, first of July 1600.

[*Italian.*]

July 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

894. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have not yet been able to see the Capudan Pasha to find out from him the truth of the conversation with the English Ambassador, but I will go one day next week.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, the first of July 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 8. Original Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

895. To the QUEEN of ENGLAND.

The excellent treatment accorded to her Majesty's subjects in the Levant, should be a proof of the Republic's desire to preserve and extend commercial relations, and to maintain that mutual friendship and goodwill which has always existed in the past.

In the Levant the English had and still have a trade of great importance, but it is a matter of the highest regret that the vessels belonging to subjects of the Queen have committed and still commit acts of depredation throughout the Levant, upon Venetian merchants, against the Queen's expressed intention. The Republic has made the proper complaints, but no steps have been taken. It has particularly grieved us to learn that goods belonging to our subjects in England have been sequestrated on board the ship "Santa Maria," Master Christoforo Cornoles, and in the interests of our subjects we have been obliged to issue the orders which we thought necessary and reasonable for the compensation for damage suffered by our subjects. It is quite impossible to maintain any right on the ground that the vessels seized belonged to the Queen's enemies; for there is nothing to warrant the argument that the goods of friendly states on board an enemy's vessel partake of the nature of that vessel.

Nevertheless on account of the great respect which the republic bears to the Queen, and because of its desire to gratify the Queen in every way, it has revoked the sequestration of the capital of English subjects in Venice; in the hope that the Queen, when

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convinced of the justice of the Venetian claim, will act with her wonted fairness, giving stringent orders that Venetian shipping shall not be molested, but that the English shall absolutely desist from depredations, and that our merchants who have lost goods on board the "Santa Maria," shall be indemnified as soon as possible, as the Queen is affectionately begged to do, in the certainty that she will, for she has already given caution for the restitution of goods illegally seized. And that will be of benefit to the good understanding between the Republic and the Queen, and to mutual commerce among their subjects. Order to the Five Savii alla Mercantia to revoke the sequestration ordered by the Senate on February 24th, and to set all goods at liberty.

+ 136 — 0 — 18.

[*Italian.*]

Original Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

896. AMENDMENT to the PRECEDING MOTION.

Alvise Grimani moves, after the preamble of the original motion to insert "and seeing that many of her Majesty's subjects, who, in port appear as merchants, but on the open seas are nothing but public pirates, have constantly damaged the subjects of the Republic and no steps have been taken thereon, in spite of our protests, we have been obliged to take such action as we thought necessary: and seeing that from the letters of her Majesty, it is clear that she has been grossly misinformed, for had she known what we have stated above, she would have ordered the restitution of the stolen goods, instead of listening to interested parties;—we beg her, on the faith of our declaration, to order the restitution of their capital to our merchants, in accordance with the caution which she most prudently imposed upon the captors; and to instruct her subjects to refrain from molesting ours."

—— 24.

[*Italian.*]

July 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

897. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England has sustained a severe defeat in Ireland; and has arrested some Dutch ships on their way back from the Indies laden with much merchandize. This cannot fail to breed some disagreement between them; and the event may assist the negotiations for peace at Boulogne, if other accidents do not overthrow them. And seeing that no active preparations for Flanders are going forward here, one concludes for certain that they do not mean to come to a rupture; for if they wish to make a diversion they would certainly have to increase their forces in that part. A week or two ago some English vessels were at Gibraltar, with a large capital on board. The Adelantado sent out five galleons fully armed and manned to capture them; but the galleys were repulsed after some rough handling by the English, who defended themselves most bravely.

Madrid, 10th July 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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1600.
July 10.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

898. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The States have replied to the Imperial Envoys, absolutely declining any negotiations for peace. Archduke Albert sounded the mutinous troops, and found that after receiving one pay they were ready to follow him into the field. He left Brussels with his army, in all about ten thousand men, between horse and foot. Count Maurice was lying near Ostend, after capturing some forts erected two years ago to protect Bruges from Ostend. The Archduke retook these, and engaged the van of the enemy, which he succeeded in driving back; but Count Maurice arrived with the main body of his army, and so reanimated the fight, that the Archduke's troops broke and fled, leaving, they say, between two and three thousand men on the field; and Archduke Albert is slightly wounded in the head. Count Maurice's losses are also heavy.

The conference of Boulogne has not begun yet, it seems. Apparently they are waiting for a modification of the powers from Spain. The disaster in Flanders will cause the Spanish Envoys to grant all they can to the Queen to induce her to conclude peace.

Paris, 10th July 1600.

[*Italian.*]

July 12.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

899. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Envoys at the congress of Boulogne have come to dispute over a question of precedence, to the scandal of the onlookers and the risk of upsetting the negotiations; for Doctor Carriglio, who was recently sent from here, wished to take precedence of Don Balthazar de Zuniga, his Majesty's Ambassador to their Highnesses of Flanders. This has caused extreme disapproval here, and orders have been sent that they are not by their vain pretensions to disturb the whole negotiations, especially as they are both ministers of one and the same Prince.

Madrid, 12th July 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 15.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

900. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

All through these last days there have been persistent rumours that the Queen of England was dead, these were credited on account of their source; but now we learn that she has been very ill, though quite recovered. The delay in the arrival of the King of France at Lyons was supposed to be caused by his waiting to learn the issue; for he is obliged to pay attention to the movements in England.

They have very good news about the peace between the Queen of England and the Archduke; and things have come to such a pass as to lead to expectation of a favourable conclusion.

Rome, 15th July 1600.

[*Italian.*]

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1600.
July 15.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

901. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Four days ago I went to visit the Capudan Pasha. I mentioned the mischief done by English vessels, and he showed that he thought the matter of high importance; but he added that the English Ambassador was a person of no importance, and quite ignorant how to treat the Pasha properly. In the course of conversation the Capudan assured me that the Ambassador had never used the words I wrote; but had merely complained that the French Ambassador had employed unfriendly offices towards him, and was trying to make me believe what was not true, and what I had never dreamed of saying. This being so, I will go no further in the matter, as I had intended, with the English Ambassador. But, seeing that the French Ambassador is informed by his Consul at Cairo of a suspicion that the ship "Vidala" has been seized by two English vessels, I enclose copies of the passage in these letters. God grant the news be false.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 15th July 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 29.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

902. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Your Serenity will already have heard of the battle that took place between the Count Maurice and the Archduke. The Archduke's losses are very heavy. They try to conceal them as much as possible. The news causes great anxiety here, both on account of the mischief that may arise in Flanders, and because it may cause trouble in the negotiations for a peace with England, which will take up a vantage ground. They are negotiating a loan of five millions of gold; part for Flanders, part for Spain.

Madrid, 29th July 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 29.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

903. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador, thanks to his continual complaints against the English Ambassador on account of the mischief done by English to French vessels in these seas, has at length obtained an order instructing the Capudan Pasha to open an inquiry on the subject, and to find out if the facts alleged by the French Ambassador are true. The Grand Vizir, in an audience I had with him, asked me if these excesses were really committed. I assured him of what I had heard from Candia and other quarters, and I added that, as these misdeeds were committed by robbers, there was no doubt but that the Queen, on being informed, would take the necessary steps, only it was incumbent on the Turks to see that these vessels found no shelter in the ports of the Grand Signor; for, if they could not find safe harbour nor market for their spoils, they would be forced to adopt another line. The Pasha answered that he would most willingly write to the Queen, but that he had no confidence in

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her Ambassador, a very ordinary person, and he feared his letters would never reach the Queen; he wished to send them through your Serenity; as for the second point, orders had already been issued to the Capudan Pasha. I assured him that the Ambassador would never commit so grave an error as not to forward letters from the Grand Signor to his mistress; but I advised the Grand Vizir to send for the Ambassador and to sound him as to his intentions. The Vizir attached much importance to the whole business on account of the continual complaints which reached him, about the damage done by the English. I believe he will do all he can to meet the question, especially as he will be incessantly urged on by the French Ambassador.

The Grand Signor has retired to Scuttaretto, and public rumour has it that for three days he has been subject to one of his fits of idiotcy, with lucid intervals.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 29th July 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

904. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To leave the Proveditore free to pursue pirates I hired an excellent English ship of seven hundred tons for seven hundred and thirty ducats. It is to take me to Chios, six hundred miles away.

Zante, 2nd August 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

905. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Up to the twentieth of last month the congress at Boulogne had not begun its labours, but had merely removed certain difficulties; for at the very outset an objection was taken to the title of the Archduke in the commission of the Queen's Envoys and it was corrected, so that where "Most Illustrious" was employed, "Most Serene" was substituted as demanded; to which the Queen assented. On behalf of Spain only Don Balthazar de Zuniga appeared, but not Don Fernando Carriglio as named in the commission; but the Archduke proved that he was authorized to appoint substitutes whenever he pleased.

After this the English demanded precedence on the ground that originally the ancient Kings of England always held a place above the Kings of Spain. It was only in the days of Ferdinand and Isabella that Pope Alexander VI., who was a Spaniard, decided in favour of Spain. But Julius II., on the authority of Velaterrano, a famous writer, intended to reinstate the Kings of England, and he made it clear that it was his opinion and his will that they should have the upper place. Besides this they added that the English Ambassador, who is one of the Commissioners, cannot in France give the *pas* to any save Sovereign Princes, and that therefore he

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ought to have precedence of all the other Envoys none of whom hold so high a rank from their sovereign.

On the other hand it is urged that it is unreasonable that precedence should be yielded to a Queen, mistress merely of England and Ireland, which are islands, by a King who is master of so many Kingdoms and Provinces, all of which are named. Information was sent to the Queen, who gave orders that some sort of compromise should be discovered, to allow the conference to begin with any prejudice to her claims and precedence. The Spanish took time to reply; finally they begged the others to consent to the despatch of an emissary to the Archduke to bring back a final decision in fourteen days. The Audientiary was accordingly sent to his Highness. The date for his return to Boulogne was the twentieth of last month, but he had not appeared. The excuse urged is the important engagement which took place with the Dutch some days ago. Secretary Edmondes, on the other hand, went to England to report to the Queen; but he has returned. It is thought that two or three months will have to pass before anything can be concluded. As regards the point of precedence, it is thought that it will be decided in this way, that they will cast lots for which Envoys shall be first to visit the others, where those who visit are honoured with the first place, as is the custom; and thus they will continue.

Lyons, 8th August 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

906. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador elect in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I made the journey from Zante to this place in eight days and got here three days ago. I had hoped to go on in the English vessel as far as the Dardanelles, and the captain was content, but a furious north wind sprang up. These winds are wont to last all this month and sometimes much longer. I intended to pass into Anatolia and thence by Brusa to Saitlari, but the roads are not very safe, and it is, moreover, difficult to find sufficient horses for the carriages.

Chios, 12th August 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

907. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Audientiary deputed to the Archduke Albert, has returned to Boulogne with the answer of Spain on the question of precedence; namely that his Catholic Majesty insisted upon having the precedence, and would allow no compromise. When the Queen of England heard this she ordered her commissioners to withdraw, as all negotiations were broken off. It is thought that they have left for England.

Lyons, 13th August 1600.

[*Italian.*]

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1600.
Aug. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

908. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

They continue to show regret for the advice given to the King to refuse to sign the Peace of Vervins on account of the title of King of Navarre, given to the King of France. The King of France will not easily be persuaded to change anything, all the more because he gives this title of Navarre to the King of Spain.

Madrid, 16th August 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

909. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The negotiations for peace with England, which are going on at Boulogne, seem very cold. The Spanish Envoys are loud in their complaints of the French who, as was to be expected, do much to trouble the undertaking.

Madrid, 25th August 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

910. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The courier brings news that the King of Spain has sent orders to his Envoys who are negotiating a peace with England, that they are to break off all dealings unless the Queen will assent to these three conditions, the restitution of the places she holds in Flanders, the abandonment of her support of the Catholic States, the grant of precedence to his Catholic Majesty.

Rome, 26th August 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

911. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish Ambassador, on the subject of Saluzzo, is using language very different to that which he first employed; he says now that his Catholic Majesty will not desert the Duke of Savoy, his brother-in-law; and the old ill-humour on the subject of England and of the assistance given to Holland by his Majesty of France, is coming to life again.

The swearing of the Peace of Vervins is being put off by his Catholic Majesty, on the plea of rites.

Lyons, 6th Septemher 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

912. GIROLAMO CAPELLO, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Ragusans bring news that war has broken out between France and Savoy over the question of Saluzzo; and that the Grand Duke

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of Tuscany and the Queen of England are dead; this latter however, is not affirmed positively.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 12th September 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

913. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has not yet been able to induce the people of Madrid to assent to contribute their share of the eighteen millions promised by the Procurators of the Cortes; and he finds a like difficulty and hardness in many of the towns which have to grant assent.

Madrid, 13th September 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Sept. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

914. GIROLAMO CAPELLO and AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassadors in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador Nani made his private entry on the 15th, and the public entry on the 21st, from Sweet Waters, as usual.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 25th September 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

915. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Castille has, at length, by a majority of votes, granted the King the eighteen millions to be paid up in six years at the rate of three millions a year. They are secured upon an eighth of the oil and wine growth of each year. It is well known that they have consented, not merely with difficulty, but, actually, against their will; for these poor people are reduced to such a pass that one may say they have nothing to live on, and many of them pay almost more taxes than the income they make. There is everywhere a public affliction that almost amounts to desperation; not so much on account of this sum, but because they know quite well that, when these six years are up, they will have to continue the payment.

The people of Madrid were particularly pertinacious in refusing to pay, for they suspected that the Court might leave the City; whereas those of Old Castille showed much readiness, in the hope that the Court might pass to Valladolid.

The congress of Boulogne broke up, as I have already informed your Serenity, when it became clear that the affair of Saluzzo was tending towards a war. Don Balthazar de Zuniga, the King's Ambassador at the Court of their Highnesses of Flanders, writes that he has more hope of a favourable conclusion now that the Envoys have separated than he had before. But this may be a rumour set about lest people should think that the failure of the negotiations might weigh with the King in his decision as to assisting Savoy, and thus display to the French his dread of employing his forces in many places at one and the same time.

Madrid, 28th September 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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1600.
Oct. 7.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

916. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French, who see that an open rupture with Spain has all but taken place, declare that this is no fault of their Sovereign, who is only endeavouring to recover his own; but they say that, if the Spanish do want to break the peace they have so lately concluded, the King of France will go to war with all his heart, and if the Spanish make an Italian alliance against him, which they don't believe, he will renew his alliance with the English and the States.

Rome, 7th October 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 7.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

917. FRANCESCO CONTARINI and MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Secretary, upon express orders from his mistress, has been to visit each of us separately, begging us to inform your Serenity in confidence from the Queen that she is resolved to come to a substantial peace or to wage a vigorous war with the King of Spain. For she is aware that it is not to her advantage to remain, as at present, on the defensive only; and as for peace she knows that it is in her power to conclude it when she likes. She sees, however, that, for the public good as well as her own, the continuation of the war is the more profitable. The formidable designs of Spain, which are directed to the establishment of an universal dominion over all sovereigns, deserve to be interrupted and broken up. She has resolved to communicate this resolution to certain princes, more especially to the Republic which is so largely interested. She affirms that if she were assisted with a certain amount of money—of which her kingdom is at present extremely exhausted, both on account of past expenses, and because of Ireland, where the question of money is more dangerous than any other—she would take upon herself and her kingdom every imaginable travail and inconvenience with the firm resolve to make war on Spain by sea and land, in the certain conviction that she would cover her expenses. She therefore asks your Serenity for a loan of three or four hundred thousand crowns, with obligation to spend them within five years, and to give sufficient security. The Secretary earnestly begs for a prompt reply; for this matter is to be settled one way or the other, by spring of next year.

We should have been glad if the opportunity to make this request had never occurred, and still more glad if we could have put it aside; but seeing that the Secretary spoke as he did, using the pressure of the Queen's name, and seeing that he had gone to Lyons for this very purpose, thinking to find us there, we felt obliged to reply that we were ready to gratify the Queen in this respect, although we could not conceal from him that the Republic could hardly dispossess herself of such a sum at this moment when, on account of the damage done by an enemy of our State, the the largest river in Italy, the government had already begun the necessary works for diverting its course elsewhere, an undertaking both hazardous and extremely difficult, and one which will consume

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untold gold. We added that as the peace between the Emperor and the Turk is likely to be concluded, the Republic found itself obliged to double the garrisons in her many forts and to increase her armament.

This is what we are in duty bound to tell your Serenity.

The Secretary also informed us that the Spanish Envoys who were at Boulogne had written to England, offering to re-open the question of a fresh congress for the conclusion of a peace; and, moreover, to surmount this difficulty of precedence, which was the cause of dissension in the last congress, it was suggested that the Envoys of Archduke Albert should go to England, where, as guests in the Queen's house, they would receive precedence, and when the negotiations were concluded in England, English Envoys should go to some place in Flanders to meet the Spanish Envoys, over whom on that occasion they would have precedence. Such was the proposal, but as yet he did not know whether it had been accepted or not.

Grenoble, 7th October 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

918. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador, who came to-day to see me, told me he had had an audience of the Grand Vizir the day after I had mine. He had complained of the new tariff (meta) which was proposed, and let it be clearly understood that if any limit were fixed as to prices, the English merchants would remove all their trade in woollen goods; whereupon the Vizir told the Ambassador to moderate his language, for he was not to be frightened, and he would have to submit like the rest. The Ambassador replied that he would never assent to any kind of tariff. A very different answer from the one I obtained; and from this one may see the small esteem in which the English Ambassador is held. He left highly dissatisfied.*

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 10th October 1600.

[*Italian; decipherd.*]

Oct. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

919. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Here they are entirely absorbed in the question of Saluzzo, and can think of nothing else; the question of peace with England depends on it, so too, the matter of supplies for Flanders; for if operations there are to take the form of a diversion the forces employed will need to be greater than would ordinarily have been required.

Madrid, 11th October 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

920. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from Flanders that the Queen of England has again sent a Secretary to their Highnesses, so as not to allow the negotiations

* See *Rezasco, Dizionario del linguagio Italiano*, s.v.

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for peace to lapse entirely; although no definite result will be reached before they see where these new commotions in France will issue.

The King of Scotland has run an evident danger to his life from a great conspiracy formed against him by the Earl of Gowrie, (Gonai) his most confidential chamberlain. For one day when the King was out hunting the Earl invited him into one of his houses on the pretext of speaking to a man who said he had discovered a great treasure. The King let himself be led, and presently found himself shut into a room with a man who was ordered to kill him. This fellow, however, lost courage while the King defended himself and called for help from the window, some of his followers rushed up and freed the King, slaying the would be murderer and they say also the Earl.

Madrid, 16th October 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

921. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A Spanish official assured me that by means of a certain Ragusan the Spanish had succeeded in bribing the principal ministers of the Queen of England to induce her to make peace with Archduke Albert and the King of Spain, and to make her suspicious of the King of France by pointing out to her that during her last illness the King had published a statement of some of his claims to the throne of England, and that he had induced the King of Scotland to surrender to him his rights.

On the other hand I am assured that the King of France will not listen to Cardinal Aldobrandino about peace.

Rome, 21st October 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 23. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

922. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 20th the two Persian Ambassadors made their entry into this city. One of them is an Englishman, named, as far as I can understand, Anthony Sherley* (*Cherle*); he is the principal Ambassador. The other is a Persian called Hassan Nabrech. They have a train of twenty or twenty-five persons. His Majesty for their greater honouring caused about three hundred citizens to mount horse, and sent his Grand Chamberlain, with about fifteen carriages and a vast concourse of people to meet the Ambassadors at the Stella, a place two Italian miles outside Prague. Inside the town the street was lined with troops from the gate to their lodging in the Klein Stadt. The entry was most honourable; and his Majesty himself was present at a window of the Palace, which, being far off and high up, commanded a view of the general effect, but nothing else. The Ambassadors have not yet been received in audience. It is said they have letters for all the Powers, and

* Cf. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1598–1601, pp. 130, 371, 372, 477.

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are to negotiate a league. About that we shall learn presently. They have been seventeen months on their journey, of which eleven were spent in Muscovy, because some Prince raised difficulties about their congé. They left Ispahan on the 24th of May 1599, and travelling by Kaswin (*Cassan Casmin*) and Gilan they came to Rudsir (*Ruisar*) on the Caspian Sea. They embarked, but encountered such a tremendous storm that they were obliged to sacrifice much of their property. Finally they reached Astrakan, in the territories of the Duke of Muscovy, and they came up the Volga to Nigni Novgorod (*Nisnogorto*). There they took carriage and reached Moscow first and then (?) (*Lecchno*), where they again embarked on the Düna (*Duina*) and by (?) (*Colncogro*) they came to Riga? (*S. Nicolas*), port of the Grand Duke of Muscovy on the North Sea. Then they coasted along by Norway, and as their suite declare, they landed in Holland, whence they came by land to this city after traversing all Germany.

These particulars I write to your Serenity, because this is a route by which most likely no one else ever came from Persia. The English Ambassador has left behind in Muscovy his brother, named Albert, and about eight servants. It is thought that they have been detained as hostages for his good faith and as security for his return.

Prague, 23rd October 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

923. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The damage which the English continually inflict on the shipping is growing so intolerable that every Prince who is interested in the injury suffered by his vessels and subjects most reasonably desires that English ships should be excluded from every harbour, for that is the only way to curb the rapacity of this people.

Here they very rightly attach great importance to the question, and they readily lend an ear to the vigorous and reiterated complaints of the French Ambassador addressed chiefly to Hafiz Achmet and to the Capudan Pasha. He demands that the English should be debarred from trading, and their alliance rejected. My predecessor has from time to time informed your Serenity of all that has taken place, and the Senate has instructed me by despatch of the 2nd September, that if I saw the French Ambassador's policy succeeding, and if I saw that I could help his intention of prohibiting English shipping, I was to do so in a cautious and secret fashion. I will certainly carry out these instructions when I see the moment favourable, though I fear that in this business there is more uncertainty than hope, all the more so as it seems that past negotiations are not so active as they were lately, for neither the originator of the scheme, the French Ambassador, nor the Grand Vizir nor any other minister mentions the matter now; and the Capudan, who was charged to inquire whether the French Ambassador's allegations were true, who represented

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himself in a towering passion, as being offended in his honour by the action of the English, and who became reconciled to the French Ambassador over this very point, having on his last voyage in the Gulf of Lepanto captured two Berloni, only retained the masters and let the rest go after extracting, as they say, a fine mouthful; the excuse he accepted was that they were not pirates; a plea that may be put forward on behalf of the masters, who were retained in the hope of extracting more money. Cigala writes that at Patras he opened an inquiry into the case of the Bertoni which plundered the French sagitte (saette) laden with spices, and caused the French Ambassador to make all this fuss. The said Ambassador talking to me about the peace between England and Spain, told me that his master had first informed him that it would take place, but later came news that the business was being put off. The Ambassador said that if the Queen intended to make peace at this moment when war was declared between the two kings she would certainly secure very advantageous terms from Spain; he said, smiling, that undoubtedly there were active efforts being made to sow dissensions between the King of France and the Queen of England, by the revival of some old proposals of great advantage to France, alluding to the joint French and Spanish attack on England. An offer which was made in Spain, when I was there on your Serenity's service. From all this one may gather that the policy of the French Ambassador, if not inspired by his quarrel with the English Ambassador, may be modified by fresh orders from home now that war is declared between his master and Savoy, and consequently Spain; although the same situation has arisen before, at the time when M. de Lancome was French Ambassador here. De Lancome was first instructed to endeavour to expel the English Ambassador from the Porte, and then these orders were cancelled on the ground that his presence here was virtually a tacit warfare on Spain. Furthermore as the negotiations for peace between Spain and England are broken off, there is no longer any good reason to persuade the Turks to renounce the English alliance as he has been doing up to now, by affirming that the Queen of England will make peace with Spain, and proving it by actually showing letters from his master, which peace would render her alliance, the presence of her Ambassador, and the free navigation of her ships, quite the reverse of useful to the Turks.

When, in company with the illustrious Capello, I visited the English Ambassador, he complained that the Ambassador of France made representations hostile to the Queen, that he was quite at liberty to protest against the conduct of her subjects, but he had no right to descant upon her person and her royal dignity in terms of little respect. The Ambassador said that he had sent two masters of pirate ships to England and most undoubtedly the Queen would cause them to be hanged, for she did not desire her ships to take to buccaneering. I remarked that all the same the English ships continued to maltreat friends and foes alike, as my predecessor Capello had also often affirmed, and I expatiated on the subject as far as I thought desirable.

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The Ambassador answered that mishaps sometimes overtook Venetian vessels when they fell in with English through the Venetians own fault, because, relying solely on the Ensign of St. Mark, they did not let it be clearly known whose subjects they were. I replied that beyond a doubt the Ensign of St. Mark was sufficient proof of the nationality of the ship; but our subjects having been now some time accustomed to be ill-treated by Bertoni, will no longer allow anyone to approach them under cover of a friendly flag.

The Ambassador then went on to speak of the peace between England and Spain; he said that he had small hopes, although it was very near a conclusion; the King of Spain had been induced to consent that as many as twelve English ships might sail each year to trade in the Indies, but he insisted that they should carry English money for their traffic. To this the Queen would not assent, for she did not approve of English silver leaving the Kingdom, He added that if this peace were concluded English ships would no longer have need to come into the Levant for spices, for there would be no lack in England; I said that for that matter they need not come even now unless they came for other objects; they could get all they needed from the Flemish India merchants. I have reported all this fully to your Serenity, and I trust it will not prove tedious, *for it is intimately connected with the instructions I have received to secure the prohibition of English vessels from trading in the ports and marts of this Empire.*

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 28th October 1600.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

924. Francesco Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate.

The fleet which was sent out to meet and convoy the fleet with silver from the Indies, has returned to Lisbon. It could not remain out longer for lack of provisions; and the season being so advanced they no longer expect the fleet before February. They are in continual alarm lest a large number of ships should come out from England.

Madrid, 29th October 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 30. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

925. Piero Duodo, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the Doge and Senate.

They have sent for the dragoman Negroni to assist the Persian Embassy and to translate their letters. They do not put much confidence in this Embassy, as they recall the episode of the Jew Gabriele Bonaveutura, orders for the hanging of whom, with all his followers but one, have just been issued.

The Englishman sent to ask the Nuncio to help him by declaring that he was sent into Persia on a mission by his Holiness, at least so Salzo, a Portuguese Friar in the Ambassador's suite, reports.

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1600.

The Nuncio replied at once that the Pope was no friend to fictitious and vain glory, and begged to be excused. When the Ambassador heard the reply, he sent his Secretary at once to say that there had been an error, that he never intended to prefer such a request; and he begged the Nuncio to make his excuses to the Pope that he had visited Prague first, the nature of his journey compelling him to do so.

What the mission of this Embassy may be we do not know yet; but they say it is a matter of moment and that there is question of a written treaty. There are other and wilder rumours, that the Persian will become a Christian. The Spanish Ambassador has a suspicion that the Persian may be seeking a shorter route for the spice trade, and the establishment of marts in England, the low countries and Germany generally; the fact that the Embassy came up the Volga against stream, to the great loss of time, induces him to accept this conjecture.

Prague, 30th October 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

926. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The British Consul at Aleppo gave his support to the filibusters. He was removed from his post on the demand of the French Ambassador. But on giving the Grand Vizir a very handsome saddle he was reinstated.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 10th November 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Nov. 13. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

927. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After these Persian Ambassadors had been received in audience all the other Ambassadors visited them. I went too. The Englishman assured me that the formation of a league was his object; and that he was awaiting the arrival of Andrea Negroni to translate the letters he had brought.

He then went on to explain the greatness of the King of Persia, who after his victories over Ussbek and Vecisolo, is now master of five kingdoms, and is already in touch with the Muscovite. He said he was amazed that none of our merchants went to Persia where silk was so abundant, especially in Khorasan. As that place was very central it offered an admirable mart for the distribution of the Indian commerce, which now goes by Portugal. He dwelt at length on the ease with which the goods might be sent from the Caspian up the Volga, and down the Düna to the North Sea. He said there was in Moscow a doctor of the Grand Duke who was studying the question.

Prague, 13th November 1600.

[*Italian.*]

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1600.
Nov 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

928. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish Ambassador has let it be known that he is not without hopes of the peace with England. The King of Spain, having been persuaded of the danger to which he was exposed if he were attacked in Savoy and in Flanders, has consented to concede to the Queen many terms which he at first refused.

Rome, 18th November 1600.

[*Italian*].

Nov. 18. Original Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

929. To the AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.

Having heard what you have written on the subject of the application for a loan of three or four hundred thousand ducats made by the Secretary of the Queen of England, we approve your prudent answer, and charge you, should the Secretary touch upon the subject again, to preserve the same tone, and to point out to him that we have to face very heavy expenses for the construction of a royal fortress, which is to serve as bulwark of the state against the infidel, and for the upkeep of our forts and garrisons on a long line of frontier where we are neighbours to powerful Princes; and that we are sorry to be unable to help Her Majesty.

We have just elected Lunardo Donà and Giovanni Dolfin as ambassadors to congratulate the King on his marriage.

+156—1—1.

[*Italian*].

Nov. 20. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

930. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Persian Ambassadors are still here. Their commission consists of two objects only; league against the Turk; and one party never to make peace without the other. Here they will promise, but the second clause can hardly be kept. The Englishman says he must go on to England and there take ship for Ormuz. The Ministers cannot make out the object of this journey for the Queen is an ally of the Turk, and not too friendly to the house of Austria. They suspect some hidden design.

Prague, 20th November 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

931. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador of England has assured me that the Capudan Pasha has set the three Bertoni at liberty and told them they may filibuster anywhere they like outside the Archipelago. He says that from the inquiry it resulted that they had captured a Catalan not a French ship. He has given orders at Patras and Zante to sequestrate any goods which formed part of the cargo of those three ships, to see whether they are really French or Venetian, in which case the goods will be restored. He also said that the masters and men of these ships might escape the arm of the law, on the ground that they had only captured enemies vessels. The Queen certainly

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1600.

intended to prevent filibustering in the Mediterranean, for fear of ruining English trade in the Levant. I replied that the best way would be for the English ships to abstain from coming here; for they had but little trade, nor could I distinguish those which came for trading only; for all of them were hampered with artillery, and provisioned for a year, even to the water, and in order that they might be handy in fighting they were kept clear, leaving not only the quarter deck but also the main deck, where goods are usually placed, free for the artillery. Theft is their proper business and the object of their voyage.

The Ambassador said that in truth very few ships did sail for trading; but the Kingdom of England, though a very rich feeding ground, was not able to support the whole nation, therefore they had to take to the sea, and to be fully armed, on account of the Spanish, their powerful foes; besides, these ships were the bulwarks of the country. Sometimes they did not find any booty on the open sea, and so pushed further; and in order to check this filibustering he had written to the Queen to prohibit it.

In course of conversation with me the French Ambassador, speaking of the damage done by the English, said that his master intended to man thirty or forty galleys in Provence in order to suppress the audacity of these bucaneers. Although he could not have seen that I did not think such a step possible, he added at once that he had dissuaded his Majesty from this scheme, seeing that the English were not approaching the coast of Provence, but were destructive only from Zante to Constantinople, and in the waters of Crete. He had rather advised his Majesty to send here six or eight ships from Brittany, which are as well fitted for these waters and for fighting as the English; and although these will not find any market for their goods nor yet any return cargoes, they will serve to cruise about and hold the English in check. The Ambassador had communicated this scheme to Hafiz (Cafis) and had added that when these ships came here it would be impossible for them to avoid doing as the English are doing; to which the Pasha replied that this would never do and would not be tolerated; the Ambassador retorted "Then your Lordship should remedy the matter in earnest."

I have just learned something from a sure source, which seems to me of great moment, namely, that the Capitulation between the Grand Signor and the Queen has never been ratified, though it is five years since the Sultan has been on the throne. There are certain difficulties in the way. This matter has been kept most jealously concealed, but I will manage to penetrate the secret for the information of your Serenity.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 23rd November 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

932. DEPOSITION of MASTER HORATIO DI LUSI, Caulker in the ARSENAL.

He was on board the Capudan Pasha's fleet while cruising near Lepanto.

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1600.

At Patras the Capudan saw three Englishmen full of spices and Levant goods, which he knew they could not have bought. He wrung as much money as he could out of the masters and then let them go.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

933. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

One of the vessels of the West India fleet has brought news that the rest may be expected day by day.

It is said to bring twelve millions in gold, though probably it will not turn out to be so much. This is the third fleet which has arrived this year since the month of March, and between them they must have brought upwards of twenty millions in gold; and yet here they are continually racking their brains to find money, for almost all this is already mortgaged. Among other provisions they have introduced economy in the Palace, where, to say the truth, a vast amount of money was squandered.

Madrid, 25th November 1600.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 29. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

934. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Persian Ambassadors will soon receive their congé. His Majesty wished them to return as soon as possible to Persia, and to leave all the letters they have brought for other European Princes, and he undertook to forward them. The Ambassadors would not consent to this. Finally they agreed that his Majesty should send the powers and the ratification of the treaty by the hands of the Ambassador's brother, who was left behind in Persia, and that these should be covered by letters from the Ambassadors.

Prague, 29th November 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

935. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish here say that they have great hopes of a peace between their Master and the Queen of England, and I know that this week the Duke of Sessa has sent a courier to the Archduke Albert pointing out all the reasons which recommend that peace.

Rome, 2nd December 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

936. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have used my best endeavours to discover the reason why the Capitulation between the Grand Signor and the Queen of England has not yet been confirmed. From an excellent source I have learned for certain the particulars of this affair, which I now humbly submit to your Serenity.

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1600.

It is well known to your Excellencies that there has never been but one Capitulation between the English and the Turks, which bound them in alliance. This was ratified about eighteen years ago, in the reign of the present Sultan's father, and it was only then that the Queen of England began to send her Ambassador to reside here. When the present Sultan came to the throne the late English Ambassador, called Edward Barton, wished to renew the Capitulation at once, without waiting till the Queen sent another Ambassador and a present, as is usual, and as other Princes, allies of the Porte, had done. But the Turks, who are not at all ignorant of their own interests, always persisted in refusing to confirm the Capitulation unless the Queen sent to the Sultan the present on his assumption of the throne, though they waived the question of a special Ambassador. Up to eighteen months ago they have gone on with the original Capitulation, as all other powers do, until the new one is ratified. But then, when the gifts arrived, Mr. Henry Lelo, who was here in the capacity of simple agent in the place of his master, the former Ambassador who had died, was declared by the Queen as her Ambassador and received here as such. As soon as the present had been given to his Majesty, Lelo immediately followed up the negotiations for the ratification of another Capitulation far more extensive than the former; he came to terms with the Ministry and the Capitulation was even read in Divan, in the presence of all the Pashas, highly approved and sent in to the Sultan who countersigned (caticumain) it in these terms, which were shown me, "We have seen it, let it be written and given to the Ambassador." While it was being written out the death of Chirà the Jewess took place, and with it the fall of Halil who was the ultimate support of the Capitulation, and so the matter remained suspended.

When Hafiz was appointed Grand Vizir, he would not ratify the Capitulation except in its original form, and in spite of the Sultan's signature he told the Ambassador that what Halil had done Hafiz could undo.

The substance of the additions to the Capitulation is this, that English merchants trading in Constantinople shall only pay three per cent. on their goods, whereas they formerly paid five and even six per cent. But no arrangement was made about other ports where the dues amount to twenty per cent.

That all orders the Ambassador can obtain from the Porte shall have the same value as the Capitulation itself.

The English are to enjoy all privileges enjoyed by the French and the Venetians.

All suits between English merchants which may arise elsewhere than in Constantinople, are to be decided in Constantinople, if the sum at stake exceeds four thousand aspers. This will greatly diminish the authority of the Beglierbeys and Pashas in the provinces.

The Queen even demanded that Flemish merchants, under her protection, should be allowed to trade if they flew the English flag. In like manner a similar concession had been made to other

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1600.

Princes in favour of foreigners. These were the very terms of the Queen's letter, and she intended to allude to the King of France; a point, which, as your Serenity knows, was decided in favour of the King of France, so that the English flag only covered Holland, Zealand, Grolandia and Gislandia, protected by the Queen.

On account of all these difficulties the conclusion has been suspended; nor has the English Ambassador made any further representations. He is waiting instructions from his mistress, to whom he has reported all that has happened.

But a few days ago, when it seemed that the Queen of England would make peace with Spain, and while news from Hungary was far from good, Hafiz sent for the Dragoman of the English Embassy and inquired why the Ambassador did not continue to seek the ratification. To which the Ambassador replied that he had already written to the Queen and was waiting an answer, which would soon be here. It was not for him to say another word on the subject, because there was an attempt to alter what had already received the signature of the Grand Signor, who had actually, in replying to the Queen's letters, announced that he had granted to her Ambassador his request as to the renewal of the Capitulation.

The Ambassador has had occasion to remark that he is well aware that Hafiz, in spite of his sovereign's interests, took his present step because he wished to be bribed; and that he accordingly recognised the difficulty of the situation and the impossibility of obtaining anything without cost; but he had no right to make any disbursements, nor, he alleged, was it the Queen's interest to give him such authority, for there was little business at this Court, and the English merchants drew little profit from the Levant trade. As a matter of fact the Queen would never listen to a word from Ambassador or consul in favour of expenses; all fell upon the merchants, and he was sent there upon these express terms. Now that the trade has fallen so low while both ordinary and extraordinary taxation have so greatly increased, owing to the continual presents which have to be made to the Pashas, it is impossible, without the new clauses of the Capitulations, for English merchants to trade profitably, and if the Turks will not condescend to oblige the Queen in this, she will be forced to recall her Ambassador and to leave in his place a simple agent, as the Ambassador signified. He added that if the English should succeed as the Flemish have done, in opening up a trade with the Indies, where the gains were far greater it would not be worth their while to come into these seas any more, or as the Ambassador says, finding themselves but little considered at the Porte, it is possible that they may think of directing their trade to Venice, sending their merchandize to that city and abandoning all dealings with the Turk. The Ambassador declares that certain Venetian merchants have broached the subject to certain English merchants.

This is all that I have found out as yet upon the subject. I must add that the English Ambassador is expecting daily the

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1600.

arrival of an answer from the Queen, which will conclude the business.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 3rd December 1600.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 4. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

937. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Persian Ambassadors have not yet received their congé. One of the reasons is that the letters have not been translated. Dr. Petzen took the replies for his Majesty's signature; he asked for the King of Persia's letters. When they were not produced his Majesty flew into a rage with Petzen.

Prague, 4th December 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

938. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Three ships of the West India fleet have arrived as yet, they bring six millions in gold. The fourth struck on the rock known as *la ponta del Diamante*, in sight of Cadiz. The crew was saved, others say they will recover the cargo of two millions. Two others are delayed, being caught in a storm, but, as they are good ships, they hope they will be rescued.

Madrid, 16th December 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 18. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

939. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Persian Ambassadors are still here. The Englishman has frequent consultations with the Spanish Ambassador. He has received despatches from Persia.

Prague, 18th December 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 25. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

940. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I informed your Serenity of the frequent visits to the Spanish Ambassador paid by the Englishman, who calls himself Ambassador of the King of Persia.

I suspected some secret negotiation, and my suspicions were just. I find that the Englishman has proposed to take over the captaincy of the mouth of the Red Sea, where all the India traffic passes on its way to Suez, and to pay for it two hundred thousand crowns a year in place of the forty thousand the captains now pay, and he offers sufficient security. His object is to divert the India trade altogether from Egypt, and to send it through Muscovy. Grand schemes, impossible to accomplish. I have seen his credentials; they do not give him the title of Ambassador, which the Persian who is with him has. He has spent much and made presents. Although

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1600.

living at his Majesty's charges, he has contracted forty-six thousand thalers of debt; and his creditors are after him.

Prague, 25th December 1600.

[*Italian.*]

1601.
Jan. 7.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

941. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador told me that his most Christian Majesty had lately sent an answer to the Sultan's letter on the subject of the Ambassador's congé which was refused months ago, unless another Ambassador arrived to fill his place. His most Christian Majesty now declares that as he finds he is well served by the Ambassador he will not change him for the present.

Some days ago an English bertone arrived here with a cargo of tin, caviare and tallow (caviari e seui). The English Ambassador, with the help of the Chief Gardner, (Bostarigi Pasha), who alone supports him; induced the Sultan to come down to the seaside kiosk to watch the ship sail in with flags and pennons flying, and to hear the double salute, very smartly fired by the artillery. And with this empty smoke the English blind the eyes of the Turk so that he cannot see their rapine and their cruelty (et con questi vanni fumi aciecano Inglesi gli occhi a questi in maniera che non vegono le loro rapine et crudeltà).

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 7th January 1600 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 8.
Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

942. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Persian Ambassadors have not yet received their congé, to their great annoyance. There is an attempt to make them go back by Muscovy. I enclose the answer they have received. There are two points besides the general answer on the question of a confederation; one that the Englishman, though not called Ambassador in the letters he brought, is honoured with that title in the reply, where he is called the Chief Ambassador; the other that the King of Persia has proposed a deviation of the trade route from Alexandria and Syria.

Prague, 8th January 1601.

[*Italian*].

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

943. His Cesarean Majesty, our most clement Lord, of his benignity and clemency replies to the letters laid before him by the King of Persia, through his Legate, the celebrated Anthony Sherley (*Antonium Syhirle*), with whom is joined Cuscuistti Bey.

First; right pleasing is it to him to receive this legation, so memorable for the long stretches of sea and land that it has had to traverse, in order to convey the friendly greetings of the King, and to propose an alliance first with the Emperor, and then with other Christian Princes against the Turk.

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1601.

His Imperial Majesty has been struggling without intermission against the Turk; and has already attempted to form a league with other Sovereigns. He will do his best to secure such a league; and meantime he promises that he will continue the war with all his might, and will omit nothing which may be needed to break the power of the Turk. He will summon a Diet of the Empire, will raise funds, and will urge all Christian nations to join him; he will send embassies, and will endeavour to prohibit the commerce of Christians with Turks.

The King of Persia should do the same on his side with the Georgians and Muscovites. What moment more favourable for the Persian monarch to secure himself and his kingdom than this, while the Turk is being attacked by the Emperor. The following spring should see a joint attack.

That the King of Persia will permit all Christians not only to trade, but to enjoy liberty of conscience, will certainly bring him great favour with all Christians.

His Cesarean Majesty will take care to do all that may foster and preserve the friendship of the Persian King. He thanks Anthony Sherley (*Syhirle*) and his companion, Cuscuitti Bey, for the long and laborious journey they have taken, and offers them his Imperial favour.

Prague, 11th December 1600.

To the Legate of the Persian King, Anthony Sherley, Englishman, and his companion, Cuscuitti Bey.

[*Latin.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

944. CREDENTIALS to the EMPEROR.

Anthony Sherley (*Cherle*) has arrived at our Court, and during his residence has shown his most pure and faithful affection towards us; and now as he is returning to his own land; by his means we have sent as our Ambassador our highly esteemed Usein Alibri in company with the aforesaid little lord.

Casuin, 11th October 1006 (*sic*).

SAN (Shah ?) ABBAS, King of Persia.

[*Italian,*]

Similar letters to the Pope, the King of Spain, and the King of France.

Jan. 15. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

945. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have just received the letters which these Persian Ambassadors are to present to your Serenity on the orders of their Sovereign.

Prague, 15th January 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

946. CREDENTIALS to the REPUBLIC of VENICE.

In the same terms as those to the King of France.

[*Italian.*]

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1601.
Jan. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

947. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from Flanders that the Queen of England continues to display an excellent disposition; she is waiting to see what attitude they will take up; her own depends largely on that.

Madrid, 17th January 1600. [m.v.]

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

948. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador has received despatches on the subject of the peace with Savoy. The substance is that the Duke surrenders la Bresse as far as the Rhone, and retains Saluzzo. The passage of troops from Italy to Flanders is to be left free. The King wants to retain the two Bailès of Verome and Beauge, and that the Duke shall restore the four places he has occupied.

Madrid, 20th January 1600. [m.v.]

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

949. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The renegade, Luca Mariani, continues his suit against Carlo Cigala, and has drawn up a very long memorial to present to the Sultan. He took it to the English Ambassador to have it translated into Turkish, but the Ambassador replied that as a friend of the Capudan Pasha, he must decline to interfere.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 20th January 1600. [m.v.]

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

950. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Some days ago about twenty Turks appeared in Divan to complain that a Caramusale belonging to them had been sunk by an English Bertone. Achmet Pasha publicly reproached the Dragoman of the English Ambassador with much bitterness, saying that the Porte received nothing but damage from the Queen's subjects, and in his anger he went so far as to declare that the Ambassador was doing no service here and had better go; words which, I learn from a sure source, gave great offence to the other Pashas. The Ambassador, in great anxiety at this outburst and insult, has prepared a vigorous note; and, although I have been told to-day that by means of the Chief Gardener he has succeeded in presenting it to his Majesty, still, when I was visiting the Ambassador, he himself, while relating his grievance to me, told me that twice he had endeavoured to present the memorial in person to the Sultan, having even gone the length of landing at the garden walls, close to the kiosk of Sinan Pasha, in the hope that his Majesty passing that way might see him, but the Sultan never came. The Ambassador would not entrust the memorial to the hands of any of the Eunuchs of the Harem for fear that it might*

* "A Turkish vessel with square and very high stern." So in Pedrocchi. Novo Dizionario.

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1601.

miss its effect. He also told me that the Chief Gardener was his most intimate friend and it was from him that he obtained leave to wait for the Sultan by the garden wall for three hours, a place which no one is allowed to approach, especially as the Sultana was there, and without the help of the Chief Gardener or Chief Eunuch he would never have ventured to draw near in that way. All the same the Chief Gardener told the Ambassador that he could not intervene in the presentation of any memorial to the Sultan, on account of the respect he entertained for Hafiz Achmet, Grand Vizir, but that he would favour him to the extent of letting him know when the Sultan was going out. I remarked "but the Sultan was out in Stamboul a few days ago;" the Ambassador replied that the expedition was a surprise and the Chief Gardener could not inform him. It is conjectured that the reason why the Bostangi and the Chief Eunuch refuse to interfere in the presentation of memorials just now is on account of the rumours which were set afloat against them and the Sultana at the time of the murder of Chirà, the Jewess, and are now revived, and the Sultan, on the persuasion of his mother has refused to issue any more signs manual; but the Grand Vizir in the presence of the other Vizirs, writes out the Sultan's replies, as used to be done in the days of Suleiman Sultan. In this way the Sultana and the Chief Eunuch hope to obviate the danger which threatens them from the insolent soldiery, and to free themselves from the charge of turning the Sultan round absolutely; all the same, owing to their secret influence with the Grand Vizir, everything is arranged to suit their views.

The Ambassador told me that the Grand Vizir had sent for him and seriously complained about the Caramusale. The Pasha declared that the English ships, with which the seas off Alexandria were swarming, plundered not only the Turks but also the French and the Venetians, and he was determined for the future to allow no ships inside the Dardanelles, which carried more than two pieces of artillery. The Vizir affirmed that the Ambassador could not deny the fact as there were two Englishmen present at the event, and who were captured at Chios. The Ambassador, however, did deny the fact most positively, but said he would suspend his judgment till these two men arrived, and if it proved true he would know what to do. As for the complaints of the French and Venetians he would leave them to be settled between their Princes and his mistress, where the grievances would be better adjusted than here, as took place some years ago between the Queen and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, although the Grand Duke of Tuscany subsequently executed an exiled thief. The Ambassador declared that the Captains of the two Bertoni captured at Patras, proposed to take service against the Turks under the King of Spain, and sent their supercargoes to England to come to an arrangement with the Lord High Admiral, but they were unable to accomplish their design as they were hung. Further, the Grand Duke of Tuscany has lately bought two Bertoni, and has sent them out as corsairs flying the English flag; in the same way certain French ships from St.

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Malo are out as corsairs; while lately a large Englishman called the "Santa Maria Rossa" was captured by the Neapolitan galleys, and the men put to the oar. She was fitted out in the kingdom of Naples, and was sailing as a pirate, also under the English flag. Everyone was trying to hide his own misdeeds under the cloak of those English Bertoni, which were obliged to carry artillery for their own defence as they had to sail through seas belonging to their great enemies; and in short if the Pasha had nothing more to say than what he had alleged the Ambassador would leave as the Pasha desired. The Pasha, however, perjured himself by swearing that he had never said that the Ambassador had better go, although the Dragoman of the Ambassador, urged by his master, confirmed the fact; he was roughly put down by the Pasha who employed abusive language.

Besides this, the English Ambassador has assured me that he distinctly told the Grand Vizir that in the question between himself and the French Ambassador the Pasha had acted not as a judge but as an interested party and advocate for the French. The Pasha answered that he would always maintain the usual Capitulations with the Queen; but the Ambassador replied that the Queen would never accept any Capitulations with the Porte, which did not give her the protection of the Flemish. Apropos to this question of jurisdiction, some days ago the French Ambassador informed me that he had obtained from the Grand Signor a fresh order that the Flemish, who are trading in Syria, should be placed under the flag of his most Christian Majesty. When I remarked to the French Ambassador that the Grand Vizir months ago had already decided on principle in his favour, the Ambassador said that he had done so by word of mouth only, not in writing. Later on the English Ambassador explained to me more fully the nature of this new order which the French Ambassador had obtained, to take out of the Venetian Consul's hands the sum of one thousand crowns deposited by order of the Sultan many months ago, until letters should arrive from England and from France upon the subject of the Flemish nation. These letters have not yet come to hand; but now the French Ambassador, in order to attain his object, is quite willing to destroy almost the whole of this sum by making presents out of it to the Grand Vizir, the Grand Defterdar, and others. The English Ambassador complained that he had received no despatches from the Queen since last April, and that by way of Venice they were excessively delayed. He is expecting despatches by his ships which have sailed from England, one for Syria, the other for Constantinople, and in the first despatches that come to hand he is sure, he says, to receive full instructions as to the navigation of English ships. I said that in truth a resolution, and a vigorous one, was needed to give satisfaction to so many Princes who had been injured in the persons of their subjects. The Ambassador admitted that it was so, for in no other way would it be possible for English ships to continue to trade and to traffic either in these waters or in other parts of the Levant.

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The French Ambassador does not fail, by every means in his power, to renew his representations quite openly about these recent events, and fans the flame of the Grand Vizir's indignation against the English. Accordingly, on the return of Giaffer and Memi Corso from the Black Sea, he informed them of the English depredations, and stirred them up to speak to the Grand Vizir on the subject, and perhaps it was they who caused the Vizir to fly out in such a hot fury. I found myself, later on, in the company of the third Vizir, Jemisgi Hassan (Gemis Chiassa), where was also Memi Corso, accidentally, along with the other two. Memi began to express his hatred for this alliance with the English, who, as a rule, do mischief to every one; I confirmed this, saying that the English nation, under cloak of friendship, harassed most barbarously all and sundry on the sea, and prevented their traffic; that the only sure and certain remedy was for the Sultan to prohibit English ships from entering any of his ports. Jemisgi, however, replied that the English alliance ought to be highly appreciated for the English were employed in fighting the ships of Spain, and were the enemies of Turkey's enemies, which is precisely the main consideration which inclines the Turks not to abandon the English alliance, especially as long as the English remain at war with Spain. And for this reason the English Ambassador, after telling me that he had learned from the crew of the last ship which arrived that negotiations for a peace between England and Spain had been reopened, suddenly seemed to repent of the admission, and added that he could not believe that peace would be concluded. I, recalling your Serenity's instructions, contained in the despatch of 2nd September last, ordering me to assist the French Ambassador in his endeavours to secure the prohibition of English shipping, will not fail as occasion offers to heighten the heinousness of their crimes; and, as I see that Achmet Pasha is so hot against them, I will make a pretext for visiting him after the Divan, and I hope some remark of his may give to me, as to my predecessor, an opportunity to rouse his suspicions still further, and to dispose him to come some day to a resolution, to exclude English shipping from trade with Turkey in order to secure the seas. I will proceed with the greatest caution and secrecy so as not to be discovered, for the English Ambassador while complaining to me of the unfriendly offices of the French Ambassador, was able to relate them precisely word for word as they were said, and openly displayed his hostility, while covertly he alluded to me by complaining that my Dragomans sometimes also acted in an unfriendly spirit. To this I replied with a reverse that was fitting; but I suspect that he has delayed to present his memorial to the Sultan for some fear lest I should be hostile to his objects; and this suspicion imposes on me the duty of keeping before me your Serenity's instructions that I am to use all caution in touching this matter.

The Bertone above-mentioned which came in some days ago, picked up at Zante from some English vessels there, some cloth and some tin. The rest of the cargo of caviare, tallow, and cables, it brought from Muscovy; and as far as I can judge from her

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capacity there will not be a large profit; for the Turks have taken the larger part of the tallow and cables for use in the Arsenal, at a price fixed by themselves. Just as I was finishing this despatch, Borisi came in; I had commissioned him to find out whether the English Ambassador had really presented his memorial to the Sultan when he was at the kiosk. Borisi tells me that when the Sultan saw the Ambassador he inquired what he wanted; and on the Ambassador making signs that he wished to hand in his petition, the Sultan ordered a cord to be let down from the window of the kiosk and the Ambassador tied his petition to it. It seems that, unless it was shame at this undignified method of petitioning which prevented the Ambassador from relating the occurrence to me, it must have been the difference to which I have already referred.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 21st January 1600 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

951. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

For fear lest the Spahis should be enraged at seeing Christians and Jews better dressed than themselves, the Grand Vizir has renewed an order similar to that which was issued on the death of Chirà the Jewess, namely, that no Christian or Jew, except those attached to the Embassies, may wear silk or venetian cloth.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 21st January 1600 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 22. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

952. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Persian Ambassadors are still waiting for an audience. The Englishman is in a fury. He went to take his leave of the Spanish Ambassador, and complained bitterly of Dr. Petzen, who had answered to his remonstrances that if he did not like to stay he could go. I think there is some mystery underneath all this; for though, as your Serenity will see from the letters I sent, the Englishman is not really the Chief Ambassador, yet in the answer they give him that title to flatter and please him. They tried to persuade them to go back to Persia by Muscovy. The Englishman refused; and now they wish to separate him from the Persian, to whom they would attach an ambassador of their own, who would bring them more honour than the Englishman. Dr. Petzen aspires to that post; and this explains his desire to weary out the Englishman. I do not think it will be easy to separate them, though there is a certain amount of ill feeling between them on account of the vanity of the Englishman and the caution of the Persian. The Englishman told the Spanish Ambassador that if he has to leave without an audience, he will go to Florence, and then to France and England, without visiting Spain. In England he will attend to his private affairs and then return to Persia by sea.

Prague, 22nd January 1601.

[*Italian.*]

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Feb. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

953. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The ship "Silvestra" arrived on the 26th of last month. Everyone was eagerly awaiting her arrival; as she cleared the Serraglio point she fired a fine salvo of artillery, which gave more pleasure in the Serraglio than the English salvo of some days ago.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 3rd February 1600 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 5. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

954. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

These Persian Ambassadors have not left yet. I have procured a copy of their commission and a rough draft of the treaty they are to propound, and I enclose them.

Prague, 5th February 1600.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

955. The valorous Sir Anthony Sherley (*Scherlei*) came to Persia from Frankland; he has enjoyed the highest rank in our service. You must know that he has made a place for love of you in our hearts; and I desire to make a league with all you princes of Frankland. An honoured subject of ours goes with him as Ambassador to the Sovereigns.

We desire that you should treat with the said Sir Anthony, and consider him as our supreme commissioner, (*il nostro commissario supremo*).

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

956. Heads upon which the King of Persia desires the Emperor and other Christian Princes to treat with his Ambassador, Mr. Anthony Sherley, Knight, of England.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

957. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Persian Ambassadors have left at length. The intrigues to separate them, and to send them back by Muscovy, were of no use. In view of the great expense which the Englishman incurred, the Emperor has given him two thousand florins, and other seven hundred for the journey. Between these two Ambassadors they have received a present of two thousand thalers' worth of silver, very little compared with their hopes, though they cost his Majesty one hundred and twenty thalers a day all the time they were here.

Prague, 12th February 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

958. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from England that a Persian Ambassador has arrived, and has been received and treated with great honour. The Queen

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has made him a present of a Portuguese hulk, with all its cargo, just captured in those waters. After he had received his congé, five ships and five hundred soldiers were assigned him for his escort home. An English Ambassador to the King of Persia goes with him. The object of the Persian Embassy was, perhaps, to secure aid against the Turk, or, more likely to open up commercial relations between Persia and England. The Queen, though very feeble and tottering on account of her illness, nevertheless appeared on this occasion adorned and bedecked with great pomp, and right royally. They say that the Queen, aware that she cannot live much longer, has made her will in which she has named the King of France as her Executor, a duty which he has accepted (la Regina s'era fatta vedere conquell' occasione tutto che fiacca et vacilente per le sue indispositioni, però ornata et adobbata con pompa grande et veramente regale. Et di più avvisano che la Regina vedendosi in stato di non poter haver troppo più vita, haveva fatto il suo testamento et chiamato essecutor il Rè di Franza, il quale havea accettato il carico).

Madrid, 14th February 1600 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

959. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

We have news that the ship "Martinella" has been captured off Paros, by two English Bertoni, with which she fought for six hours; the crew escaped in their boat. This news has recalled the depredation of the ship "Gagliana," and has thrown all the merchants, Turks, Jews, and Christians alike, into the greatest consternation, as everyone is touched. Even I have lost some of my property on board, which I was obliged to leave behind me on my hurried departure.

The English Ambassador has told Cigala that the Englishman who is with the Persian Ambassador at the Imperial Court, was an exile from England, although a blood relation of the Queen. The rumour that his mission is to arrange a league between Persia and the empire, gains ground. Cigala sent to ask me what I know of the matter. I replied that I knew nothing. The French Ambassador, in order to magnify the military importance of the war between his master and the Duke of Savoy, goes about saying that it will prevent the union of Christendom, for the King of Spain will be occupied in the defence of his brother-in-law, while the King of France will most certainly make a descent on Italy.

As to the Englishman who is at Prague, the Ambassador says that a year and a half ago he passed from Venice to Aleppo with a safe conduct for Persia, whither he was sent by the Queen to persuade the Persians not to allow provisions to enter Ormuz, a fortress in the East Indies belonging to the King of Spain; and to declare that she would send her fleet to harass the Spanish in those quarters. The French Ambassador adds that a brother of this Englishman has remained behind in Persia; and that his most

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Christian Majesty has informed him that the Persian Embassy, now in Prague, will move on to Venice, Rome, France, and Spain, in order to negotiate a league.

These two Ambassadors of France and England, though very ill-disposed towards each other are still united over the interest of their Sovereigns, which is to harass Spain; and they omit no opportunity to incite the Turks; all of which tends to the ruin of Christendom.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 20th February 1600 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

960. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The defects and shortcomings of this government are growing daily more apparent; and they try to cure them by changing the doctor not by going to the roof of the ill. Hafiz Achmet the Grand Vizir has just been dismissed and Hasan Jemisgi named in his place; Jemisgi tried to decline the dangerous honour, but the Sultan ordered him to take Hafiz's place in Divan, without further reply.

The French Ambassador when paying his visit of congratulation was received with small honour in the vast crowd; he cared the less, however, as he wished to pay his compliments at that conjuncture, being unable to make a present like the other Ambassadors. The English Ambassador, though he brought with him the usual present, was dismissed by the Pashas with a couple of words without even being asked to sit down, to his great confusion.

Dalle Vigni di Pera, 20th February 1600 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Mar. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

961. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

They say now that the two Bertoni which carried off the "Marinella" were Spanish, not English.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 3rd March 1601.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Mar. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

962. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His Holiness has news that the Persian Ambassadors have left the Imperial Court for Rome, after overcoming many difficulties in the way of their mission. His Holiness is awaiting them eagerly.

Rome, 3rd March 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Mar. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

963. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador on the creation of this new Vizir has re-opened his negotiations to secure that the Flemish shall sail

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under the English flag, while the French Ambassador does all he can to maintain what he had acquired under Hafiz.

Dalle Vigni di Pera, 5th March 1601.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

Mar. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

964. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish as an explanation of their armament in Milan now that peace has been signed, say that the King of Spain intends to use these troops in Flanders, to support the Archduke Albert, who has informed all the Spanish ministers in Italy that he is in a very perilous position, owing to the preparations which the States are making against him, and that if not helped, his affairs will go very ill. His Highness declares that he would like this peace with France to remain ; all the more as he has good hopes of concluding one with the Queen of England who of herself has re-opened negotiations on the subject. It is said that the person arrested by the Grand Duke as the pretended King of Portugal (Don Sebastiano) is not the same man as was expelled from Venice ; for on leaving that city four of the Portuguese who were with him dressed themselves up like him and went in different directions, so that while the government were occupied with watching them the real man might escape to France ; where, indeed, they say he has actually arrived. People of weight, however, affirm that the Grand Duke's prisoner is the man expelled from Venice and that the Grand Duke greatly wishes to be quit of the matter.

Rome, 10th March 1601.

[*Italian.*]

March 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

965. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In England there have been great tumults ; the Earl of Essex, supported by a number of gentlemen, has risen against the Queen. He hoped to have met with more favour from the people than he actually received. He showed great rashness in rebelling with so small a following, and smaller prospects of success, and great cowardice in letting himself be captured, after such an act, without making any defence, as he might quite well have done in the effort to save himself. He is a prisoner in the Tower of London ; he will not leave except to pay the price of the rebellion he raised. The event has alarmed the Queen, who fears that it may have wider roots than have as yet been discovered. But she is doing all she can to secure herself. Here, of course, these events give satisfaction ; for they think that the Queen, under pressure of internal if not of external alarm, will hasten to make peace with this Crown. For they are convinced that war with England promises nothing but loss.

Valladolid, 15th March 1601.

[*Italian ; deciphered.*]

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Enclosed in Despatch of March 19th, Constantinople.

966. DEPOSITIONS of two FRENCHMEN, passengers on board the "Martinella."

The Bertoni, which attacked the "Martinella," hailed from Messina, and were full of Spanish.

[*Italian.*]

March 24.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

967. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador of the Grand Duke told me that his Highness had certain information that the Spanish nursed designs against England, and that under pretext of helping the Archduke Albert they would advance their troops as near as possible to the ports of that kingdom, there to await the arrival of a fleet which had already sailed from Portugal, under the same pretext of helping the Archduke.

The Grand Duke, to please the King of Spain, will consign to him the pretended King of Portugal.

Rome, 24th March 1601.

[*Italian.*]

April 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

968. MARIN CAVALLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I imagine that your Serenity will already have heard of the conspiracy against the Queen recently discovered in England, and the extreme penalty inflicted on the Earl of Essex, its leader, and on many others, the first day of Lent. Nevertheless, as the Secretary of the English Embassy here has given me the enclosed account of the event I must not fail to send it.*

This occurrence has delayed the appointment of the Commission to negotiate a peace with the Archduke Albert. That Commission will not meet in France, but in England, or in some suitable place in Flanders.

Paris, the first of April 1601.

[*Italian.*]

April 1.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

969. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Cicala sent for the French Ambassador, and begged him to desist from his opposition to England, and to allow the Flemish to sail under the Queen of England's flag, and if he would not yield of his own accord, at least that he should do so to please the Capudan Pasha who would requite him in other ways. The Ambassador replied that he was ready to open his veins and to shed his best blood to serve the Pasha, but that he could not do a disservice to the King his master; however, to please the Pasha, he would write to the King and use his best offices. Cicala replied that it was too long to wait, and that the Ambassador must make up his mind. The Ambassador went straight to the Grand Vizir, and reported the conversation. The Grand Vizir, as the Ambassador himself

* The document is missing.

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informs me, replied that he might rest assured that nothing new would happen.

The uproar of the last few days has greatly favoured the French Ambassador's designs, for the Bostangi Pasha, who was the principal supporter of the English Ambassador, by whom he was promised many robes, has been dismissed, and now only Cicala, who has been promised a number of clocks, silver-plate, and robes to the value of five hundred ducats, remains to sustain the English Ambassador. Peace has been announced between the King of France and the Duke of Savoy, which means peace with Spain as well, and the English Ambassador seized the opportunity to put the French Ambassador in an unfavourable light, for he had promised that the French arms would create a diversion in favour of the Turks. The Frenchman, however, besides denying that there is any certainty in the report, declares that peace between England and Spain is also on the point of being concluded. Both these rumours stab the Turks to the heart; and Mehemet Pasha said to a confidant of his that now was the time for the Christians to attack the Ottoman Empire when it was without money and without government.*

Dalle Vigne di Pera, the first of April 1601.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 2. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

970. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English merchants, on learning that one of the Persian Ambassadors was an Englishman, Sir Anthony Sherley, implored the Queen to prevent him from coming any further, owing to the risk their factories and merchandise would run if the Turk found out that the Ambassador was an Englishman. The Queen sent an agent here post haste to discredit the Ambassador by some sinister representations. The agent was caught when crossing the Moselle, and we do not know what has befallen him.

Prague, 2nd April 1601.

[*Italian.*]

April 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

971. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Earl of Essex who was made prisoner by the Queen has been sentenced to death; four hundred gentlemen of importance are in prison with him. *This causes a great commotion, all the more as they are finding out that the King of Scotland may have had a finger in the plot, for he was in intimate relations with the Earl of Essex, and aware of all these internal commotions. The Queen is allowing many privateers to take the sea to damage Spain. She intends to bar the passage of troops into Flanders by sea from Portugal.*

Valladolid, 5th April 1601.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

* Revolt of the Janisaries and Spahies.

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April 7.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

972. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Thursday the Persian Ambassadors made their entry into the City with great pomp and received many presents. His holiness sent his nephew, Don Silvestro Aldobrandino, and a large company to meet them outside the Porta del Popolo. The Palazzo della Rovere has been richly adorned for them. Thither they were conducted by Don Silvestro, and there lodged with great honour and magnificence, together with all their suite, which, however, is not very large. At their entry a slight difficulty arose, as both claimed the higher place. After a while it was settled that the Englishman should ride between the Persian, who was on his right, and Don Silvestro, who was on his left. On passing St. Angelo they were saluted by one salvo of codete nor was any other honour omitted. But on reaching the Palace, fresh controversy arose, as the Englishman insisted upon forcibly occupying the best apartment; and something serious might have happened had not Cardinal Aldobrandino with his authority somewhat cooled their fury.

Rome, 7th April 1601.

[*Italian.*]

April 8.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

973. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The continued commotion in England gives hope here that, at least, they will not be troubled. Besides the death of the Earl of Essex, the King of Scotland has declared himself; he has sent to ask the Queen to name him her heir, and states that there is no time for delay. This may keep the revolution alive. And on this account they will be able to save a great deal of money this year, which would otherwise have been spent in sending out the fleet.

Valladolid, 8th April 1601.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 14.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

974. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Sunday the Persian Ambassador sent to me to say that he would be glad if I would send him one of my household as he had a communication to make. I sent my secretary, to whom the Ambassador explained, through an interpreter, that this Englishman who is with him, is in fact in the service of the Persian, but is not an Ambassador. For as he had to return to England the King had begged him to lend his services by accompanying the Embassy, as he was well versed in such matters; but while on the journey, and being master of the language, he had usurped the rank of principal Ambassador. That this was a serious offence against the King, his master, committed by a man of bad character, but no remedy was possible just now as he was in a foreign country and ignorant of its language. On his departure his master had consigned to him jewels to the value of many thousand crowns, to

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be presented to various sovereigns; these he had entrusted to the Englishman, who had made away with them all, on the fictitious promise to render an account when they arrived in Rome, a promise never kept. The Persian declared that he had credentials addressed to all Princes to whom he was accredited; and thereupon one of suite took from a coffer a golden purse from among five or six other smaller ones, each containing a letter. This one, he said, was for your Serenity, whom he had not visited on his way here because, being quite ignorant of the country, he had been persuaded by the Englishman to come to Rome first; but on leaving Rome he intended to go straight to Venice, although he had heard that your Serenity would raise difficulties about receiving him. All the same he wished to warn you that the Englishman had sent an agent of his from Florence to Venice, and that it would be as well not to trust him, nor to give him anything, for his master was so crushed by debt that his sole object now was to extract money from Princes. The Persian even suggested that your Serenity should imprison the English agent until his arrival when he would expose all these frauds. The letter he has for the Pontiff declares clearly enough that he is the Ambassador named by his master; and those for your Serenity would prove the same.

To punish the Englishman he would willingly suffer the harshest imprisonment, provided the Englishman had to undergo the same, and he wished that an express should be sent to his master to explain where the fraud lay, and if it should be charged on him he declared he would willingly pay the penalty with his life, but on condition that the Englishman suffered if he were proved to be the source of the trickery. He concluded by saying he wished to send me to-day his letters for your Serenity.

Rome, 14th April, 1601.

[*Italian.*]

April 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

975. MARIN CAVALLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Secretary in residence here, suspects that the troops collected in the Milanese may be employed against his mistress. He took occasion to beg the King to keep him informed on this point. The King said that at present he saw no signs of Spain attacking England.

The King of Scotland seized the excuse of Essex's rebellion to send an envoy to deal with private and also with important public questions; the private questions are the liberation of certain Scots, prisoners in England, and the permission to alienate certain property the King has in England. The important public matter is that he demands to be proclaimed Prince of Wales.

Paris, 16th April 1601.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

976. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador has been working hard all these days to prevent the English Ambassador from achieving his object of

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including the Flemish subjects trading here, under the English flag. Seeing the question now driven to its extreme point, he has been to the Grand Vizir, and produced all the usual arguments in his favour, complaining too, that there was an intention to break the Capitulations in existence between the King and the Grand Signor. He urged reasons of policy, and hinted that his master would be forced to make advances to those who were inviting him, to the prejudice of the Porte. I understand that the Pasha seemed to assent to the Ambassador's remarks, but pleaded as an excuse that the Capudan's opposition was so vigorous; he showed a letter in which the Capudan urged the Vizir to take no heed, even if France should declare war, for he, the Capudan Pasha, was well versed in such matters, and would always make good his word. The Grand Vizir accordingly recommended the French Ambassador to seek out Cicala, and endeavour by some skillful management to modify at least, if not to change his attitude. Though the Ambassador found the step a difficult one, yet the Capudan's authority being so eminent, and the question being so urgent, he resolved to make the attempt. Before he sought an interview he sent by the hands of an intimate, the very same present as the English Ambassador had made to Cicala; nevertheless he found the Capudan Pasha more violent and obstinate than ever; he refused to admit any of the arguments, and pretexts advanced, and told the Ambassador not to mention the matter further, for he supported the English on the score of reason and of justice, and not for gifts; that the Grand Signor had no benefit from French shipping manned by people of Messina and Papists, and if any French goods were found on board these, they would most assuredly be seized, as had happened on other occasions; that French ships were small and only carried sardines to Chios; the French ships make no presents to the Sultan as do the English, who to the great honour of the Porte sail in from distant lands and bring no large profit; that there was no need for bluster; the most Christian King was doing as badly as possible, by making peace with Spain, the enemy of the Sultan; that in the Imperial Army, besides the Duke of Mercœur a large part of the soldiers were French; if the Ambassador wanted to withdraw, he had better go and ask leave of him who summoned him, and not from the Capudan; finally that if it should appear from the Capitulations that the matter stood in his favour, the notary who drew it up falsely would loose a hand; for a simple robe they were capable of including places belonging to the Turks themselves in a grant of jurisdiction to the French. On receiving this unpromising and contemptuous answer, the Ambassador went off to the Mufti, in the hope that by the authority of religion he might be able to curb the passion of Cicala. Besides all his main arguments he gave the Mufti to understand that his master had been reduced to make peace with Savoy, and consequently with Spain, owing to the insults he received at the Porte, and added that the same line of conduct might even throw him into the arms of the Pope, to the damage of the Turks, a course to which his Holiness and other Christian Princes were always urging him. The Mufti, however, gave de

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Breves nothing but fair words, and the advice to present a memorial to the Sultan to refer the decision of this matter to the Mufti himself. The Ambassador sent the memorial to Jemisgi Pasha (Grand Vizir) to be presented to the Sultan; Jemisgi feigned compliance, but never presented it for fear of offending Cicala. I have thought it necessary to send your Serenity this detailed account of the traffic of the English in these parts, as I know how important you consider the matter to be, and I recall the imperative orders, received a few months ago, to do all that I could to assist the designs of the French Ambassador. Your Serenity will see how things change their aspect here, passing from one extreme to another; only last year it was the desire not of the Sultan, but of all his ministers, and almost, I might say, of Cicala himself, to prohibit the English from trading; now, in spite of excellent reasons based upon capitulations, decrees, and Imperial rescripts in favour of France, the very reverse has been adopted. This is chiefly due to the immense influence of Cicala, who formerly had little weight, but now, having ingratiated himself with the Sultan during the recent tumults, he aspires by means of frequent interviews and cunning counsels, to overtop the supreme influence of the Chief Eunuch, who by supporting Cicala in the past has been the sole cause of his present exaltation. It is not merely Cicala's greedy hopes to wring much profit out of the English Ambassador which induce him to take up this attitude, but also his ancient hatred of the French. The Grand Vizir has recounted to the other Pashas, and to the Cadileschier, the pretensions of the two Ambassadors, each of whom had a decision in his own favour under sign manual of the Sultan. The Grand Vizir explained that Cicala was of opinion that the English who were better friends to the Porte than any other power, ought to be favoured; all the others adhered to the weighty opinion of Cicala, and the Grand Vizir reported the consultation to the Sultan, and informed him of the two contradictory orders under his sign manual. The Sultan gave orders that the Flemish, as not specified in the French Capitulation, are now to sail under the jurisdiction of the Queen of England.

The French Ambassador is now endeavouring to secure the publication of this order as a simple royal degree not to be registered in the English Capitulation which is about to be ratified now, as the Queen delayed the ratification mainly on this point. The French Ambassador bases his chief hopes on the revocation of the royal degree, during Cicala's absence, though this would be more difficult to accomplish if it had passed into the Capitulation; and also upon the support of Ibraim Pasha; he is thinking of sending an express to the Pasha to alarm him at the prospect of a union between the French and Imperialists, and to thereby induce him to write to the Porte in favour of the French.

He declares that he will never forget the wrongs and injuries he has suffered; and unless the course of events comes to our aid, it will be a difficult task to oppose him, as long as he retains the esteem and the power he at present possesses; especially during the absence of Ibraim whose party is at this conjuncture under persecution on

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account of the late tumults; and should any sort of misfortune overtake him he would not find a soul to support him, after having attempted the life of the Chief Eunuch.

From the enclosed your Serenity will see that two English Bertoni captured a Venetian ship in Spanish waters and laden in Spain (name not mentioned), and took it to Algiers on the pretext that it was Spanish. But the master and some of crew arrived and the Turkish officials, seeing the trick, resolved to restore the ship. But the English pirates burned it in order to conceal the fact that she was Venetian. For this some of the pirates have been put in prison, and it was resolved to give to the master of the burned vessel one of the two English ships. The English however opposed this; and now the Pasha is seeking, through my assistance to secure an order forbidding the English to raise any objections. I have obtained from the Grand Vizir an imperative order that the goods shall be restored, one of the English ships employed to carry the goods to Venice and the pirates punished. The English Ambassador foreseeing my complaint and in order to prove that he does not defend pirates, went to the Capudan Pasha and expressed a desire that these wretches should be produced; as two of them are on their way and will soon be here the Ambassador himself promised that he would make an example of them.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 17th April 1601.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

977. COPY of letter from SULEIMAN of CATANIA, Pasha of Algiers, to BAIRAN, Chiaia of the Arsenal. 5th of the Moon Saban, that is the 10th February 1600.

Two English ships attacked a Venetian bound for Venice. She ran up the ensign of St. Mark, but the English paid no heed. They boarded her, took the captain and crew and put them in a boat and landed them in Majorca. They then took the Venetian in tow and brought her in here. As they came in they lowered the Spanish flags and trailed them in the water, with every sign of joy. I gave them welcome and they began to unlade; but had not completed the task when a *sagitta* arrived from Majorca with the master and pilot on board, and claimed the ship and the cargo. As their remarks were confirmed by many merchants I began to suspect the English, and announced that I intended to give the ship back to her owners. The English raised a violent opposition, and would not submit; on Friday while the Mussulmans were all at prayer, they burned the ship from stem to stern I and all the Mussulmans went down to the shore to see what could be done; but it was impossible to extinguish the flames. I put the commander in prison, and ordered the restitution of the goods. But I fear that the English Ambassador in Constantinople may extract an order to the consul here to hand the goods over to the English.

The Pasha asks for an imperial order to retain the prisoners and the goods.

[*Italian.*]

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Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

978. Imperial order to the Pasha of Algiers to restore the merchandize to the Venetians, to give them one of the two English ships, and to punish the pirates. Even if the English should obtain an order for their release they are not to be released.

April 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

979. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

These Persian Ambassadors have not yet had audience of his Holiness; the disagreement between them on the subject of precedence is still alive. The credentials have been translated and it seems that the Englishman is not called an ambassador; he defends himself by declaring that the translation is faulty, and that there is no one here who understands Persian. It seems that they are resolved to send to Venice for translators who know the language, or to forward the letters themselves to be translated. Meantime the Ambassadors are treated with all honour. His Holiness is spending more than one hundred crowns a day on entertaining them.

Frederico Zuccari, the Painter, has sent me the enclosed memorial.

Rome, 21st April, 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

980. MOST SERENE PRINCE.

It is now many months since I received a letter from the illustrious Almorò Grimani, your brother, desiring me to come to Venice in the service of the Republic, to execute certain work in the hall of the Great Council. I was at the time detained by important work I had already on hand, and could not show that ardent desire which I have to serve your Serenity. As I am now free from my obligations to others it seems to me fitting, in accordance with my previous service and my desire to dedicate the remaining years of my life to your Serenity, that I should humbly inform you, before entering upon other obligations, that I am ready at your slightest command, and to beg you if you are still of the same mind, to entrust your Ambassador with the affair, so that I may come to terms with him for the complete satisfaction of your Serene Highness, to whom God grant the sum of all the felicities you desire.

[*Italian.*]

April 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

981. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the King's departure yesterday morning, an order was issued that all those who possessed wrought silver in these kingdoms were to notify it. This has roused alarm lest one of two plans *should speedily be carried out, either that the King intends to appropriate all this capital, which amounts to a large sum,* as the whole kingdom is full of massive silver vases estimated at a total value of thirty millions in gold, with the intention of assigning it as security for the bonds (*et farne poi assignamenti alli patroni in*

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giuri) forbidding the making of any silver work or silver gilt; or that the moment *it comes into the King's hands he will coin money with it, and keep the balance after making the necessary payments, in this way they hope to keep the money in the country, for at present no sooner does it come into the country, or is coined there, than it takes wing to other countries on account of the premium.*

Valladolid, 27th April 1601.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

April 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

982. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

We are informed from a very sure quarter that all these recent tumults in England which have cost the Earl of Essex his head, are the result of Spanish intrigues. The Spanish are doing all they can to foment discords in that kingdom, in order to assist the execution of some other schemes. I am also told that their object was by means of these discords to counteract the negotiations against them undertaken by Don Virginio Orsini on behalf of the Grand Duke; for that and not mere curiosity is supposed to have been the motive of Don Virginio's visit. The Queen is profoundly annoyed at these intrigues and all hope of peace is at an end.

The Persian Ambassadors obtained a private audience a few days ago, one on one day the other on another. Wednesday evening the Englishman and Thursday the Persian who never rose from his knees all the time he was in the presence, and kissed the Pope's foot though the cross was hidden by his garment. No subjects were touched on at this first interview, and it seems that his Holiness has decided that the Englishman is not the first Ambassador as he claims to be.

Rome, 28th April 1601.

[*Italian.*]

May 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

983. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The prohibition of wine is causing great loss to everyone; the Greeks have suffered to the extent of three hundred thousand ducats and the Jews of four hundred thousand. With difficulty I obtained leave for the Venetian merchants to send theirs into the Black Sea. The officers entrusted with the execution of the order insist upon entering all houses, the French Ambassador's house at Scutari included; but this was avoided by an order from the Grand Vizir. I have obtained an order which covers this Embassy and the houses of the Venetian merchants. But the danger is that when the wine I have is finished it will be impossible to get any more. The Ambassadors of France, England, and myself, are seriously disturbed by the rigidity of the Grand Vizir and the Mufti, who insist on treating the matter from a religious point of view; declaring that their law-giver Mahomet forbade wine precisely to render his soldiers more obedient and more capable of fighting.

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The French Ambassador has given it to be understood that he would consent to a simple royal decree conferring on the English the right to be the covering flag for the Flemish, and announces that he will write to his master urging him to abandon his claim to jurisdiction over them. He has done this to gain time, and in the hopes that Cicala will leave in the interim, when he could easily cause the decree to be revoked. Cicala, however, saw through the stratagem and has caused the decree to be inserted in the Capitulations with England. The French Ambassador still hopes that he may one day alter the English Capitulation as the French one is modified to-day. He will never desist, but will always maintain the contest with the English.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 2nd May 1601.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

984. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have only just heard what your Serenity knows already, that two of the French captains who were fighting with Ibraim have been sent viâ Venice to France and to England. I would not venture to affirm what reasons have induced Ibraim to take this step without orders from here; possibly to engage those sovereigns on behalf of peace, or perhaps to prevent them from lending an ear to the Persian Ambassador, who has been at the Imperial Court, and to sow suspicions about him.

I have been told that the French Ambassador these last few days has been negotiating that the Sultan should send a galley express to Marseilles, with a present to the King of France. This only to alarm the Spaniards, not because he entertains any hope of assistance from the Turks. But orders have come from the King that if the galley has not sailed it need not do so; perhaps because he is on the point of making peace with Savoy, and he fears that the despatch of a galley would hinder rather than facilitate such an issue.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 5th May, 1601.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

985. MARCO VENIER and GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassadors in Rome to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Persian Ambassador has had another audience of His Holiness in his chamber, in the presence of the Cardinals nephews and of those who lodge in the Palace, to the number of eight. The Ambassador declared that the King his master desired nothing so much as his Holiness's favour, and begged him to urge the Princes of Christendom to form a league against the Turk. The King intended not merely to send an army against them, but to head it himself, and to wage a cruel war. The King, said the Ambassador, was well disposed towards the Catholic religion and had issued a decree that any Christian who desired to reside in Persia should be free of burdens; and in order to foster that religion he promised that

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churches should be built and everything done that might be needful for the service. The Ambassador added that God had so touched the heart of his master that he and all his kingdom might be converted. His Holiness displayed great satisfaction at all this.

The Englishman gives out that on this point of religion he has special orders; but in spite of this it does not seem that he is making much way in the favour of His Holiness and of the Court; although the large number of his fellow countrymen here in Rome do all they can to support him and maintain him as Ambassador. He is now paying his visits to the Cardinals, and is treated as they are in the habit of treating Ambassadors.

Rome, 5th May 1601.

[*Italian.*]

May 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

986. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A Turk has arrived here with a number of letters, I managed to bring him to my house first, and learned that some of the English pirates from Algiers were on their way here to obtain, by means of their Ambassador, an order for the restoration of the merchandise on board the ship they had captured. When they got to Patras they regretted their journey for they learned that the English Ambassador had orders to put them in prison. I kept the Turk engaged in conversation while search was made in the bag where he carried the letters. I took the one addressed to me and also an open one addressed to Bairan, the Chiaia of the arsenal. From this I saw the fraudulent intention of the Pasha of Algiers to retain the goods for himself under pretext of favouring the Venetians.

I met the English Ambassador and complained of the action of the English. The Ambassador admitted that the depredation was made by pirates, named Brook and Lever (*Bruch et lever*); that he had orders from the Queen to arrest and send them to England; that the ship was really Venetian, part of the cargo also, though the other part was Spanish, and on this account he declined to give me the orders to the English Consul in Algiers which I demanded.

He told me the Queen had no intention to molest Venetian shipping, and goods and persons on board should be secure as in a moveable fortress. She had accordingly given orders that privateers should only cruise outside Gibraltar and not in these waters. The Ambassador remained firm in his view that he could not surrender Spanish goods captured in Venetian bottoms as all that belonged to the Lord High Admiral. To confirm his assertion as to the Queen's intentions with regard to pirates he read and then gave me the copy of a letter written by a merchant in Patras.

The Ambassador, on the orders of the Queen, has dismissed the English Consul in Patras because he had a share in the booty captured by the pirates. He is to be sent a prisoner to England; for the same cause he has succeeded in securing the dismissal of the Cadi of Patras. He showed me letters from the Queen to the Grand

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Signor. All this will do more to remove the complaints against England than to suppress the privateers.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 13th May 1601.

[*Italian; the parts in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

987. COPY of a letter from MATHEW STOCKER, merchant in Patras, to the illustrious gentleman HENRY LELLO, Ambassador of the QUEEN of England in Constantinople.

Illustrious Sir,

AFTER my humble salutations, etc. Since writing I have received letters and orders from England that if there is no resident consul here in Patras I am to seize the captains, masters, and officers, as well as goods of all privateers that come into this harbour, because her Majesty is greatly annoyed at hearing that insults have been offered to her allies. But as long as this Cadi remains in office I shall be able to do nothing; for he shares with the privateers and is their confederate. On the tenth of last month for example, the "Griffin" a Flemish ship came into this port; she is a noted privateer. By the help of the Cadi she was able to revictual and then sailed away to the Levant, and I fear she will do some damage, and may come back. I therefore humbly beg you to issue orders to capture her. The pirates Brook and Lever who were here last year have come back this year too from Algiers, where they had taken a prize of which the Pasha has taken possession along with Mr. Brook's ship; while another privateer, Captain Buckley, is in prison. They were determined to go to Constantinople, but I suspect that, having got wind of the Queen's orders to your Lordship to apprehend all such malefactors, they will abandon their design. If they come back here I will arrest them until I receive orders from you.

On the 16th of this month the ship of Captain Buckley sailed in here with his villanous crew on board. They had been in an engagement and had lost their mast. They put into Cephalonia (*hofflania*), where the Venetian galleys were lying. The Venetians arrested the captain and four of his men; the rest came on here. I have suborned the Cadi and arrested two of the chief men, but I fear that the Cadi will be tempted by money to let them free again in my despite. Your Lordship would do well to secure his dismissal.

1600, 20th February, old style.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

988. To the BEGLIERLBEG of ALGIERS.

Order to hand over to the Venetians one of the two English privateers; and the cargo of the captured ship, its artillery and fittings; and to punish the English as they deserve. And if the English should already have secured an order for release, the Beglierbeg is not to obey it.

In the middle of the month Seval 1009; that is about April 18th, 1601.

[*Italian.*]

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1601.
May 23.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

989. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In the course of an audience with the Grand Vizir he asked me if I drank wine; the Mufti has presented a petition that the Ambassadors shall be forbidden the use of wine, and he says that if they do not comply he will close his doors and perform none of his duties; and indeed, when the French Ambassador sought an audience of him he sent to say that the Ambassador must stave in his wine casks first of all, and then he might speak to him. I replied that had not I and my household become accustomed to wine as a matter of health, I would to please him have habituated myself to sherbet. I also pointed out that the houses of Ambassadors had never been subjected to similar regulations. The Pasha called for the Cavass who was charged with the destruction of the wine casks, and asked him if he had been to the Venetian Embassy, the Cavass said that he had not, but only to the French and English Embassies. The Pasha smiled and told me to drink as I chose, I and my household, for he knew we made only a moderate use of wine, and did not touch spirits; I smiled too, and said that no respectable Italian ever did. The Mufti adopted this line of conduct because he had been informed that in the houses of the French and English Ambassadors there was collected more wine than could be required for their own use, possibly with some other object in view. The Pasha asked me who were those privateers who were doing all this damage, and recalled the fact that the English had carried a Venetian ship into Algiers. I replied that the English had captured not only this but others, and that there were Mussulman pirates as well as English.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 23rd May 1601.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 26.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

990. MARCO VENIER and GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassadors in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

News from England that the Queen having learned from the evidence of those who have been executed for participation in the Earl of Essex's plot, that the Earl himself was incited by money from the States of Holland, has become very suspicious of them. And it is thought that their ancient thorough understanding will be broken up. This rumour is encouraged by the Spanish as they hope thus to demonstrate that they had no share in the plot as they were charged with having.

Rome, 26th May 1601.

[*Italian.*]

May 31.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

991. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In Portugal they are preparing an expedition to take the sea, and apparently, to push forward to Ireland, where, it seems, they have excellent hopes of achieving something. In truth, however, there is a great lack of volunteers and of soldiers for this armada,

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and it seems that it will serve rather for display than for any serious work.

Valladolid, the last day of May, 1601.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

992. MARCO VENIER and GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassadors in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Seeing that the Englishman who was here as Persian Ambassador did not make up his mind to leave, his Holiness sent him, on Monday last, one of his court with three hundred crowns, over and above the thousand he has already received, and with orders to tell him that he was dismissed and could leave. He did so on Tuesday last, suddenly and unexpectedly. He has done many out of much money, and loud are the lamentations. He has gone towards Ancona, and announces that he is on his way back to Persia. His Holiness has made no further communication to the Persian. He is still here but will soon leave.

Rome, 2nd June, 1601.

[*Italian.*]

June 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

993. MARCO VENIER and GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassadors in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Persian Ambassador after the departure of the Englishman, has had another audience of his Holiness; who has given him a thousand crowns in addition to the thousand he has already received, and has displayed a friendly attitude very different from that which he adopted towards the Englishman. The Persian has left, and gone towards Genoa. Three of his suite have remained behind and become Christians, the secretary, the butler, and the barber.

Rome, 9th June 1601.

[*Italian.*]

June 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

994. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is an intention to send four thousand infantry to Ireland to fan and keep alive the rebellion there, which is said to be spreading. But there is no sign yet of the fleet to transport them.

Valladolid, 20th June 1601.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

995. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is news that the Queen of England, after the death of the Earl of Essex, found papers which showed that the Earl was urged to the plot against her life. For this reason the Queen has conceived a great suspicion of the Spanish. She has sent an express

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to Flanders to renew the negotiations for peace with the Archduke Albert and to arrange a marriage between a relation of hers and one of the house of Austria.

Rome, June 30th, 1601.

[*Italian.*]

July 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

996. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal d'Ossat has been informed by the King of France, that the Queen of England, although she has sent her envoys to Flanders for the renewal of the negotiations for peace with Spain, has also sent a fleet to combat Spain in the Indies; and the States, having removed the suspicion that they had a hand in the rebellion of the Earl of Essex, have now joined her in this expedition.

The King of Scots is said to have demanded to be made an English subject.

Rome, 7th July 1601.

[*Italian.*]

July 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

997. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Some days ago some drunken Janizaries, who were going to the wars, rushed with drawn scimitars into the bazzar where the richest merchandise is kept; they terrified everyone and caused a panic lest they might sack the shops. The Grand Vizir thereupon gave orders that the next morning all the wine casks in Stamboul, and in Galata should be stove in, except those in the French, English, and Venetian Embassies, the houses where it was found confiscated, and the owners sent to prison. When the French Ambassador and I heard this, we sent our Dragomans to the Vizir to demand the renewal of the exception in favour of the houses of our Dragomans and merchants; but it was refused. The Dragomans then attempted to gain a few hours till they could report to us, and they induced the Vizir to give orders to take a note of all wine found in the houses of aliens, in order to deliberate upon the way in which the instructions should be carried out in the case of these foreign subjects. But in the meantime the Cadi of Galata and the other officers, had begun to enforce the order to spill the wine, and to sell at auction the houses where it was found, at the lowest price. Everyone fled at their approach. A Greek, Zuanne de Diorio, a subject of your Serenity, was imprisoned along with his servant, and if Borisi had not arrived with the new orders from the Grand Vizir, the Cadi would have pursued the same course everywhere. But these orders cooled his fervour, and he began to take a note of the wine. From this it would appear that the Venetians had far more than anyone else; they hold four times more than the French and English together. Accordingly I sent my secretary with Borisi to the Grand Vizir to procure the liberation of the prisoners, and that the houses of the Venetian subjects

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should not be touched. The Vizir readily granted the release, but he had the prisoners brought before him to verify the fact of their citizenship, and with a very severe countenance he told them that had they not been Venetian subjects, he would have hung them. He absolutely refused permission for wine in any other houses than the Embassies. The prudent and vigorous representations of the secretary were all in vain.

As this matter was of great moment to the Ambassadors of France and England, and to me, for the honour of our States and the health of our countrymen, we agreed to present a joint note to the Vizir, and if that produced no effect, to forward it to the Sultan. As the illustrious Ambassadors thought the matter of grave importance, they wished to go the following morning to the Vizir in person. In my zeal to serve your Serenity, I overcame my weakness, for the fever had only left me two days, and I went with the French Ambassador, and in the name of all three, I presented the note. The English Ambassador arrived later than us, and on account of the question of precedence with the French Ambassador, he abstained from entering the Vizir's Chamber. We pointed out that there was no justification for prohibiting wine to our Dragomans and merchants on account of the Mussulman religion, for the law of Mahomet did not enjoin them to forbid wine to Christians; nor had his Majesty any good reason to do so either; for the scandals did not arise among our people; and urged him to follow the procedure set by Sultan Suleiman. We endeavoured to shake him by begging him to name a limit that each one might keep; but seeing him obstinate and hard, we prayed him at least to leave what each one now had in his house. The Vizir answered, and repeated again and again, that he could not oblige us. When we hinted that this treatment on the top of other things would drive the merchants away, he said "let them go" and added that it was a great deal to allow wine even in our houses, that he knew very well that in the Christian rites, wine was used; and he added with a *diabolical* smile, that they administered a certain light thing made of flour, which he too had taken when a Christian, and which our priests used to cheat us and to send us to hell, *so impious is he grown who detests in this awful way the highest blessing which God conferred on him from his birth up to his adult age.* I, seeing that the French Ambassador made no reply to this, could not contain myself for zeal for religion, and as a Christian, from showing that I had heard his speech with wrath; accordingly with a very severe countenance, I said to him that we were not there to discuss which of us was tricked, nor would he convert us to Mahometanism by forbidding us wine. When we demanded that he should present our note to the Sultan, he replied that he would not trouble his Majesty with our requests. Finding him thus firm in his idea, we, as the lesser evil, asked for an order in writing that the execution should be suspended for three days in the case of our Dragomans and merchants. He would not give it in writing, but as in the case of the small quantity of wine which reached me from Venice, he granted a verbal permission for the Drogomans to convey their wine into the Embassies.

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Though this would have caused some disorder and inconvenience, still if they had obeyed, all the wine would have been saved. But hardly anyone would do so; they took to hiding the wine and walling it up between the partitions of their houses. Some of the wine, at the end of the three days, was spilled; this happened to several of our subjects who had placed too much reliance on the hopes that the Vizir would allow it all to be collected at a certain house in Galata, said to belong to the Venetian Embassy.

After we left the Pasha, the English Ambassador had an audience, but without results, though he expected much from his capitulations which were stipulated just a few days before the order about the wine. One of the capitulations provided that the English Ambassador, Dragomans and merchants might make and keep wine; and the Ambassador produced a Hatt with the Imperial sign manual ordering the full observance of the capitulations. The Grand Vizir was enraged at this Hatt which during his Grand Vizirate had been obtained from the Sultan by means other than his. The Ambassador, as far as I understand, obtained this Hatt by the favour of Cicala, and not with any reference to the question of wine, but with a view to making good his pretensions against the French Ambassador in the matter of the Flemish traders. The Pasha replied to the Englishman that the clause about the wine did not exist at the time of the Sultan Suleiman. The Ambassador rejoined that the Queen of England had signed this treaty with Sultan Mohemet and that he was bound to observe it.

Thus the matter stood, without any conclusion. The French and English Ambassadors were not on speaking terms on account of their ancient rivalries. Accordingly, I undertook the necessary steps through my Secretary, as my own weakness forbade me to do so in person. We all agreed not to send our note to the Sultan so as to avoid infuriating the Grand Vizir in other affairs, but each of us separately addressed the Chief Eunuch begging him to interpose his authority to arrange the matter. The Chief Eunuch replied that it was not his affair and that we must go to the Grand Vizir; though he said to Borisi,—very coldly, it is true—that he would not fail us. *Perhaps he does not wish to interfere on religious grounds; more probably because he is afraid of irritating the militia.*

May be, I have dwelt too long on this episode. But it has caused a great deal of trouble here; and it is noteworthy that at such a time, when the power and the greatness of the Ottoman Empire are obviously declining, and its government is so manifestly weak and in confusion, the austerity of Jemisgi and the severity of the Mufti, have been able to sustain and enforce a decree so damaging to the treasury, so hateful and injurious to the Mussulmans themselves, and so repugnant to all representatives of crowned heads. This most damaging decree so bitterly executed has, they say, ruined between seventy and eighty thousand taverners. They are leaving the city a few at a time so as to avoid being noticed; for when two companies of five hundred each tried to leave on board two vessels, they were turned back at

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the Tower of the Black Sea. Many of them go about bragging that if the Turks have destroyed their wine they will still get drunk on Turkish blood. As all these are Greeks and firm supporters of the Vaivode Micali, it is thought that they may join his standard, as they are now deprived of all means of livelihood. If that happened it would be a serious matter on account of the quality of these people who are young and strong, and for the most part from Roumelia, and also because of their numbers and the rage and desperation into which they have been thrown.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 12th July 1601.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

July 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

998. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

All ships captured with money for export on board, and all ships with English goods, shall be submitted to justice.

Valladolid, 15th July 1601.

[*Italian.*]

July 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

999. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In Portugal they are pressing forward the preparation of the fleet destined for Ireland. They have sent four hundred seamen from Biscay; and have mustered about six thousand infantry. They drew seven hundred of these from the Azores, and upwards of one thousand two hundred from the fortresses of Portugal, the rest were raised in Spain. They have collected as many as one hundred ships, which they have seized in these ports, and they will employ as many as they may require. Don Diego Brochiero, an old and experienced seaman, will have the command. Don Juan d'Aquila who has seen much service in Flanders, and was lately master of the camp (Mœstro di Campo) will command the troops. He left for Lisbon four days ago. There are two fresh bishops here who are urging on this expedition, they hope to achieve more in this way of supporting and fostering the rebellion, than the majority here expect, warned by past experience of such expeditions, and by those who know the country. But the ministers have embarked on this enterprise when already engaged in so many others in order to show the power of this crown. Nor do they omit to go about vaunting and exaggerating the ease with which in a short time they have put together such forces military and naval; for they calculate that at one and the same moment the King has despatched thirty thousand infantry, namely eight thousand to Flanders, six thousand to the Archduke Ferdinand, ten thousand on board the Mediterranean fleet, and six on board the Atlantic fleet.

Everyone complains of the Duke of Lerma, who manages the whole machine as he chooses. In order to raise money they intend to mortgage the eighteen millions voted by the Cortes. This causes universal disgust, for the King will fall back into his old necessity.

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Don Rodrigo Lasso, chief chamberlain to the Archduke Albert has just arrived from Flanders to explain the straits in which that country finds itself.*

Valladolid, 15th July 1601.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

July 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1000. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has made most serious complaints to the English Secretary because certain French ships have been pillaged by Englishmen, and the representations of his Ambassador have failed to obtain redress.

Paris, 23rd July 1601.

[*Italian.*]

July 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1001. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England has been made very suspicious of the King of Scots on account of certain letters written by him to the Spanish ministers, which have fallen into her hands. She is afraid that he is negotiating for Spanish support in his claim on the English crown.

Rome, 28th July 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1002. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In Portugal the fleet for Ireland is being prepared. Eight sound ocean going ships are ready and the infantry has arrived. The intention is to despatch the expedition at the middle of this month, but here there are constantly delays. There is very little hope that the expedition will effect much.

Vallodolid, 5th August 1601.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1003. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Persian Ambassador, who is going round the world, has arrived near here; at present they are considering how to receive him, and lodge him. He will make his entry in two days time.

Valladolid, 6th August 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1004. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The General (Jemisgi Pasha), on his departure charged Halil, his lieutenant, to maintain the prohibition on wine. Halil sent round

* Cf. Calendar of State Papers. Domestic. 1601–1603, p. 148.

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to inspect the houses in Galata. I will make the merchants bring their wine to the Embassy.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 13th August 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1005. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Orders to the Adelantado to restore the goods captured on board French vessels; but English goods are to be retained.

Valladolid, 18th August 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1006. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King will not allow the English and Dutch to search French vessels on their way to Spain. He insists that the French flag shall cover them.

Concerning the conspiracy of the Earl of Essex who has lately been executed; there are many rumours about the Princes who are reported to have had a share in it. But there is no real foundation for them.

The Archduke Albert, seeing that a large fleet of Dutch ships was sailing towards England at the moment that Essex's conspiracy broke out and knowing that the States favoured Essex as the man who urged war with Spain in opposition to the Treasurer, sent an Envoy to offer her Majesty every aid in his power against the Dutch. But the Queen, being certain that the fleet only came there upon terms already established with her, merely thanked the Archduke and said she needed no aid.

The King of France is also accused of being mixed up with the plot on account of some old quarrel over money which the Queen says he owes her. She is suspicious of him now that he has become a Catholic and fears that the Pope may persuade him to her damage. Moreover just at the moment of Essex's rebellion there came the report that the King was going to Calais, as indeed he intended to do, to inspect the fortresses, and there were not wanting those who suspected the King of supporting the Earl. But as regards this the Queen has been quite satisfied by His Majesty; for the friends of the Earl sent a gentleman to implore the King's intervention on Essex's behalf, on the ground that the Earl had once served in France. The King replied that as long as friends did not so fail in their duty as to forfeit the title, they could count on him, but the Earl had fallen into so great a crime that he would not recognise him as friend any more; his Majesty ordered his Ambassador in England to report this answer to the Queen, who was very well satisfied. The Queen was given to understand that the Duke de Bouillon had an understanding with the Earl of Essex. This was done with a view to rousing the Queen's suspicions about the Duke, who would be leader of the Huguenots if any quarrel between them and the Catholics broke out in France, and thus, to prevent the Duke from receiving any assistance from the Queen

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for the injury of this Kingdom (*havendo li amici del conte mandato un gentiluomo al Rè accioche si contentasse d'auitarlo con la Regina per sua liberazione, poiche il detto Conte è stato qui in Francia mandato con gente al servitio di sua Maestà, il Re le rispose che sin' a tanto che li amici non facevano, tali mancamenti, per i quali non potevano esser più conosciuti per amici, si potevano favorire, ma ch' hora, ch' il Conte era caduto nel dilitto ch' haveva commesso non lo voleva piu conoscer; et fece sua Maestà per l'Ambasciatore che tiene in Inghilterra dar conto alla Regina, la quale ne restò ben sodisfatta. Fu però fatto creder alla Regina, ch' il Duca di Boglion s'intendesse con il Conte d'Essex, et questo con intentione di metterlo in mala fede della Regina, come quello che quando in Francia venisse divisione delli heretici con li catholici, saria capo del partito delli Ugonoti, accioche non habbi modo con l'auito della Regina di causar del male a questo Regno.*)

Paris, 20th August 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1007. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At S. Germains for eight days the King has been taking the waters of Spa, with excellent results for the purification of the blood and the preservation of his health. He is expected in Paris to-morrow, with the Queen and Madame, and will leave soon for Fontainebleau.

The Duke of Lennox (*Lenes*) Ambassador Extraordinary of the King of Scotland, has recently arrived to congratulate the King on his marriage. But it is thought that he may have some other mission than this purely complimentary one. When he has had his audience and I have seen him, I will be able to report further. The Queen of England, suspicious of this Embassy, has sent Secretary Edmondes (Etmon), a man of great experience who has been in France before, in addition to the Secretary of her last Embassy who remained on here; Edmondes' mission is to find out the true and inner reason why the King of Scotland has sent this Embassy.

Secretary Edmondes has likewise brought satisfaction to the French merchants for goods seized by the English. The King was so enraged at the act that he was on the point of granting letters of marque. Edmondes has also petitioned for freedom of trade with England; hitherto English cloth has not been admitted into France until it has been certificated as good by experts, which is a great drawback to the importers. The King has promised that the Council shall examine the matter. Negotiations for peace between the Queen of England and the Archduke Albert have always continued. After the dissolution of the Congress of Boulogne, agents have been passing on one side and on the other, though not persons of great weight. There is one now at the Court of the Archduke. But the negotiations, which can hardly be said to be begun, will take their colour from the seige of Ostend, and so in

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my next despatch I will inform your Serenity how that matter is going on; for many reasons it offers great difficulties.

Paris, 20th August 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1008. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Prague, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Five thousand English are said to be in Ostend, and Count Maurice is marching with all his forces to its support.

Prague, 20th August 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1009. FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The fleet has not sailed yet from Portugal for want of money to pay the troops, and of other necessaries. Don Diego Brochiero, who will take the command, has sent a captain here to receive orders. Everyone complains of so many expeditions being carried on at once. There is little certainty of success; every certainty of failure and destruction of these poor fellows.

Valladolid, 22nd August 1601.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1010. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The siege of Ostend, which is considered a very difficult enterprise will expose the probable issue of the negotiation for peace between the Archduke and the Queen of England. It seems that the Queen is not really desirous of peace, and holds that the Spanish only seek it when compelled, and would break it as soon as it suited them. All the same she is obliged to devote some attention to the question on account of her excessive expenditure in Ireland, where the Spanish, by assisting Tyrone keep her very busy; and on account of the perpetual drain of assistance to the States, any disaster to whom is felt likewise by her. There is also some slight rancour against the King of France, because, although thanks to her harassing of Spain he was able to get better terms for himself, he has never yet given her that support which she looked for, and makes some difficulties over the debt of one million one hundred thousand crowns owed to her for troops furnished at various times for France. Further, the terms agreed on between these two crowns are not strictly carried out; nor are the privileges formerly enjoyed by the English in France preserved intact.

The Archduke, after the rupture of negotiations at Boulogne, on the question of precedence, sent to England a M. de Cœmans, a dependant of M. Richardot, president of the Council. Cœmans proposed to the Queen not only peace but a defensive and offensive treaty as well. The Queen replied that she was most anxious for peace if it could be arranged agreeably to both parties, but as to entering upon another confederation that was a difficult

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subject. The Spaniards would have to be included, and yet she saw that Spain was always making war on his chief enemy; however she said she would think about it. Cœmans, seeing the door thus shut to the second proposal, returned to the question of peace, which he offered to the Queen, always on condition that she should surrender the three places she holds in the united provinces, and withdraw her succours of three thousand English troops which she furnishes to the States. To this the Queen replied that it was impossible for her to surrender the fortress or to withhold her succour to the States; and that no conclusion could be reached unless the King of Spain would pledge himself not to send his fleet to the neighbourhood of English waters. No sooner had Cœmans left with this reply than the Queen sent an agent into Flanders. He was arrested at Ostend, and none too well treated.

The Archduke complained that while negotiations were on foot the Queen had sent two thousand men to Ostend and was levying war on him. Meantime the Queen had sent another agent to Holland to negotiate with the States, and to find out whether they were able to carry on the war without her help; if they were she too would continue the war and would break off all negotiations for an accord, but if on the contrary, her assistance was necessary to their preservation as it had hitherto been, then, seeing that the length of the war had exhausted her treasury, she would like to come to terms in which the States should be included, and she would consult their interests no less than her own. The States replied that they thought they were able to continue the war provided the Queen did not abandon them, and did not entirely withdraw that hand which had hitherto sustained them; for the preservation or the loss of Ostend would entail most serious consequences, which my subsequent despatches will explain to your Serenity; for it is thought that the issue will dispose the Queen more decidedly either to war or to an accommodation. (A questo la Regina rispose che non può per alcun modo rimetter quelle piazze ne sottrar la sua assistentia alli Stati; et che oltre di questo non si potrà venire in alcuna conclusion quando il Rè di Spagna non si obligasse di non mandar armata vicino alli mari d' Inghilterra; con questa risposta poichè Cœmans era di già partito, ha mandato la Regina un uomo suo in Fiandra, il quale è trattenuto a Ostenden et non era molto ben trattato, dolendosi l'Arciduca che mentre vi è in piedi trattatione, la Regina havesse mandato doi mille huomini in quella piazza, et la facesse la guerra. In questo mentre la Regina ha mandato persona in Holanda a negotiare con li Stati et intender da essi se potevano senza l'aiuto suo continuare la guerra, perche quando la potessero fare, lei anco intendeva di proseguirla, et alontonarsi da ogni trattatione, ma quando per il contrario havessero bisogno che lei concoresse come haveva fatto fin hora alla lor conservatione, ritrovandosi per la longhezza della guerra molto essausta, desidereria di far accordo nel quale ancor essi Stati fossero inclusi et procureria non meno il loro, che il suo particolar beneficio. Li Stati hanno resposto di tener opinione di poter far la guerra mediante che la Regina non voglia

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lontanarsi da essi et non vogli in tutto levarle quella mano con la quale li ha sin qui favoriti, perche dal conservarsi o perdersi la fortezza di Ostenden ne seguiranno effetti di molta consideratione che dalle suseguenti mie V. Serenita resterà servita d' intendere, per cio è stimato che da questo successo habbia a dipender nella Regina maggior risolutione alla guerra, overo all' accomodamento); although there be some who hold that, as she cannot in safety make peace, she is aiming at gaining a stronger position with his most Christian Majesty, who cannot but feel the advantage of help from those who keep in weakness a power which for some time has been threatening his Kingdom.

Paris, 30th August 1601.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Aug. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1011. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Both the Archduke and the States are profoundly interested in the siege of Ostend. Both sides put out all their strength. The Archduke has declared that he will die rather than retire. The States, assisted by the Queen of England, omit nothing for the defence of the place. If the Archduke is forced to retire, he loses in reputation, and will have wasted a vast quantity of money. The fall of Ostend would be a great blow to the States and to the Queen of England, who at present keeps a few, but excellent, ships of war in that port. The enterprise is considered most difficult, as the place can be supported from the sea.

Paris, 30th August 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1012. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King left suddenly for Amiens and Calais *only fourteen leagues from Ostend. The rumour that Count Maurice is to enter Ostend with all his forces is not credited. There are close on eight thousand men in the place, chiefly sent by the Queen of England, and there is no need of more.*

Paris, 30th August 1601.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Sept. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1013. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is still thought that the King's journey to Calais *was to encourage the garrison of Ostend, for which reason also the Queen of England has come to Dover. If the King could find a good excuse for declaring war he would most probably do so.*

Paris, 3rd September 1601.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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Sept. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1014. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is at Calais with almost all the nobility of France. He spends the time in the chase; but he is advised from moment to moment of all that takes place at Ostend. The Duke d'Aiguillon (*Ghilion*) has gone to the Archduke, and the Marshal de Biron to the Queen of England. She has raised twelve thousand men in England and done all she could to help Ostend, in order to leave herself free to deal with the Earl of Tyrone's rebellion in Ireland. He was almost reduced, but the reinforcement of four thousand infantry sent by the King of Spain will enable him to give considerable trouble still to the Queen.

Paris, 9th September 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1015. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Lennox, of the house of Stuart, Ambassador Extraordinary of the King of Scotland, has been received twice by his Majesty. His first audience was merely complimentary, to offer congratulations on the King's marriage. In the second he sought the renewal of the capitulations which previous sovereigns of Scotland have made with this crown. The Kings of Scotland and of France have had this reciprocal obligation to assist one another with ten thousand men in case of war. This obligation began under the Dukes of Burgundy. The Kings of France, who have had frequent wars, required this alliance, and now, though the position of affairs is altered, the King still wishes to continue it. If that is effected the Ambassador is instructed to engage the King's assistance for his master, that the Queen of England may name him heir to the throne.

Paris, 15th September 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1016. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of France's journey to Calais is thought to hide some other design than the inspection of the forts; possibly to hearten the people of Ostend, for which purpose the Queen of England has gone to Dover. There are many bets on the fate of Ostend.

Rome, 22nd September 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1017. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Marshal de Biron is expected every day on his return from England. He has fulfilled his mission, which, as I am assured, was merely complimentary. The Marshal had a suite of one hundred gentlemen of quality,* among them, incognito, the Count d'Auvergne.

* Cf. Calendar of State Papers. Domestic. 1601–1603, pp. 94, 107–113.

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At Dover, opposite Calais, they had to prepare two hundred and fifty post horses. The Embassy could not be more magnificent, both on account of the Ambassador, who is a very great personage, and on account of its size; and we wait to hear what honours were paid it.

Morette, 29th September 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1018. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Marshal de Biron arrived here to-day from England, and passed straight on to the King at Fontainebleau. His Secretary said he would be back in three days, and would come and see me.

Paris, 4th October 1601.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1019. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The mission of the Marshal de Biron to England was intended to please the Queen who had been far from satisfied at the remarks of the King to Secretary Edmondes (*Etmog*) when he was here some months ago on the business of the pillaging of French ships by the English. The King had observed that the Queen could quite well manage her own affairs, thanks to her superiority over the Archduke Albert, and he advised her to raise a force and to attack some place in Flanders, which would assist the people of Ostend by compelling the Archduke to raise the siege. His Majesty offered to bear a share in the cost. Thereupon the Queen sent the same Secretary Edmondes to Calais to meet the King and to say that she was ready to raise six thousand men and to send them to the succour of Ostend and of the States, on condition that the King should raise a like number, declare open war on the King of Spain and give her security for the payment of her credits. To this the King replied that he had never had the smallest idea of contributing half the cost as the Secretary had represented, that it did not suit him to declare war with Spain just now, and that he required some time for the payment of his debts. That he was ready to pay secretly and without letting it be known the sum of forty thousand crowns. The Queen was far from satisfied with this answer on account of the small sum offered.

Paris, 4th October 1601.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1020. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke de Biron, who has just come back from his Embassy. He met the Queen of England at Basingstoke* (*Basin stoc*), forty Italian miles from London; in a pleasure house where she is wont

* Basing House, belonging to the Marquis of Winchester. Cf. Calendar of State Papers. Domestic. 1601-1603, p. 98.

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to spend a few days on her progress, or pleasure trip. The Duke was received in public audience and said that his most Christian Majesty, being at Calais for the inspection of certain places, had ordered him to visit the Queen in his Majesty's name. The Queen invited him to the chase and to dinner, and in a second audience he took his leave. Though it is possible that the Queen may have touched on some other subjects, I do not understand that the Marshal had any other mission than one of pure compliment. *Although the Marshal was received with marked honour, still here they are of opinion that there should have been more, and as he received no present at his departure, as is usual, it is thought that the Queen's conduct has been governed by the motives already explained.*

Cœmans, who has been to England several times on the service of the Archduke Albert, was there at the same time, negotiating for peace; and during the Marshal's visit he lived retired, nor could he obtain audience of the Queen till the Marshal's departure, I hope to send you information as to Cœman's mission in my next despatch. M. de Chatillon has been killed at Ostend by a cannon ball. The Archduke's army which was compelled to retire by the cutting of a dyke, has now advanced so far on the other side that the artillery can almost entirely prevent any entry into the old harbour. The beseiged cut through the counterscarp and let in the sea, thus forming another large and most convenient harbour. The Archduke's troops are labouring to deprive them of this also. The spring tides have done damage to the beseiged by injuring the fortifications, and to the beseigers by destroying their trenches. The Archduke finds the operations more and more difficult. He is building shelters for his men as he is resolved to carry on the seige to the end. Others say that he will be forced to retire owing to the desertions among his troops, and that he will build a fort to command the harbour of Ostend. Although five hundred thousand crowns have arrived from Spain for the immediate payment of the troops, and other six hundred are promised shortly, no one can foresee the issue.

Paris, 16th October, 1601.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Oct. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1021. OTTAVIANO BON and FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the Atlantic fleet sailed we have no further news of it, except that several ships and other vessels have been lost in a great storm. The Queen of England, with a view to facilitating an accommodation in Ireland, has offered a general pardon to all the rebels who will submit and return to their allegiance. Many of the chief personages of the island have made their submission, and the Queen has not only pardoned and restored them to grace, but has given them considerable sums of money besides and chains of gold. They, returning with these to Ireland, have tempted a large number of the rebels to follow their example. In this way the Queen's affairs take a very favourable turn and they fear that if

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the Spanish fleet should make any attempt on the island, it will meet with more difficulties than were at first contemplated.

Valladolid, 25th October 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1022. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Archbishop of Ireland has been here for many days. He has letters informing him that there is great alarm at the fleet which is being mustered at Lisbon. The Queen of England being engaged in helping Ostend will be unable to lend that support which will be necessary. Some serious injury will be inflicted by the Spanish fleet which will find support among the Irish favourable to the King of Spain.

Rome, 27th October 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1023. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Nuncio has general instructions to do all he can to maintain the peace between France and Spain. The Archduke has besought him to make representations to his Majesty so that succours be not given to the States. The Nuncio spoke to his Majesty, and touched on the presence of a French Ambassador in Holland. The King replied that for many reasons there had always been one, but that no help had been given. The Nuncio approached the Grand Chancellor on the same topic; he did not deny that a certain sum of money had been supplied, but said it was repayment of a debt, and that if the States would give a receipt in full or abstain from pressing for payment, the French would be delighted to furnish no more money.

Cœmans's mission in England is merely to arrange for a meeting of deputies from both parties to negotiate for peace. After having declared his object, he left without a decisive answer of any sort; although the Queen for her own purposes lent an ear to the proposals and even entered into certain details. But it is unlikely that a durable peace can be concluded, though the Queen is in straits for money just now.

Four or five thousand Spanish have landed in Ireland to support the Earl of Tyrone, who without this assistance would have been in such a condition that he must have submitted to any conditions in order to come to terms with the Queen. It was thought that these troops were held ready in Lisbon to be sent to Africa if the operations of the fleet were successful in Algiers, rather than to Ireland, where no Spanish troops have been hitherto; and now they come so late that it is difficult to see what good they can do; and if they do not agree with the natives who are very haughty, they may fare ill. The King of Spain has been advised to send these troops in order to divert the Queen from assisting the States and Ostend, and in the hopes that if any places are captured in

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Ireland, they may be exchanged for the places the Queen holds in Holland.

The Duke of Biron in the course of his Embassy in England, said to the Queen in his masters name, that some of the places she holds in Holland and Zealand, fearing to suffer if she were to die, had offered themselves to his Majesty; but that he had no intention of lending an ear to anything that might cause the Queen disgust, and further that he wished to inform her of the whole matter, so that she might give what orders she pleased.

Signor Marco Guistinian, son of the illustrious Signor Giacomo, has just come back from England. He has been a month at that Court, has kissed the Queen's hand, and received many favours from her. Besides inviting him to the chase and asked many questions about Venice, she ordered her first Secretary Cecil to provide two gentlemen to accompany him, and to show him the principal sights, as that was the object of his visit. The Queen did not omit to show, whenever she could, her great esteem and affection for the Republic.

Paris, 29th October 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1024. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The courier has brought positive news that the Spanish force has landed in Ireland, and with the help of the Earl of Tyrone, has captured an important city. The King of France will feel this on account of his excellent relations with the Queen. It is certain that all these operations are intended to facilitate the attack on England.

Rome, 10th November 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1025. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The landing of five thousand Spanish troops in Ireland* took place on the fifth of last month. They are commanded by Don Juan d'Aquila, the same who built the fort of Blauet, in Brittany. They wish him to play a similar part in Ireland. They landed, not at Cork, as some say, but at Kinsale, where they seized a small town of that name. They say the Bishop of Cork is with them and promises various things. The King of Spain's object is, not merely to effect a diversion in favour of the Archduke, but to plant foot in Ireland, and to push on gradually; for the distance from Corunna to Ireland is not great, and the navigation in the open sea is easier than in the Straits of Dover, where the last Armada went, There are even greater objects, for the Queen is sixty-eight years old, and, in the natural course of events, she cannot continue much longer her reign of already forty-three years; and, in the case of her death, this footing in Ireland would allow the King either to acquire the country or to assist the catholics, and by supporting his

* Cf. Calendar of State Papers. Domestic. 1601–1603, pp. 100, 112, 114, 119.

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own nominee among the pretenders to the crown, he can render England dependent on himself. The French ministers know that his most Christian Majesty cannot contemplate this fresh movement on the part of Spain with indifference, for his own interests are too deeply involved; he could never submit to see the King of Spain more powerful than he is, nor could he permit him to enter into possession of England, a kingdom so near his own frontiers and from which France has suffered most cruelly in times past; all the same, they consider that as the King of Spain has been for long at war with the Queen of England, it is impossible to object to his doing anything which may injure her; and from this fresh landing the Spanish promise themselves important results.

The Queen, on the other hand, although warned of this contemplated landing in Ireland, either did not believe it or her troops failed to find the enemy, for they landed without any armed opposition such as they expected to find. The Deputy, as the Governor is called, who resides at Dublin, in the middle of the Island, on receiving notice drew six thousand of the sixteen thousand infantry which he has in the north against the Earl of Tyrone, and set out towards the Spanish, shortly after their landing. The Queen, moreover, sent him some small reinforcements, and has given orders for a levy of six thousand men for this service. She can, therefore, engage the Spanish on land, while she has already sent by sea some of her ships, which, as a rule, are admirably equipped, with orders that one squadron of them shall blockade the port of Kinsale and prevent the Spanish ships from leaving, while another is to scour the seas and cut off all succours that may be sent from Spain. She has already informed his most Christian Majesty through her Secretary.

The opinion here is that all these troops sent from Spain will be thrown away to no purpose, on account of the change of climate and the lack of provisions; also, because they will not be able to effect a junction with the Earl of Tyrone, who is at the opposite extremity of the Island, while the Deputy holds all the country between them, with well provisioned forts. The strength of the Earl lies in one or two very strong positions which he holds, and if he abandons these he will expose himself to obvious peril of ruin. As yet, he has received some support from the inhabitants of certain of the neighbouring Scottish islands, which belong to independent chiefs (*Signor Particolari*), the inhabitants are of a like courage with the people whom Tyrone commands, and are, therefore, called savages. This assistance given to Tyrone did not altogether displease the King of Scotland, who is far from satisfied with the Queen upon the question of succession to the Crown of England, to which he lays claim. But being now aware that the landing of the Spanish may be an obstacle to his designs, he must feel differently on the matter, and will watch events closely.

The Duke of Lennox, the Scottish Ambassador who was here on a mission to congratulate the King on his marriage and on the birth of a son, also to renew the ancient treaty between these crowns, has taken his leave after obtaining his object. The Baron de Toul (?)

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(*Tal*) is presently to go to Scotland as Ambassador in ordinary from the King of France. I have taken care to assure the said Duke of Lennox that the Republic has the highest regard for the King of Scotland. He sent to tell me that he had suddenly received orders to go to England to assist at a meeting of Parliament summoned by the Queen for some reason not yet known. We learn by letters from England that after the Spanish landing in Ireland, Cœmans had again had audience of the Queen to see whether she was more disposed to treat for peace.

Paris, 12th November 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1026. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The suite of M. de Rochpot, French Ambassador in Spain, has not yet been set at liberty. The King of France accordingly ordered the suspension of commercial relations, and this will be all the more strictly enforced on account of the Spanish landing in Ireland, which is a fresh act of war, and the shipping that went just now to Spain would be exposed to an embargo.

At Ostend they are continually endeavouring to prevent succours from coming in by sea. The old harbour to the west has been blocked and they are trying to close the new harbour on the opposite side. They are advancing along a mole made of sand bags. Two guns on the counterscarp cause some difficulty.

Count Maurice has taken the field with six thousand men, and has done some damage at Cadsand.

Paris, 12th November 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1027. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England is most indignant and grieved at this Spanish landing in Ireland, especially as the Spanish had just sent to her Envoys to negotiate for peace. She has hastily mustered eight thousand foot, and despatched them for the protection of Ireland. The French here say that his most Christian Majesty will not permit the conquest of Ireland by the Spanish; an event which might easily take place now that the Earl of Tyrone is supported by a picked body of Spanish infantry. For the maintenance of this invading force eight thousand crowns have been raised in Portugal, but the expedition will cost much more, and they are trying to impose new burdens on the people. There is great discontent; and discontent was caused in Calabria too by a tax on silk, which brought in forty thousand a year.

Rome, 17th November 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1028. OTTAVIANO BON and FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Atlantic fleet which recently left Lisbon, after encountering a great storm, made land in Ireland. There Don Diego (? Juan)

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d'Aquila landed with the infantry under his command, numbering between three and four thousand men. He made himself master of a neighbouring town, garrisoned by two hundred English. He has camped there and waits reinforcements, with the help of which he hopes to join the rebels and effect something of moment.

Don Diego Brochiero returned with the fleet to Corunna, to convey the news to His Majesty and to secure the despatch of a larger force, in order to enable them to hold out and to make some acquisitions.

The Persian Ambassador has left. He is not going to France where it seems that the King has shown little disposition to receive him with honour. He has gone towards Lisbon: The present of three thousand crowns received here has not satisfied him: he claimed much more. On his way to the frontier of Portugal he experienced no small annoyance and affront, for one of his suite was killed in the Ambassador's own chamber by some natives who had crowded in out of curiosity. Two Jesuits have set out with the Ambassador very privily and with all secrecy; they will go to Persia to endeavour to do something for the cause of Christendom, or perhaps to inquire into the truth about this Ambassador.

The French Ambassador's suite are still prisoners.

The Spanish are very suspicious of every action of the King of France. They are alarmed at noting a closer relationship than usual with the Queen of England, under pretext of settling the succession in favour of the King of Scots. The news that many French are volunteering for the help of the States causes little satisfaction.

Negotiations for a loan of four millions of gold are on foot. The Archduke Albert will require one and a half during the next six months.

Valladolid, 17th November 1601.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Nov. 25. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1029. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Parliament which the Queen of England is now holding in London, usually meets at a fixed date; and from it she receives her supplies for the war. The Duke of Lennox, the Scottish Ambassador, who has recently gone to England, has offered the Queen three thousand infantry, all paid, against the Earl of Tyrone. The offer was promptly accepted.

Cœmans, as I wrote to your Serenity, has been to see the Queen again. His former departure from England was caused by the fact that when discussing various points, he was asked to produce his powers; he replied that he had no special mission beyond that of discovering the Queen's wishes, for when this was discovered there would be no difficulty in bringing the negotiations to a satisfactory conclusion. This time he has been dismissed because the Queen

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refuses to hear any propositions for an accord as long as the Spanish remain in Ireland.

The Spanish who landed in Ireland do not exceed four thousand in number. Two days after their arrival the cavalry began to harass them. Then other troops arrived, and hemmed them in by land, while the ships endeavoured to do the same by sea. In the harbour of Kinsale there are still some Spanish vessels which had not sailed.

Paris, 25th November 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 26. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1030. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

All this week the Aulic Council have been considering the difficulty which has arisen between the Hanse towns and the English. As far as I can gather they are inclined to decide that the decree of the Diet of Ratisbon shall not apply to those English who are carrying on legitimate and honest trade. If that be so it will, doubtless, inflict a serious loss on the Hamburg merchants in the first place, and then on the others who are brought under the new taxes in England, as are the subjects of your Serenity.

Prague, 26th November 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1031. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador, as a mark of confidence in me, and perhaps to gain your Serenity's support against the attacks of Cicala, came to see me and related what I have already reported to your Serenity. He minimizes the accusations brought by Cicala, and introduces the Queen of England into the affair on account of the English Agent lately sent by the King of Persia to form a league of Christian Sovereigns against the Turk. The English Ambassador in conversation with me laughed at the acuteness of the French Ambassador who was trying to rouse suspicion against others. As regards this English Agent of Persia the English Ambassador spoke to Cicala about him as long ago as last year. He represents the agent as an English rebel. Cicala has reported to the Grand Vizir and to the Chief Eunuch in a sense hostile to the French Ambassador, declaring that he has been here for sixteen years acting as a spy; that Cicala himself in the Morea intercepted letters to the King of France containing information about the confusion of this kingdom, the progress of the black secretary the incapacity of the Sultan; and stating that now would be the time to overthrow the Turkish Empire.*

In Tripoli in Syria the English merchants and even the English Consul have been imprisoned, and the capitulations which he held in his hand as his safeguard were snatched from him. The charge was that an English vessel had sacked a Turkish caramusale laden with soap on her way to Constantinople. To

* Abdulhalim, the Karajazigi. *See* Von Hammer, op. cit. Bk. xli.

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free themselves from prison they had to pay down five thousand sequins; some of them died of their sufferings in confinement and others are still there. The English Ambassador has made serious complaints to the Grand Vizir, and he has issued an order that the treasurer of Tripoli and others shall be sent as prisoners to Constantinople. The Grand Chancellor who is very hostile to Christians refused to sign the order, declaring that it was not for the Sultan's service to remove so good a minister without express Imperial commands. The English Ambassador enraged at this declared that he would give orders to the English privateers to seize all Turkish caramusales until the prisoners are freed, the five thousand sequins restored, and the guilty punished. The Vizir gave him soft words, and begged him to take no violent steps, promising to send and to find out the truth. But the English Ambassador has little hopes, for the Turks in spite of their bad fortune, are blinded by pride and care little whether they offend anyone, and even contemn the friendship of any other power.

An English vessel has arrived with about three hundred bales of cloth and a certain quantity of steel (azale); the iron was discharged at Tunis. The crew report that the Queen, being warned that the Spanish fleet would attack England has forbidden her vessels to sail. But it is easy to see through this English trick; for they spread this report in order to explain the poverty of their commerce here.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, first of December 1601.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1032. OTTAVIANO BON and FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

They have resolved to send one thousand five hundred infantry in support of the troops already landed in Ireland. They are to take clothing and other necessaries; though the Duke of Lerma said to the Soranzo that they despaired of doing anything in that island, for the rebels were so far off that it would be impossible to effect a junction. All the same, as they had occupied a safe and convenient harbour, they would not fail to make some attempt.

Valladolid, 13th December 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1033. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Bertone seized at Tripoli in Barbary, after the liberation of the master and mariners, left suddenly. The English Ambassador has sent his secretary along with two Capigi Pashas with orders to set free the English Consul, to repay the damages, and to bring the son of the Treasurer and certain Jews, authors of this abuse, as prisoners to Constantinople.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 15th December 1601.

[*Italian.*]

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Dec. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1034. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Letters from a Jesuit in Ireland announcing that the Spanish have landed in Kinsale, an important city. The Irish nobility have united against them, and dysentery is daily carrying off numbers.

Rome, 22nd December 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1035. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The object of the Spanish in sending these troops to Ireland is simply to have them ready on the death of the Queen. They are content to keep Kinsale alone, as a card in their hands when they want it. This action has profoundly impressed the King of France and his Ministers. They think that the Spanish troops in Ireland are doomed to be lost, but if by some chance it should happen otherwise, the King would never allow the Spanish to approach England both for the safety of France and because the Marshal de Biron has reported to his Majesty that when he was in England he discovered a great desire on the part of many nobles to have the King of France for their King, on account of the high esteem in which he is held, when the Queen dies. The King would attack the Spanish in England, and would also create a diversion in Flanders by assisting the Duke of Savoy to revive his claims on Milan, which he holds in virtue of his mother, a Princess of France.

Paris, 24th December 1601.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1036. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A rumour is put in circulation by people from Bordeaux, that three thousand more Spanish troops have landed in Ireland to join those already there. But it seems that though these troops actually set out they were driven back by contrary winds into Corunna. Don Juan d'Aquila, commander of the troops in Ireland, has announced that his Holiness has renewed the Bull against the Queen of England, absolving her subjects from their allegiance and conceding her states to those who should make themselves masters of them. This was intended to assist Don Juan's progress towards his objects. But he finds himself quite shut in and deprived of all the assistance on which he reckoned, and is therefore in serious difficulty. The chief expectation which led the King of Spain to take the resolution to send troops, was the repeated assurance of the Irish rebels that once the Spanish arrived the whole Island would rise and declare in their favour. In that belief Don Juan shortly after his arrival sent for the Mayor of Kinsale, and asked him what had happened to a certain person; when Don Juan heard that this person was kept prisoner along with others, in London, for a conspiracy, discovered some months ago, he seemed greatly disturbed.

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(essendo il principal fondamento, con il quale il Rè Catholico era venuto in questa rissolutione, quello, che constantamente le veniva affirmato dalli Irlandesi separati dall' obedientia della Regina, che gionti li Spanguoli in quella isola tutti quei populi si sariano sollevati, et decchiariti in suo favor. A questo fine, havendo poco appresso il suo arrivo fatto venir avanti di se il Prefetto di Kinsal, dimandatole quello ch' era d' un tale, intendendo che fosse tenuto prigione nella terra di Londra insieme con altri per una congiura scoperta gia alcuni mesi contra il servitio della Regina, si mostrò molto turbato).

On board a Spanish ship, which was captured by the English while on her way to Spain, letters were found from Don Juan to the King, in which Don Juan informed his Majesty that he had been deceived by those who had persuaded him to undertake this expedition; that the facts were very different from the reports; that he never expected to see Spain again, though this thought did not grieve him on his own account, but because of all the young men he had with him. He begged the King to take the necessary steps, above all to punish the hostages who had guaranteed a general rising, for not a man had come to his support, also against the officials who had furnished the expedition for not a half of what was needful had been supplied, and he was in want. On the other hand the Earl of Tyrone is embarrassed. He blames the Spanish for landing in a harbour so remote from himself; he cannot effect a junction with them nor draw the benefit he looked for from the expedition. Some think he will make up his mind to come to terms with the Queen.

In the waters of Kinsale, watching the route from Spain, are fifteen of the Queen's ships, all admirably equipped, also some Dutch; their object is to cut off supports. Recently they have captured four ships bringing ammunition. What more these English ships can do depends on the winds; if they are not altogether contrary they can certainly greatly check fresh supplies. It is the common opinion that if the Queen lives these Spanish can not hold out long; but otherwise they might easily make great progress.

The three thousand infantry offered by the King of Scots were accepted by the Queen. The offer was made before the Duke of Lennox arrived in London, as the King was not sure that the Duke could arrive so soon. I do not know yet for certain the terms on which these troops were sent, but it is said that the King will send the officer who is to command them, and the Queen will pay them as the King is not sufficiently an interested party. This assistance is highly prized, thanks to the quality of the troops who are capable of endurance, excellent fighters, and who speak Irish. Much is expected of them on this account, and because only eight leagues separate them from the scene of operations. The Duke of Lennox has been greatly caressed by the Queen; and Robert Cecil, first Secretary, writes to a person of quality that she has sent to the King one of the greatest satisfactions he could desire. This probably has something to do with the succession to the crown; for it is a point of some moment that she has admitted into Ireland a body of Scotch troops under a leader, who is dependent on the King

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of Scots. All the same the Queen shows no disposition to abandon that authority which she has wielded for so many years, and I can hardly think that she will really declare her successor.

The Queen has released a Capuchin and some other priests; as there was no proof of their having conspired against her kingdom. In general she shows herself more gentle with the Catholics, and this leads people to suppose that she will grant liberty of conscience; but of this there is no confirmation.

There is an Archpriest in England incognito. The Pope gave him authority to carry out many designs, which he has done as head of the English Catholics, and is in communication with the Pope. He is almost entirely a dependent of the Jesuits, and especially of one who is greatly in favour of the Spanish. The other ecclesiastics complain of him, and some uproar has been created. Complaints have been made at Rome and to his most Christian Majesty. The Padre Maggio wrote to his superiors to remove the Jesuit, but they would not.

M. de Beaumont* (*Bœmon*), son of the first president of the parliament of Paris, has left as Ambassador to England, and to arrange some questions about commerce. M. de Maisse was also nominated for England, but on account of the bad weather he has been excused by the King.

Paris, 24th December 1601.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1037. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In the affair of Martinelli I shall be obliged to speak to the Grand Vizir when I can, for he has been ill these many days The Mufti has shown himself very friendly towards your Serenity, but as the question raises an essential point in Mohammedan law, he says he cannot admit the testimony of any Christians against the renegade, and he says it was already ordained of God that he should be illuminated as to the true faith. The decision about Martinelli will apply to the English Consul at Cairo, who also quite recently has become a Turk, and has charge of many English merchants' goods.

I will deal with this matter as a question of canon as they say here, though the Dragomans tell me that course has never been adopted hitherto, perhaps because occasion never arose. I do not know how much good I might derive from a letter of your Serenity's declaring that the estates managed by Martinelli really belonged to Venetian subjects.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 28th December 1601.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

1038. CONFIDENTIAL REPORT of an AGENT on board the CAPUDAN PASHA'S fleet.

Sailed on July 5th, with Cicala Capudan in command of thirty-two galleys. On the 9th were at the Dardanelles. Some

* Cf. Calendar of State Papers. Domestic. 1601–1603, p. 143.

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galleys sent to Volo for biscuits, the rest moved to Chios. Sent five galleys to Tripoli with the Capudan's son, and five to Cairo. Lay eleven days in Chios, and collected five Beys with their galleys. To the number of twenty-eight in all we sailed for Negropont. Before leaving, Cicala impaled a buccaneering captain. At Negropont were joined by the ships from Volo with the biscuits. In fifteen days we cleaned our ships and then on the fifteenth of August we sailed for Malvasia and Navarino.

A certain William, an Englishman, who is Consul at Chios, left by land for Lepanto; he was sent by the Pasha to get news of the Spanish fleet. On the 17th made Malvasia and lay there one day, and came on the 19th to Cerigo (? Isola de Cervi), where we watered. On the 24th August we left Cervi and made Navarino, where we lay twelve days. The English Consul, William, made two journeys along with his brother and reported the Spaniards at Taranto. The Capudan was not satisfied and sent out three ships to reconnoitre.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 29. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1039. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The matter of Ostend is dragging on. The Archduke has sent new Envoys to the Queen, but she is suspicious on account of the Spanish troops in Ireland. His Highness has, however, modified his claims so as to show his great desire for peace, and has induced the Queen to lend an ear. A favourable conclusion is thought quite possible.

Rome, 29th December 1601.

[*Italian.*]

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Jan. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1040. GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

One of the inducements held out to tempt the Queen of England to make peace with the Archduke Albert is this, that the King of Spain will recall his troops from Ireland. As they have just been reinforced with four thousand men it is thought they may make some progress.

Rome, 5th January 1602.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1041. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Nunico has endeavoured to persuade the King to recall M. de Buzenval, his Ambassador in Holland, and to dismiss the Dutch representative. The King made it clear that such a request should never have been preferred. The States had helped him at a pinch and he would not desert them now; besides if he did do so

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he would offend the Queen of England to whom he was under obligations.

Paris, 7th January 1602.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1042. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE AND SENATE.

While the siege of Ostend was still dragging on, his Majesty was suddenly informed that the besieged were thinking of coming to terms, and had given hostages; and that the Archduke expected to occupy the town in a very few hours. But a strong reinforcement was thrown into the town and so the surrender did not take place.

This news was sent by M. della Boderia(?) who resides at his Highness's Court on behalf of his Majesty. His letters were dated Nieuport, the twenty-third of last month.

The terms were that the garrison should march out with arms and baggage, and likewise the inhabitants. They might take away guns and ammunition; they were to receive one hundred thousand crowns and to be escorted wherever they wished. Two hostages for good faith to be given on both sides. But while negotiations were pending, the Spanish drew up to the wall, intending to scale it.* They were discovered and repulsed. On the 24th a very high tide allowed sixty vessels to enter the harbour and all negotiations were broken off. Sir Francis Vere (*Vuer*) who is in command of the English wrote to his Highness saying that as long as he was in straits he was open to treat, but now that he had all he wanted he would not continue negotiations. He demanded the liberation of the hostages, which was granted, and he sent back the ones he held.

The real reason for the contemplated surrender was that the garrison feared a general assault; and the defences on one side had been burned by troops who had waded through water up to their middles. And so to gain time till succour arrived these negotiations were set on foot, three thousand five hundred men, between English, Dutch, and Walloons, have entered the town.

Paris, 7th January 1602.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1043. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have confirmation of my last news from England that the King of Scotland had sent help to the Queen; and that an archpriest who is under the Jesuits is doing much to assist Spain. I am told that it is impossible to foresee what will happen for the last time the Spanish fleet attacked England the Catholics all remained loyal to the Queen.

Parliament, they say, has voted four millions to the Queen for the war; it is to be paid in four years. The Duke of Lennox has been dismissed most graciously; and the Queen shows a disposition

* Cf. Motley's "United Netherlands," Chap. xxxix.

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to grant him the succession. The French Ambassador holds that for an accomplished fact.

In Ireland the Spanish are shut up in Kinsale, by land and by sea. The Earl of Tyrone trying to join them has been repulsed. Some ships that have come into Dieppe, say that they sighted a number of Spanish ships making for Ireland. The Chancellor tells me that one thousand five hundred Spanish were brought by them to Ireland, where they landed a little higher than Kinsale which is occupied by the English.

Paris, 7th January 1602.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1044. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN and GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Venetian Ambassadors in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In spite of the advantageous terms which the Archduke Albert offers to the Queen she will not lend an ear. She is occupied in collecting troops for Ireland and hopes soon to drive out the Spanish.

Rome, 12th January, 1602.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1045. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador sought to free himself in Cicala's eyes from the accusation that he was in intelligence with the Spanish ministers. When talking to me he endeavoured to involve the Queen of England and your Serenity as disseminators of this rumour.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 12th January 1601 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Jan. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1046. OTTAVIANO BON, FRANCESCO SORANZO, and SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The question of the French Ambassador's suite is nearly concluded, but it is to be feared that fresh difficulties may arise between Spain and France, for the Adelantado, who was cruising off Almeria to protect the shores from the Barbary Pirates, falling in with nine ships making for the Straits sank three and took the others, because they refused to shorten sail at his orders. Of these four are French and the rest English and Dutch. The Adelantado has made a rich prize, but the French will not readily submit. The Adelantado defends his action by saying that he first fired a blank shot and ran up the royal standard, to which they replied with cannon shot.

Three hundred cavalry have been mustered and are to be sent to support the troops landed in Ireland, *though in fact little result is expected beyond a show of bravery.*

Valladolid, 13th January 1602.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

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Jan. 21.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1047. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It seems that the proposals for surrendering Ostend arose rather from the wishes of the General Vere (*Vuer*) than from any want of soldiers, which as a matter of fact did exist, owing to sickness or any other cause. Nay, the colonels and captains were enraged that, contrary to the customs of war, Vere should have come to this resolution without consulting them. The soldiers swore they would not give up the place and Vere was made to understand that they would rise against him unless he abandoned his designs. Vere declares that he embarked upon them in order to gain time to repair the fortifications and to allow succour to arrive. He was forced to withdraw from the negotiations and to send back the hostages without recovering his own. At this moment five large men-of-war appeared off Ostend. They had been delayed in arriving, but immediately began to disembark troops and provisions in small boats. They received no damage from the cannonade kept up from the platform at the mouth of the harbour which was rendered innocuous by the distance and the motion of the sea.

Owing to this episode and the conduct of Sir Francis Vere, the States conceived some suspicion of his person, which was increased by his having written to the Archduke that he had opened negotiations with his highness because he was in difficulties and he returned thanks that his proposals had been entertained; he also expressed a hope that should a similar occasion arise he might find a like disposition in so magnanimous a Prince. Many people think that the Queen of England, owing to her occupation in other quarters, is weary of helping Ostend and would not be sorry to see the undertaking at an end, though others do not believe it, as that would be to her damage. There is also a suspicion that Vere may have been bribed. Any way, in order to be prepared, the States have reduced the number of the English and made other provisions which they think necessary.

The succours thrown into Ostend consisted, as I reported, of three thousand five hundred infantry, divided into twenty-four companies. Fresh supports are to be sent till the total of six thousand is reached, which is the full compliment of the garrison of Ostend. The companies which have been serving there are to be recalled to Holland. The Archduke, however, was informed that only four or six hundred men had entered the town, and he resolved to see what would be the result of an assault. He planted seven of his fourteen guns on each side of the town and opened fire from daybreak till sundown, then he ordered an assault and escalade from various quarters at once. He met with so vigorous a resistance, however, that he was repulsed with loss of, they say, eight hundred of his best soldiers.

The Archduke's Ambassador in his last audience with the King thanked his Majesty because he had refused to accept the two strong places of Flushing and Brill, which the Queen of England had offered to hand over to his Majesty, on the ground that he

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would not contravene the peace with Spain. All the same, I do not really believe that the Queen ever proposed to deprive herself of these places by which she keeps a hold on the States and retains a security for a large sum of money they owe her.

There is confirmation that the Spanish have landed one thousand five hundred men in Ireland, in that part of the island where the Earl of Tyrone is, and have effected a junction with him. To the number of six thousand, they are marching to the relief of Don Juan d'Aquila, who is besieged by the Lord Deputy in Kinsale. They encountered some difficulties on the march, both from want of provisions and because they were harassed by the three thousand infantry sent by the King of Scotland. They say that the ships which brought this last Spanish contingent have been captured by the English, but there is no certainty of this; though the Queen has asked the States to supply her with several men-of-war, which in conjunction with her own would push towards Spain with a view to secure Ireland by investing that coast.

Paris, 21st January 1602.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1048. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In Ireland, on the 13th of last month, an engagement took place between the troops of the Queen and the forces of the Earl of Tyrone, in conjunction with the last contingent which has arrived from Spain. They were marching to the relief of Kinsale. In this engagement the Irish fled and the Spanish were routed (*nel quale essendo fuggiti li Irlandesi li Spagnoli furono rotti*), with heavy loss in dead, wounded, and prisoners. The result of this will be that Don Juan d'Aquila will not be able to hold out for long, and will be forced to surrender, while the Earl of Tyrone will endeavour to secure the Queen's pardon.

Your Serenity will gather all the particulars of this action, and of all that the Spanish have done since their landing from the enclosed, which the Queen of England's Secretary resident here has presented to the King.

Paris, 22nd January 1602.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.*

1049. A REPORT of all that has happened in IRELAND since the arrival of the SPANISH.

Don Juan d'Aquila landed at the port of Kinsale, in the Province of Munster, with four thousand infantry on the 21st of September, old style; within fourteen days they were attacked by Lord Mountjoy, the Viceroy of Ireland, at the head of three thousand infantry, and three hundred horse, and within a month they were blockaded by eight thousand infantry and eight hundred horse.

* Cf. Calendar of State Papers. Domestic. 1601–1603, pp. 132–136.

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On the 5th of December the rebel Earl of Tyrone, with all his accomplices and leaders of the rebellion, gathered his whole forces, numbering six thousand men and eight hundred horse, and advanced to within twelve Italian miles of the Viceroy. On the same day Pedro de Sevior (landed) eight miles from Kinsale, with seven hundred men and a large quantity of victuals and provisions; he had four other ships with one thousand five hundred infantry, the remains of the expedition that was to have sailed with Don Juan, but had got separated by the gales.

Lord Mountjoy sent four of the Queen's ships lying in Kinsale, to attack the Spanish before they could land their provisions. The engagement between the English and Spanish ships lasted five hours. Three of the Spanish were sunk; two drifted inland and struck the English flag ship. Sir Richard Leveson and twelve of his men were killed, forty wounded, and the ship itself riddled with perhaps a hundred shots.

Pedro de Sevior, on the 15th, sent seven companies of his men to effect a junction with the Earl of Tyrone. The Viceroy intercepted letters from Tyrone to Don Juan, in which the Earl informed the Spanish commander that on Christmas eve, old style, he would attack the English on one side and Don Juan was to do the same on the other, with one thousand five hundred of his men. The Earl said he intended to put one thousand Irish and five hundred Spanish in Kinsale. When the Viceroy understood this plan, he picked out one thousand infantry and three hundred horse, and waited till the Earl had debouched from the forests and the marshes, and then attacked him in the open country. The Irish fled, and the Spanish were left to the mercy of the English, who with only one thousand foot and three hundred horse routed the whole army of eight thousand men and eight hundred horse. One thousand two hundred were left dead on the field, eight hundred wounded; one hundred Spaniards and one thousand suits of armour remained in the hands of the English.

The Spanish implore the Queen's mercy, and detest the brutality and cowardice of the Irish, by whom they say that they were betrayed into the hands of the English troops.

Since the Spanish landing the Queen has sent seven thousand foot and four hundred horse into Ireland, besides other provisions; and now she is sending another four thousand, which will be in Ireland within this month of January.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1050. OTTAVIANO BON, SIMON CONTARINI, and FRANCESCO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Three hundred horse are ready to sail from Lisbon for Ireland. *It is thought that the support is both too small and too late. For the troops of his Majesty under the command of Don Juan d'Aquila, sent to Ireland to foment the rebellion, have been routed by the Queen's army, as also have some hundreds of men who were recently sent to effect a landing in that island. Don Juan is at this*

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moment surrounded by perils, and has provisions for only a few days more. This news has greatly distressed the Ministers, who now perceive the unstable foundations of this enterprise, and their disgust is all the greater for no success attends the arms of the Archduke in Flanders. He had the worst of it in the assault he delivered on the 16th of last month on Ostend.

Valladolid, 4th February 1602.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1051. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In Lisbon are four thousand Spanish who are to embark for Ireland along with other provisions for the support of those already there and are in great want. They had already sailed but were forced back by contrary winds, and now await fine weather.

Paris, 5th February 1602.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 5. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1052. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Archduke Albert has special orders from his Catholic Majesty to persist in the siege of Ostend, in spite of all the opposition and drawbacks which he has always encountered, until he has captured it in one way or another. The object is to avoid all the bad consequences of a retreat, which would occasion not only loss of reputation but more serious misfortunes still. The constant consumption of troops through sufferings and through skirmishes has always to be made good. Meantime they have raised some platforms for cannon, which will throw shot into the place, and they have armed some small boats with which they intend to prevent the importation of relief into Ostend. Count Maurice, on the other hand, is raising fresh troops, with which he intends to besiege some place, and so to compel the Archduke to raise the siege of Ostend. He has also instructed some naval experts to report on the proper way of counteracting the damage that may be inflicted by the Archduke's small boats. There was a supposition that the King would be asked to allow troops to be levied in France, and on the request of the Archduke the Nuncio begged the King to refuse; the King replied that the question had never arisen nor was likely to arise.

As for affairs in Ireland there is little to report beyond the confirmation of my previous news. The Spanish who have just been defeated, when on their way to Ireland were obliged through their ignorance of the ports, to avail themselves of the escort of a Scottish vessel, of whose good faith they assured themselves by putting one hundred Spanish on board. But a heavy fog came down and prevented them from seeing each other; they parted company, and the Scottish vessel made Kinsale, where she was captured by the English which are usually lying there. When the English heard about the rest of the fleet they sailed out and gave battle, as I have already reported.

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The King of Spain is doing all he can to detach the King of Scotland from his alliance with the Queen of England, and more to dissuade him from lending her assistance in the defence of Ireland. It is not certain yet whether the Scottish succours have already passed over. The King of Scotland is threatened with a war if he does help the Queen, and is promised support in his claims on the English succession if he does not; and he is reminded that his succession can not be acceptable to his most Christian Majesty, who will hardly care to see England, Scotland, and Ireland united, when he remembers the troubles which France formerly suffered from the English Kings.

The struggle between the ecclesiastics in England still continues to the great damage of the Catholics, who are in doubt whether to adhere to the Jesuit fathers, whose advice the archpriest Bakewell (Bawel) is ordered by the Pope to follow, or the others, who have printed a book attacking the Jesuits. Four priests have just been ordered to go to Rome to explain matters to his Holiness, and to beg for instructions. Although all this is going on quietly so as not to draw down punishment on one or the other, yet it would appear that the Queen favours the anti-Jesuit party, either because she thinks it to her interest to foster these quarrels, from which she draws greater safety, or else because she is less severe in her persecution of the Catholics than she has hitherto been.

I enclose the declaration of war made by Don Juan d'Aquila in Ireland, in answer to the Viceroy.

Paris, 5th February 1602.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

1053. Juan d'Aquila, Commander-in-Chief, and General for his Catholic Majesty of Spain, in the holy war which he is waging in Ireland for the faith, implores for all Catholics in the cities of Kinsale and Cork and all other towns, cities, and fortresses, health and peace in all that is real health.

An edict, or rather a libel, published in Cork under the name of the Viceroy, has been brought to our notice. It contains many absolutely false statements which offend the ears of the just. I have done my best to prove their falsehood in order that they might not lead the simple astray to the commission of errors, to explain the truth, and briefly to set forth the objects of our King Philip in appointing us to the conduct of this war by order of the Supreme Pontiff. In truth I might easily refute the insults they apply to us, so that they should lose the pleasure of abusing in the pain of being abused, but we do not desire like weak and weaponless women to betake ourselves to foul language. We will leave that aside and come to the solid objections.

First of all they say that we pretend to free the subjects of the Queen from the allegiance they owe her under the Christian law. Now that is not the case; we never endeavoured to persuade any subject that he need not obey his lawful sovereign, but you are aware that many years ago Elizabeth was deprived of her kingdom, and the Supreme Pontiff freed her subjects from the oath of

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allegiance. The High Lord of Lords has conferred on the Pope the power to extirpate and destroy, to plant and build up, and to punish even with deposition. This power has been exercised in England and Ireland by many Pontiffs, Pius V., Gregory XIII., and now by Clement VIII., which is well known to all, and the bulls exist. I speak now to good Catholics, not to wrong headed Protestants, who have lapsed from the faith of the Roman Church, but as they are blind leaders of the blind, and absolutely without any foundation of truth, it is little wonder they differ from us on this point. But to us who walk in the simplicity of the Roman Faith, and agree with the Catholic Church, which is the pillar and foundation of truth, all this is easily perceived. It follows then that the Irish who join us will have done nothing contrary to the law of God and their due fidelity, nay, rather, they will have co-operated with the divine law, and fulfilled their due obedience to the Supreme Pontiff.

In the second place it is asserted that we flatter and falsely adulate the Irish to win them over, and offer a number of benefits which we have no intention of granting; that we act so at first to win the simple to our side, but that later on we will show our cruelty to them, and prove our bloody nature. Good God, who would not be amazed? Yours is the bitter and unspeakable cruelty and audacity displayed in such a charge; for who is there that knows not the cruelty you English have practised on the unhappy Irish, nor yet have ceased to practise? You who have endeavoured to tear out of their bosoms the Catholic Faith of their fathers, in which eternal life consists, and more savage than bears who but destroy this mortal life, have striven to destroy the eternal and spiritual life as well.

Who has wrecked the temporal welfare of this flourishing kingdom but the English? See this and be confounded.

We left our sweet native land, the happy land of Spain, abounding in all good things, because we grieved for the fate of the Catholics, and roused by their cries, which strike heaven and earth, and beat in the ears of the Supreme Pontiff and of our Sovereign King Philip. Moved by pity we send you soldiers; silver, gold, arms are voted with a liberal hand, not that we may work our cruel will on the Irish, as is alleged, but that we may happily free you from the jaws of the Devil and secure you freedom to exercise the Catholic Faith.

And now, beloved in Christ, that your desire of so many past years, sought with prayers and tears, is about to be granted, now that the Supreme Pontiff has ordered us to take up arms for the defence of your faith, I warn, exhort, and call you all to witness, to whom these letters may come, that with all speed, with friends and weapons you hasten to join us; whoso does this shall share our arms and all we possess, whoso acts otherwise in despite of this our most salutory advice, and remains independent or in allegiance to the English, we shall treat as a heretic; and, as hateful foe to the Church, we will pursue him to the death.

[*Latin.*]

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Feb. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1054. OTTAVIANO BON and SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Sabbiaoli, who commanded the last reinforcements for Ireland, has returned to Biscay with his own ship only out of the five he had with him. The English fleet attacked him and sank two, and two were abandoned under the enemy's rush and the violence of the sea. About twenty English ships chained together blocked the harbour of Kinsale.

Don Juan is already treating for a surrender. He offers to withdraw, and asks for ships to take him back to Spain; a request hardly contemplated in the rules of war; and so they fear that he must fall into the hands of the enemy.

Valladolid, 11th February 1602.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1055. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador, in addition to what he has explained by word of mouth to the Lieutenant Halil Pasha, has also presented a note to the Chief Eunuch, informing him that certain of the Spanish ships had attacked his Mistress's fleet, and that the English remained victorious, with other details as to the successful operations in Ireland and at Ostend. He begged that the Turkish fleet should take the sea as strongly as possible, in order to execute a joint attack on the King of Spain. On this Dr. Valentino remarked that he did not see how such a union was to be effected, for the Turkish galleys had never been outside the straits; but each on his own side could quite well harass the King of Spain.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 13th February 1601 [m.v.].

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1056. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Juan d'Aquila finding himself continually blockaded in Kinsale by the English, after having fed his forces for long on only bread and water, and seeing no hope of succour before the extreme of necessity overtook him, in order to save himself and his troops, surrendered about the 22nd of last month on terms made with the Viceroy. I enclose them. This news was brought by letters of the 30th from London; and the Queen, by means of her Secretary has given notice to the King, adding that the Spanish are only waiting fine weather to embark; and so as the one party wishes to go and the other that they should go, the Spaniards will be home again by this time if the wind has been favourable.

This episode will induce the Queen either to continue the war with vigour, for it is evident that if she remains on the defensive she is exposed to such dangers as this recent one in Ireland, or else to come to terms of peace. If the Archduke Albert, now that he is in such great difficulties, would ask for it, the Queen, whose coffers are empty and who sees that while she toils, others enjoy

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quiet, would not make any difficulty about consenting. With a view to facilitating her designs, she intends, as I informed your Serenity, to push her fleet on to the coast of Spain towards Cadiz, and she has asked the States to lend her a few of their ships for that purpose.

The other day while the Archduke Albert was alone in his chamber, walking up and down and saying his prayers, he was overcome by a fainting fit and fell to the ground, with his face on the Golden Fleece which he wore round his neck; he was slightly cut. Some say this was a stroke of apoplexy, or of the falling sickness, others that it is the result of his anxiety about the siege of Ostend. All his own operations go badly, and no help comes from Spain, which makes him think that he is out of favour and may be removed.

In Ostend there are now six thousand infantry. The succours which arrive from time to time alleviate the inconveniences to which they are exposed, and no less are the sufferings of the besiegers through the miseries of the campaign and the want of pay. The Spanish have begun to mutiny, butthe death of twenty who have been strangled, put down the rising; the scheme was to seize the person of their Highnesses, and to compel them to grant satisfaction.

Paris, 18th February 1602.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

1057. TERMS of the CAPITULATION agreed upon between the VICEROY of the QUEEN OF ENGLAND and DON JUAN D'AQUILA.

1. All places held by the Spanish, namely, Kinsale, Castlehaven, Baltimore, and Beerhaven shall be handed over to the Viceroy.

2. All the Spanish, who number three thousand five hundred, shall be sent back to Spain on board the Queen's ships. They may take with them all their artillery that they brought with them to Ireland, but at their own charges.

3. The Spanish shall not land in any other port in Spain except Corunna, and to this Don Juan swears.

4. In case any further supports should reach Ireland, Don Juan and his troops shall be neutral.

5. For the observation of the above, Don Juan remains hostage till the troops embark, and he will leave certain other persons of importance as guarantee for the return of the Queen's ships.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1058. OTTAVIANO BON and SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Juan d'Aquila, one knows not whether by help given, by courage or by luck, has capitulated on condition of leaving Ireland with all his men and baggage; and the English are to supply him with vessels to go home in. This is considered a master stroke, and greatly adds to his reputation. Many think he has

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achieved it by gold, as he is very rich. The troops collected in Portugal will now be used for Flanders.

Valladolid, 28th February 1602.

[*Italian.*]

March 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1059. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Agent for the Grand Duke of Tuscany remarked to me that France had the men but not the money, Italy the money but not the men; and if the Republic would join the Grand Duke in an alliance with France, England, and the States, it would be of great service to the quiet of Christendom.

Paris, 4th March 1602.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1060. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of France shows a greater inclination to keep well with England and the States on account of the Spanish. The Spanish continually complain that the States receive help from France and are allowed to trade freely with France, which they say should be forbidden under the terms of the peace of Vervins.

Paris, 4th March 1602.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1061. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Some affirm and some deny that the Spanish have entirely abandoned Ireland after their defeat. The Duke of Sessa, Spanish Ambassador here, shows letters which declare that they are still there.

Four Englishmen are said to be in Rome on the following business. Two years ago a Jesuit Father secretly published a book dealing with the succession to the English throne.* The conclusion was, that on the death of the Queen the King of Spain was the lawful sovereign. The Archpriest of England,† a friend of the Jesuits, made people swear that, in the event of the Queen's death they would hold for Spain. This went on for some time unobserved as long as it was confined to the lower classes, but when people of birth were approached, the Archpriest came across a gentleman who was hostile to Spain and who, although converted to the Catholic faith, refused to take such an oath, blamed the seditious proceeding, and informed the Queen. The Queen at once informed the King of France, and sent these four Englishmen here to inform the Pope, both that he might be made aware of the truth and also might punish the Archpriest; they were to beg for the recall of the Jesuits from England in return for which the Queen would not forbid the

* By Robert Parsons. Cf. Calendar of State Papers. Domestic. 1601–1603, p. 170.

† George Blackwell. Calendar of State Papers, *ut sup.* p. 228.

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exercise of the Roman rite provided there was no sedition and no secrecy.

When the English reached Rome they thought they could keep quite secret. But the Duke of Sessa was aware of their presence and took steps with the Jesuits to have the Englishmen imprisoned as calumniators, or at least to prevent them from obtaining an audience of the Pope. The Duke of Sessa admits the publication of the book but denies the operation of the Archpriest. The matter is suspended.

Rome, 9th March 1602.

[*Italian.*]

March 11. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1062. PIERO DUODO, Venetian Ambassador in Germany, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Protestants are much alarmed at the rumour of a league against themselves, the Queen of England, and the States, on the part of the Pope and Spain.

Prague, 11th March 1602.

[*Italian.*]

March 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1063. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Fresh troops are always coming into Ostend. The Archduke is afraid of a sortie in force, and as his troops are greatly diminished he is raising fresh troops from among the natives; all the more so as he cannot trust the Spanish after the punishment he was obliged to inflict on the mutineers. Count Maurice is collecting his forces to attack some strong place. Bois-le-Duc is named as likely.

Paris, 18th March 1602.

[*Italian.*]

March 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1064. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Nevers* has obtained leave to visit England. He has left with a large and noble suite, and within a month he may be back.

Paris, 18th March 1602.

[*Italian.*]

March 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1065. OTTAVIANO BON and SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Although it has for long been rumoured that His Majesty will go to Burgos and thence to Portugal after Easter, it seems that this plan is dying away for the present on account of the fleet which the Queen of England is mustering. *It is not fitting* for the King to be so close to his enemy unless he is better provided than he is at present to repel their forces. Besides this journey would be very costly, given the extravagant nature of this people. The King cannot make a moderate expense without damaging his prestige, and his last journey cost him one hundred and fifty thousand crowns in three weeks. But I am told that the real reason is the growing

* Cf. Calendar of State Papers, 1601–1603, p. 179.

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disaffection of the Portuguese; especially because the King is thinking of habilitating the "new Christians" (Jews) and placing them on a footing with the old Catholic subjects; they have published a libel full of abuse of the King, whom they expressly call Philippus Tertius Rex Judæorum.

The King has called out the feudal light horse. *This shows an alarm about the Turkish and English fleets.*

Valladolid, 21st March 1602.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1066. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The four English have already had more than one audience with His Holiness. They are openly favoured by the French Ambassador in His Most Christian Majesty's name, though with a general statement that he has no desire to injure the Jesuits. The English continue to insist on the recall of the Jesuits who are living secretly in England. The Pope is taking mature consideration on the subject.

Rome, 23rd March 1602.

[*Italian.*]

March 24. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1067. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of France has written to console his Ambassador for Cicala's calumny that he was in the pay of Spain. He declares that even if he saw letters in the Ambassadors own hands he would not believe it. Both the French and English Ambassadors are resolved to lodge vigorous complaints of Cicala on account of certain vessels seized in Barbary, but they will name him verbally not in writing.

The French Ambassador with the consent of the English Ambassador has presented a memorial on account of the French vessel seized by an English Corsair and carried into Algiers. He begs that the ship may be set at liberty and the corsairs sent here to be punished by the English Ambassador.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 24th March 1602.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 28. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1068. OTTAVIANO BON and SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

They now insist that Don Juan d'Aquila made a mistake in coming to terms with the English, and surrendering to them three places which he held in the name of His Catholic Majesty, and some prophesy ill for him, declaring that he has escaped an honourable death in Ireland to meet with a shameful one in Spain. The Ambassadors from Ireland call out loudly to his Majesty, and the Nuncio in His Holiness's name shows the greatest disgust. His Holiness had just named as Nuncio in Ireland the Father Manloni (Maloney?) a Jesuit who is residing at this Court and is in doubt what to do.

Valladolid, 28th March 1602.

[*Italian.*]

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April 1. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1069. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The besieged in Ostend expect supports from England and Germany in considerable numbers; and this year they hope to be stronger than in the past years.

After the Earl of Tyrone's defeat there is no further news of him; no one knows where he is. It is thought that he may have taken to that wild part of Ireland which by its nature is very strong. The Queen of England has hurried on the sailing of her fleet. It is not settled yet where it is to make for; the Spanish waters or the West Indies.

Paris, first of April 1602.

[*Italian.*]

April 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1070. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Ambassador told me that he had constantly urged his master to arm some galleys at Marseilles; that now was the time for a league against the Turk, and that his master would very easily be persuaded to join when once the affairs of Flanders and of England were settled.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 9th April 1602.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1071. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish declare that the King of France desires peace for the good of his kingdom, but that, as he is aware that the Spanish can not go to war with him on account of the Queen of England's threatening attitude and of the Turkish fleet, he allows a great deal of assistance to be given to the States.

Paris, 15th April 1602.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

April 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1072. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Prince of Orange and Don Rodrigo Lasso passed through Paris on their way back from Spain. They made their journey in great haste, and have left behind them the rumour that they were carrying one million and a half of gold into Flanders.

The siege of Ostend goes on as it has hitherto done, without any fresh incidents. Both parties are making levies in Germany. It is still doubtful whether the States will lay siege to some place in Brabant, such as Bois-le-Duc or Grave. Some think they will force on a general engagement.

The English ships, which conducted the Spanish to Corunna from Ireland, have returned home many days ago. In that port they found ten ships laden with ammunition, destined for the West Indies, they said, but as they were unladen as soon as the Spanish

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returned from Ireland it is thought more likely that they were really destined for that place. The Queen's fleet, to the number of twenty-five, has sailed for Spain. Ten other vessels, between galleons and ships, are lying in Plymouth, waiting the arrival of twelve Dutchmen, when they will set sail together, though their destination is unknown.

The French Ambassador* is still in England, though his successor has arrived. He is staying on by the King's commands in order to settle some disputes as to depredations committed by the vessels of one side and of the other, and as to the right to search vessels on the open sea which the English usually do and the French also, when they are the stronger. It seems that they have found a suitable arrangement, which I hope to report in my next despatch.

At this moment I am informed that His Majesty will postpone his departure for Blois; and so, though I have already sent most of my baggage and part of my suite, I will wait a day or two to see what is best to do.

Paris, 15th April 1602.

[*Italian.*]

April 16. Copy of Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1073. OTTAVIANO BON and SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassadors in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Juan d'Aquila has arrived with the remains of his troops. Many of whom died in Ireland from sufferings, apart from the losses inflicted by the enemy. The remarks about this person are very various.

Valladolid, 16th April 1602.

[*Italian.*]

April 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1074. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As to the question about the rights of English and French ships on the open sea, it has been settled that neither party shall seize, board, nor pillage the ships of the other; but they may be searched. This chiefly because of English suspicion that arms are being imported to Spain from Germany and Dantzig. And this agreement will put an end to the interminable disputes and friction between the two Crowns.

Blois, 30th April 1602.

[*Italian.*]

May 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1075. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is not without suspicion as to the intentions of the Spanish on Bourg and in Narbonne, although the need to assist the Archduke in Flanders, the dread of the Turkish fleet, and of the designs of the Queen of England will prevent the King of Spain from dividing his forces.

* M. de Beaumont.

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The King of Spain is being urged to the conquest of Algiers; but it is more likely that the Spanish will make a fresh attack on Ireland; and indeed there are rumours that they will attack England with a great force as soon as they can. The Queen of England meanwhile has sent a fleet of thirty ships into Spanish waters, and as many again are to sail shortly with provisions. This was done at the instance of His Most Christian Majesty to divert the King of Spain from his projected visit to Italy, all the same, on account of her age and to relieve her subjects who suffer much from this continual war, the Queen of England is really desirous of peace. The Archduke has sent an Envoy to reopen negotiations. The issue is awaited, and the Queen is all the more inclined to peace because she considers that she alone has opposed and frustrated the universal monarchy of Spain at enormous expense and most serious risks, while the other sovereigns, who are also interested, have taken no share in the enterprise, and that the King of France enjoys an absolute peace in his kingdom, thanks entirely to her labours in supporting the States and threatening Spain with her fleet. And indeed it is quite well known here and admitted by the principal Ministers and by the King himself that had it not been for the war in Flanders the King of Spain could not have been prevented from imposing much of his will, to his own advantage, upon the rest of Christendom. These ideas were expressed to me by M. de Villeroy when discussing the war in Flanders, with the intention that I should understand that although this kingdom is very powerful yet for lack of money it cannot, unaided, frustrate the designs of so powerful a monarchy as Spain.

The siege of Ostend is going on as usual.

Blois, 7th May 1602.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

May 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1076. SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There is a current opinion that the King will renew the attack on Ireland; and that troops are being massed in Portugal for that purpose.

Valladolid, 10th May 1602.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1077. SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

From an excellent source I learn that his Majesty has been informed that the Queen of England and her Council have replied to the Ambassador of the King of Scotland that his master may as well give up altogether both his hopes and his demands for the succession to that Crown. For it seems that the Queen and her Council have both agreed that on her death four Protestant nobles shall be elected to exercise the Royal authority for a year, and to govern the kingdom on its present lines; and that it shall no longer be an hereditary *kingdom but a kind of Republic.*

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The Queen of England is in great straits for money.

She has imposed a new tax of thirty per cent. for one year and a half; a resolution that the English resent. England has three religions, the Calvinistic religion of the Queen, another kind of Calvinism which is heretical, but numbers a large following and harasses the Calvinistic greatly, and finally the Catholic. The Queen, so as to escape revolutions in these last years of her life, favours the Christians more than she has done. And she is in treaty with O'Neil, head of the Irish Catholics, to restore him to her favour, and she offers ample terms.

The King has accepted certain memorandums drawn up by a Biscayan, a subtle brain, who has lived for long in England and Holland. Acting on the suggestions contained therein, he hopes to conquer the rebels by upsetting their political constitution.

The Biscayan has already received his Majesty's instructions.

Valladolid, 10th May 1602.

[*Italian.*]

May 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1078. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The four Englishmen who came to Rome some time ago, have had several gracious audiences of the Pope, thanks to the French Ambassador. They have been referred to two Cardinals in order to decide what ought to be done about the bad conduct of the Jesuit Father in England, who endeavoured to extract from his converts an oath of allegiance to the King of Spain in the event of Queen Elizabeth's death. The French Ambassador affirms that the Queen would not oppose the use of the Catholic rite provided it were conducted quietly.

Rome, 11th May 1602.

[*Italian.*]

May 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1079. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Spanish Ambassador complained of the constant levies of troops in France, and declared that his master could not understand their object in time of peace; he also said that the passage of French troops into Flanders was a breach of the treaty of Vervins; that there was no need for the presence at this Court of an Envoy from the States nor should the King keep an Agent in Holland. The Ambassador declared that he had orders to withdraw if the States were assisted. He also laid great stress on the fact that His Most Christian Majesty was frustrating the accord between England and the Archduke.

The King replied that he was really desirous for peace and that he wished to observe the terms of the treaty; but seeing that others were arming he could not help doing the same. The King of Spain was massing troops and that could only be with a view to injuring France. The Ambassador replied that he was not informed as to his master's intentions, but being a young prince at the outset of

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his reign, and having suffered repulses in Algiers and in Ireland, it was only natural that he should endeavour to recover his prestige. The King said he admitted that. As regarded the point about about his hindering the peace between England and Spain, the Queen of England was so able a sovereign that she required no advice and was quite competent to manage her own affairs.

This answer the Spanish Ambassador has sent by express courier to his master. The King of France complains in Rome about the Spanish armaments, and says he is forced to arm also. Here it is held for certain that an attack on France was intended; and now that the design has been discovered the troops collected for that purpose will be employed elsewhere, perhaps will be sent from Italy to Spain and thence to Ireland, unless a fresh attempt is made on Algiers.

Paris, 20th May 1602.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

May 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1080. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Agent sent by the Archduke to England to negotiate a peace is a Portuguese called Bonaventura. He has received instructions from Richardot; and is to excuse the interruption of negotiations and the length of time which has elapsed since Cœmans left England on this mission, by the rumour that the Queen's fleet was about to sail for Flanders; but now that it has taken another route his Highness sends an Envoy to treat of those points which might cause a continuance of the war, and to endeavour to remove the difficulties and to arrive at a sound peace, to which the Queen, after suffering so many troubles, cannot show herself seriously disinclined. We do not know yet what answer Bonaventura has received. Certain it is that the negotiation presents points of greatest difficulty, as I have already remarked to your Serenity. The fact that the King of France is at peace and would thus leave the whole burden of the war on the Queen's shoulders will doubtless incline her to come to terms; all the same, her insecure position will compel her to remain armed, and this, with other difficulties, renders the issue doubtful.

Nothing of moment at Ostend. The troops of the Archduke are working to raise a platform which will enable them to bombard the town.

Tours, 21st May 1602.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

June 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1081. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The object of Count Maurice is to raise the siege of Ostend which has been going on now for more than a year. The States have eighteen thousand infantry, not counting the troops in the town; besides, they are expecting six thousand more which the Queen of England has raised and placed under the command of Colonel

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1602.

Vere, and these have probably arrived; further, they have four thousand horse. On the other hand, his Highness has fifteen thousand infantry in Flanders and eight thousand in Brabant, as well as three thousand horse; he is waiting the troops expected from Italy. It cannot be long before we see how their plans will work out. In his Highness's absence the Infanta remains at Nieuport in command of the siege. The platform for bombarding the city is being pushed on. So too the works for blocking the entrance to the harbour. The troops are being paid out of the million and a half which came from Spain.

Orleans, 6th June 1602.

[*Italian.*]

June 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1082. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador declares that his mistress is making great preparations against the King of Spain. And the French Ambassador is spreading abroad certain information about Christendom, to suit his usual objects. Mehamet Pasha asked me if I had any news from Europe, for the French Ambassador had furnished a great deal, much of which, however, proved false. I said that the Pasha must not be surprised if the representatives of the Republic supplied little news for they loathed lies.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 9th June 1602.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

June 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1083. SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The object of sending troops into Portugal is to protect the country from an English attack, and in case of the Queen's death to have them ready if occasion served. It is generally thought that a fresh attempt may be made on Ireland. But the favourable season is slipping away.

On the coast of Portugal eight English ships recently disembarked seven hundred soldiers and sacked Figueira and Buarcos, two places of small importance. All the same they made some prizes.

Valladolid, 12th June 1602.

[*Italian.*]

June 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1084. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Baron de Thou (?) (*Tu*) is on the point of starting as Ambassador resident in ordinary at the Court of the King of Scotland, who, as things go at present, is considered on the high road to succeed when the Queen of England's hour has come.

Paris, 16th June 1602

[*Italian.*]

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1602.
June 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1085. SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

One of the ships of the Portuguese Indies, missing for two years, and bringing a cargo worth two millions of gold, has arrived. She wintered at Mozambique, and on the 11th instant, with only thirty men left of her crew, she reached the harbour of Almada, but could not make it for want of a pilot. The governor, in dread lest the ship should fall into the hands of the enemy, sent three hundred soldiers a board, and the galleys of Spinola as an escort. But the eight Englishmen whose deeds I reported in my last fell on her with such determination that after a stiff fight, she remained their prize. The Viceroy come down to the shore in person with all his troops; of the twelve galleys two were burned; and the crew of one mutinied and went over to the English. Many of the Spanish troops are killed and the Marquis of Santa Cruz severely wounded.

Valladolid, 22nd June 1602.

[*Italian.*]

July 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1086. AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

An Englishman has come to Constantinople by sea to report on the issue of the English fleet against Spain.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 7th July 1602.

[*Italian.*]

July 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1087. SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The remains of Don Juan d'Aquila's troops are back in Lisbon from Ireland.

Valladolid, 17th July 1602.

[*Italian.*]

July 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1088. SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Some English galleons have landed troops at Algarve and attempted to capture the castle, but were repulsed.

Valladolid, 17th July 1602.

[*Italian.*]

July 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1089. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Catholics who came here to complain of the Jesuit Fathers who were inducing their penitents to promise support to the King of Spain in the event of the Queen's death, will leave immediately. They will depart very ill satisfied, for representations have been made to his Holiness to persuade him that all this is merely a ruse of the Queen of England; and he has given orders that nothing is to be done to change the present condition of religion in England.

Rome, 27th July 1602.

[*Italian.*]

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1602.
August 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1090. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English have captured a fort held by the Spanish and Irish, and after pushing into the forests they have made themselves masters of a position occupied by the Earl of Tyrone. They intend to push on, and it is thought that in a short time the Earl will be entirely abandoned by his followers.

Paris, 12th August 1602.

[*Italian.*]

August 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1091. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It is thought that the troops now mustered in Spain will be kept there on account of the English armament. Six thousand fresh troops under the command of Don Juan d'Aquila are to go to Ireland. This news the Pope has sent to his Most Christian Majesty. Public rumour has it that these troops have already landed in Ireland, not at Kinsale, as last year, but at a point nearer to the Earl of Tyrone, but this is not certain. Certain it is, however, that the King of Spain has bought grain to the value of three hundred thousand crowns in France to supply his troops in Ireland. It is generally thought that the King of Spain has no other object in Ireland at present except to establish a garrison there to be ready in case of the Queen's death.

Paris, 26th August 1602.

[*Italian.*]

August 26. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1092. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Two days ago an Ambassador* arrived here from England to reside at this Court. There has not been one for some years. I sent my secretary to visit him. He declares that the Queen is very well and is making her progress, a pleasure trip she is wont to take at this time of year.

An Ambassador extraordinary has arrived from Scotland. I do not yet know his mission, unless it be to concert with his Majesty on the subject of the Spanish in Ireland.

Paris, 26th August 1602.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1093. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

They write from London that owing to the bad harvest the price of grain has gone up twenty-five per cent. In France the harvest has suffered from rain and wind.

There is no confirmation of the report that the Spanish have landed in Ireland; but instead it seems that, Earl of Tyrone is hard pressed by the Queen's troops; and, abandoned by most of his followers, he has taken refuge in the islands of Lough Erne, whence he sometimes makes a sally.

* Sir Thomas Parry. Cf. Calendar, State Papers. Domestic. 1601–1603, p. 222.

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The Queen being aware of the preparations at Corunna, and thinking that they might be intended to harass Ireland, has sent troops and ordered her fleet to take up a position suitable for intercepting the Spanish succours.

Paris, 9th September 1602.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1094. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Scottish Ambassador extraordinary has come here to congratulate the King on the discovery and punishment of Biron, and to thank his Majesty for the company of one hundred lances given, according to ancient custom, to the Prince of Scotland who shall be named by his father. All this with a view to securing the French support in the case of the death of the Queen of England.

Paris, 23rd September 1602.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1095. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England and the States of Holland both urge the King of France to attack Spain, because of the plots formed against him and his kingdom, and in order to finish the war in Flanders.

Paris, 23rd September 1602.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1096. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Spinola's galleys on their way to Flanders have touched at the ports of Brittany; they captured an English ship. The Queen begs that these galleys shall be forbidden to enter French harbours. Spinola has pledged himself, with his own and other six galleys that were in Ireland, to burn the shipping in the Thames. The Queen has been warned, and has fortified the mouth of the river; while English and Dutch will endeavour to prevent these galleys from pushing up the Channel. The Queen and the States are both building ships.

Paris, 7th October 1602.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1097. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have already informed your Serenity of the various steps taken by Archduke Albert to induce the Queen of England to come to terms. The King of Spain and the Archduke are both anxious for peace. Count Maurice is making great strides; and the army of the Archduke is in disorder. The Archduke has accordingly informed the Queen that certain terms will be proposed in his name, by which the States of Holland will receive some satisfaction; for

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a truce would be concluded for a certain time, during which, means for a complete pacification may be discovered.

The President Richardot is to have a conference with the first secretary, Robert Cecil. The Queen's inducement to peace is not so much to free herself from the expenses of the war, which are partially covered by the prizes she makes, but in order to secure a free commerce, and to allow her subjects to increase their capital. It was these considerations which always induced the Lord Treasurer, father of Cecil, to favour a peace policy; and it seems that his son will follow in his footsteps. Some say, however, that he has a certain affection for Spain. This is put about to rouse the Queen's suspicions against him. The Spanish will not grant a long truce, and the States insist that it shall last for years. The Ministers of both England and the States are seeking to alarm the King of France, for they cannot endure that he should be at peace, while they are in such travail. They want him to join them in a league and thus to finish up the Flanders war completely.

Paris, 21st October 1602.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Oct. 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1098. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The capture of Spinola's galleys by the fleets of the Queen of England and the Dutch is confirmed. It happened thus: Spinola's six galleys left Dieppe, and pushed on past Calais; they fell in with two Englishmen and attacked them. The English fired signals, and up came ten others. Spinola then tried to make Dunquerque, but fell in with other ships on the watch. Seeing no other way of escape they parted company, and took different routes. Two went ashore, one at Calais, and one at Dunquerque with Spinola himself on board; two others went to Nieuport, and nothing is known for certain of the other two, but it is feared that they have sunk at sea. The galley that went on shore at Calais was rendered useless by the liberation of the galley-slaves; for the laws of France do not permit slavery, and any slaves that reach France are at once set free. The Governor of Calais puts in some sort of claim to her fittings. Some money, mostly on board Spinola's galley, is said to have been found, and one thousand two hundred infantry, besides galley slaves to refit the seven galleys lying at Sluys.

Paris, 21st October 1602.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1099. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The disorders in Flanders, and the doubt as to what will happen on the death of the Queen of England, prevent any definite steps from being taken.

Paris, 4th November 1602.

[*Italian.*]

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Nov. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1100. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Earl of Tyrone is in great straits, abandoned by all his followers; he is doing all he can to secure the Queen's pardon.

Paris, 18th November 1602.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 18. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1101. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The conference between Cecil and Richardot has had no result. The Queen is not disposed to either peace or truce. Don Gascon Spinola, an important Minister of the Archduke, sent a Scotchman, called Humbey (? Mowbray*), with letters to Cecil, telling him that if Queen really wished for the good of her country he could pledge his soul that a means might be found. Cecil showed the letter to the Queen, who, while giving instructions as to the reply, was informed that the Scotsman was charged to murder Count Maurice. The Queen suspected that this was a ruse of the States to break off negotiations. But soon after the King of Scotland demanded him, on the charge of plotting against himself. The Queen surrendered him, and refused to reply to the letter he had brought.

Paris, 18th November 1602.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1102. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Pope, out of a desire to preserve the peace, has assured the King of France that Spanish armaments are intended for Ireland and Algiers, not for France. The King, however, is convinced that both he and the Pope are being tricked.

Paris, the last day of November 1602.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Dec. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1103. FRANCESCO CONTARINI and AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassadors in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I, Contarini, made my public entry into Constantinople last week; received with the usual ceremony. On arriving at the Embassy the customary banquet took place. A great many Turks, some of quality, were present; as well as the French Ambassador; the English Ambassador excused himself on the score of precedence.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 2nd December 1602.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 2. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1104. FRANCESCO CONTARINI and AGOSTINO NANI, Venetian Ambassadors in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday we had audience of the Grand Signor, with all the usual ceremonies. The banquet was extraordinarily splendid. The Grand Vizir frequently invited us to eat; and the conversa-

* Cf. Calendar of State Papers. Domestic. 1601–1603, pp. 249, 264, 290.

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tion was most cordial. When we went into the Sultan's presence, we found him of a cheerful countenance, smoking and turning his eyes with pleasure upon us as though to show that he saw us gladly. As the ship "Martinella" came into port she fired the usual salutes, and being very close in shore the shock broke some windows in the kiosk. The Azamogliani came out and made a row, demanding the master of the ship. I sent Borisi to the Bostangi Pasha to make apologies, and he took Borisi to see the damage; besides the broken glass the plaster had fallen on the rich carpets. The Bostangi accepted the excuses and asked for some sporting dogs.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 2nd December 1602.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 5. Original Minutes of the Senate, file 73, Venetian Archives.

1105. PETITION to the SENATE.

It is now some two years ago that certain English privateers seized and carried off to England a ship, Master Christoforo Cornelis of Hamburgh, bound from Lisbon to Venice with a cargo of sugar and other merchandize, the property of Venetian nobles and merchants, and valued at fifty thousand ducats and upwards. Last April these same Englishmen seized and carried off to England another ship, Master Diego Pires, likewise sailing from Lisbon to Venice, with a cargo of sugar and other goods, the property of Venetian nobles and merchants as in the previous case, to the value of twenty-five thousand ducats and upwards. Despatches from London bring news that one of the Queen's great galleons has captured a hulk (*urca*) named the "Speranza," Master Giaches Stin of Lubeck, and carried her to England; she was bound from Portugal to Venice with a cargo of sugar and other goods, owned as above, by Venetian nobles and merchants, and valued at fifty thousand ducats.

In the case of the first ship, the interested parties appealed to your Serenity, begging you to order the sequestration of English vessels lying here. That was done, but in spite of the sequestration the English escaped, and the goods, for reasons not vouchsafed to us to know, were set free. We, the interested parties, accordingly came to terms with an English merchant who was going home to London that we would give him so much per cent. on the value of all goods belonging to us which he should succeed in recovering; and although he has frequently written to say that he has done his utmost, and has used every diligence to recover something, we have had to advance from here three or four per cent. and more upon the whole value for current expenses.

In the case of the second ship, a special commissioner was sent with letters of recommendation from your Serenity to the Queen, in order to recover the stolen property. Although our agent used extraordinary diligence, and although recent letters from your Serenity to the Queen demanded restitution of your subjects' property, and notwithstanding that her Majesty seems to have written promising satisfaction, nevertheless not one of us has succeeded in obtaining his rights, nor does there appear to be any chance of his doing so.

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Will not, then, your Serenity grant us of your special grace our petition that one of your secretaries be sent to England, not only to recover the one hundred and twenty-five thousand ducats' worth of stolen goods, the property of your nobles and citizens, but also to make public representations in order that these vessels may for the future be restrained from plundering the property of Venetians? We are convinced that we shall easily obtain these favours from the Queen when they are demanded by a public agent in the public name; for we gather that her Majesty looks to deal with public officials seeing that she takes no notice at all of private agents.

Mr. Paul Pinder, on the strength of letters from the Queen obtained from your Serenity the appointment of judges and a decision in his favour in a far less obvious cause, and so in return we are sure to recover our gold and to secure ourselves for the future. It is well known to all the world that on other occasions your Serenity sent a secretary to Sicily and obtained full satisfaction.

Should it please your Serenity, we, the interested parties, offer with all reverence to bear the charges; and we assure your Serenity that our petition is made not so much in our personal interests as in those of the State, seeing how much your customs suffer; for unless some remedy be devised the trade in those ports will be entirely ruined, for it will be impossible to find anyone to insure in the face of such dangers, and if no one will underwrite, merchants will not consign cargoes in face of the grave risk. And we can assure your Serenity that recent orders for sugar have been cancelled on the receipt of the news about this last seizure of goods.

And certain remarks made here, lead us to think that no better nor more efficacious remedy can be found than the despatch of a representative of your Serenity, through whose agency the goods may be recovered, and matters arranged for the future, as this is a favour greatly desired by her Majesty, as we are informed. And with this we humbly kiss your Serenity's robe.

Referred to the *Savii*.

+5.—0.—0.

Ser Fancesco Molin
Ser Alvise Zorzi
Ser Alvise Bragadin
Ser Nicolò Sagredo
Ser Filippo Pasquiligo
} Councillors.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1106. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of France has intercepted letters from the King of Spain addressed to many of the French nobility urging them to throw off their allegiance to the King. It is obvious that Spanish policy is directed to creating internal divisions in France; and this receives confirmation from the fact that Spain is offering peace to England and to the States.

Paris, 7th December 1602.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

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1602.
Dec. 8. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1107. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of Spain is letting it be understood that he is willing to come to terms with the Queen of England if a reasonable and honourable peace can be devised.

Paris, 8th December 1602.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14. Original Minute of the Senate Register 95, Venetian Archives.

1108. THE PETITION just read sets forth the interest of the Petitioners in the ships seized by the English. Motion made that the Cabinet (*Collegio*) be called on to elect one of the Secretaries to the Senate to go at once to England at the sole charges of the interested parties; and to furnish him with letters and instructions.

+96.—44.—38.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1109. AGOSTINO NANI, retiring Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I will say no more about the miserable misfortune which befell the illustrious Signor Zuanne da Mosto when, returning from his consulate in Cairo, he was plundered by English buccaneers. If the pirates are, as is reported, at Modon disposing of their booty, I will do all I can to attempt its recovery. It will be difficult to root out the English from Zante, for there are seven English bertoni lying in the port, and though they are said to be merchantmen, more than one of them would not shrink from piratage.

Zante, 23rd December 1602.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 23. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1110. PIERO BONDUMIER, Venetian Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Reports arrival in Zante on the 21st of the Consul da Mosto whose ships had been seized and plundered by English pirates off Cape Malea. The damage amounts to one hundred thousand ducats. We have written to the Turkish Authorities in Modon.

Zante, 23rd December 1602.

[*Italian.*]

1603.
Jan. 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1111. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has sent to inform the Queen of England, through his Ambassador resident, that he holds the Duke de Bouillon guilty of conspiracy in concert with Spain, and he asks the Queen's advice in the circumstances. As the Duke de Bouillon, on account of his religion, has always enjoyed the favour of the Queen, the King hopes in this way to destroy it. The Queen returned thanks for the King's good opinion of her, but evaded an answer. She was

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pressed again, and then said she would instruct her Ambassador in France to reply. He was told to say that the Duke de Bouillon's rank and religion made it unlikely that he could have taken part in Biron's conspiracy, or had intelligence with Spain; that he was not the only one who favoured Condé, and she could not see why he alone should be punished. The Ambassador demanded an audience; but after keeping the King waiting two hours almost, he sent to plead a sudden indisposition.*

Paris, 6th January 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1112. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England has published an order that all Jesuits are to leave the kingdom within twenty days,† along with their dependants. Those who are not dependant on the Jesuits are to go out in thirty days.

The Earl of Tyrone has sought to be restored to favour on certain conditions, but orders have been sent that he must surrender at discretion.

Paris, 7th January 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8. Original Minutes of the College, Venetian Archives.

1113. SCARAMELLI'S COMMISSION.

That Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli, Secretary to the Senate, destined for a mission to Her Majesty the Queen of England, be instructed as follows:

We have been petitioned by interested parties to send a Secretary to the Queen of England to endeavour to secure restitution of goods stolen on the high seas; we thought fit to accede to this request, and have elected Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli to the post. He will start at once and make all speed with his journey. Arrived in London he will seek audience and present the credentials we give him, and will commend to her Majesty's attention the business committed to him. He is to thank her Majesty for all she may hitherto have done. He will stay in England as long as may be necessary, at the charges of the interested parties, who shall pay for his journey there and back, and if anything worthy of notice occurs he will report to us.

+ 22.—1.—0.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8. Original Minutes of the College, Venetian Archives.

1114. LETTER to the QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Much merchandize belonging to our subjects has been seized by the English on the open sea; we are sending our right trusty and circumspect Secretary of the Senate, Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli, to secure its restitution at the hands of your Majesty's singular justice,

* Sir Thomas Parry.

† Cf. Calendar of State Papers. Domestic. 1601–1603, pp. 260, 261, 263.

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and through the excellent disposition we are persuaded you hold towards us. We therefore beg your Majesty to lend the same credence to him as you would to us ourselves, &c.

+ 22.—1.—0.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 9. Original Minutes of the College, Notatorio 72, Venetian Archives.

1115. SECRETARY SCARAMELLI is going to England on public service; no officer or judge in this city shall allow him to be cited or named to his damage during the whole time of his absence.

+ 4.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1116. SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Some of the money the King has raised may be applied to a new expedition to Ireland. The presence of the Jesuit Father Manloni (Maloney ?) gives some colour to this. He was sent here last year with a view to his going to Ireland as Nuncio.

Valladolid, 11th January 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1117. PIERO BONDUMIER, Venetian Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Repeats despatch of December 23rd. Reports the mission of Giorgio Sumachi with authority to spend two hundred and fifty sequins upon inducing the lieutenant of the Sanjak of the Morea to go with him in person to Modon to recover the stolen goods and to punish the pirates.

Also persuaded the English merchants in this port to send out three of their own ships for the same purpose; but they affirmed that they would only sail to recover the goods, not to fight the pirates; for their ships were merchantmen unsuited for combat. Along with the English we sent Messer Francesco Mondino. The English ships were the "*Sacra*" (*La Nave Sacra*) and the "Darling" (*Darlina*). The third did not sail. They abandoned Mondino without any good cause, and I have examined the chief owners of these ships here resident and bound them over to appear at every call of justice.

Zante, 14th January 1602 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 14. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1118. ZUANE DA MOSTO, retiring Consul in Alexandria, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I left Alexandria on the 29th of November on board the "Veniera," Master Dandolo of Milo. On the 14th of December in the morning we were off Cape Malea, with a light head wind. We were attacked and captured by an English berton with a crew of about eighty men, of whom fifty were armed with muskets. They took

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all our weapons, and about thirty of them boarded us and kept us there for four days. We were in doubt as to our fate, for the majority wished to kill us so as to hide all traces of their guilt. They finally resolved to take our ship and to put us on board theirs. To do this at their ease they took us into the Channel of Sapienza. On the 19th they took us with them into Modon and cast anchor, giving us leave to go. We were in serious risk of being made slaves by the Turks. On the 21st we reached Zante, where I reported all to the illustrious Agostino Nani, who had arrived the same day. The captain of the English is a certain William Piers of Plymouth, England, and most of his crew hail from there as well.

Zante, 14th January 1602 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 15. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1119. PIERO BONDUMIER, Venetian Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Reports that when it suits them these villanous English spare neither friend nor foe. More than thirty a year pass the Straits of Gibraltar. They trade in cloth, and instead of landing it here as they used to do, they take it into Turkish ports, to the damage of Venetian customs dues. They have homes (*case ferme*) in all those ports. They bring broad-cloth, cables, tallow, iron, arms, sausages, &c., and take away silk, cotton, linen, indigo, gall nuts, carpets, camelots. They take their cloth into Ragusa and Ancona as well. They are made very welcome by the Turk, and are thoroughly acquainted with those waters of the Levant; so much so that even passengers do not think their lives safe except aboard an English vessel, although the fares are double.

Zante, 15th January 1602 [m.v.].

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

1120. LETTER from CONSUL DA MOSTO to the SANJAK of the MOREA.

Relates how he was captured. States that the English pirates have gone to Modon, where they are reported to have hired a whole house to store their booty.

Giorgio Sumachi the bearer is going to Modon to try to recover the goods; and for him the Sanjak's support is requested.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 16. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1121. PIERO BONDUMIER, Venetian Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Letters from Patras to Messer Francesco de Heriedi, French Consul here, give news that English pirates have brought a French ship into that port. As there are no signs of the crew it is supposed that they have been all murdered.

Zante, 16th January, 1602 [m.v].

[*Italian.*]

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1603.
Jan. 17.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1122. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Venetian Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The very day I reached this port, that was the tenth of this month, the luckless crew of the "Veniera" also arrived. She was plundered by the English, as your Serenity has been fully informed by my predecessor the illustrious Signor Piero Bondumier. These men had been to Modon to try to recover their ship; in this they failed, and on their way home, near the island of Sapienza, they were again attacked by another English ship and robbed of what little property remained to them, and of their vessel as well; two of their number were also carried off, and they were left with one little boat in very bad condition. She made so much water that they could not sail her, and were forced to land to sell her in Coron to certain Patinoti for a hundred sequins. With this money the luckless fellows paid their passage to Zante, as your Serenity will more fully understand from the depositions of the master and supercargo, herewith enclosed.

These strange occurrences taking place within so short a space of time have thrown into the greatest anxiety all who are concerned with trade in these parts; for if they escape the light boats (*fuste*) which swarm in these waters, they are caught and plundered by the bertoni; and so they know not what course to take. I will say no more on this point, which is quite worthy of your Serenity's attention.

Zante, 17th January 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 17.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1123. AGOSTINO NANI, retiring Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I enclose letters describing the plunder of Signor Zuanne da Mosto by the English. The case is desperate. *Care must be taken that the English and Turkish buccaneers do not establish themselves at Modon and Coron, to dispose of their booty, now that the action of the English Ambassador at Constantinople has cleared them out of Patras.*

Zante, 17th January 1602 [m.v.].

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Jan. 3.
Enclosed in preceding despatch.

1124. Report of GIORGIO SUMACHI to the GOVERNOR OF ZANTE, and to the AMBASSADOR NANI.

On your Excellency's orders I left for the Morea, with instructions to take the lieutenant of his Excellency the Sanjak and to go to Modon to recover the ship belonging to the illustrious gentleman Venier, on board of which the Consul of Alexandria, Ser. Zuanne da Mosto, was captured by an English pirate or his men. I left on the 15th December, a Wednesday, and reached Gastuni, where the officer was stationed, late at night. Next morning I presented myself to the official and handed your letters, at the same time, making the necessary verbal explanations. The officer said he was sorry for this accident, that he would have been glad

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to accompany me in person had he not just heard that his master the Sanjak was to arrive presently, but that if I wanted twenty-five or thirty of his men he would willingly send them with me, and would give them orders to do all that was possible towards the success of my mission. I replied that I did not want any of his men, I wanted himself; for the affair was of such moment that without his presence nothing of importance could be effected. I pointed out that as he was in command of the place where the offence had been committed against the orders of the Grand Signor, his Excellence the Bey would be ill pleased if no steps were taken; and I begged him to make up his mind to accompany me, for by so doing he would be carrying out the orders of the Grand Signor and of the Sanjak, his master, and would also be rendering a service to Venice, who would certainly report all to the Porte. He replied that I had better go to the old Bey, and show him my letters and let him settle. The Bey was not at his palace, but was away hunting, and I waited his return towards evening. I immediately presented myself, and handed him my letters, which he read. He then asked how this ship had been captured, and by whom. I replied fully, and he said he was willing to assist me in any way he could. I said that for the present he need do nothing but order the officer of his brother the Sanjak to accompany me, and to take all necessary steps in the matter as it was his duty to execute the orders of the Grand Signor. He summoned the officer and spoke to him in my presence, urging him to accompany me and to take all the necessary steps to capture the pirates and recover the goods. The officer replied that, as the Sanjak was expected hourly, he could not go in person, but would give me as many men as I wanted, and with all the instructions I might require. The Bey asked if that would satisfy me, but I replied that I would not move without the attendance of the officer, and that his Excellence must make up his mind, otherwise I would return home in obedience to my instructions. The Bey then said to the officer "You will have to go, to please these gentlemen; and "if my brother the Sanjak arrives I will go to meet him, and will "salute him in your name." The officer resolved to accompany me, but said "You must give me six hundred sequins for my "expenses." I replied "I have no orders to give you a penny in "this affair, as it is your duty to act as the Government official on "the spot." After more talk the Bey took the officer's hand and mine and made me promise him two hundred and fifty sequins, which I agreed to give him on my return. That same night we rode off, and on the second day we were in Arcadia; there we found four Turks who had come that very day from Modon. They told us that there was lying at Modon an English ship from Alexandria, selling spices, in this way: the captain and some of his men stay on shore and draw the money, upon which he writes an order for so much to be consigned on board the ship. Five days ago two vessels of Santa Maura seized two of this captain's men and took them to Coron, whereupon he went on board his own ship and arrested two Turks, and informed the people of Modon that he would restore them when his Englishmen were restored. That same day the governor of Modon

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sent to Coron and brought over the two Englishmen and handed them back to the captain in return for the Turks. The captain then came on shore and began selling again as usual. On the 20th we reached Modon. On the road we met a Turk who was carrying two letters to Messer Jonah Aldrich (*Giondˆ Aldriz*), an Englishman, one from the captain of the privateer, and the other from a certain Battista Guistinian of Chios. I took them both, and now enclose them that your Excellencies may see the contents.

When we got to Modon we met three English sailors about in the town, and we caused them to be watched without their being aware of it. As the captain was not on shore that day we sent a boat to the ship with this Battista Guistinian of Chios, who had been acting as middleman between the English pirates and the Turks for the sale of the pepper, hides, &c. We gave him orders to go on board and to say to the captain that the officer was come for his present, as governor of the place, and that if he did not sell fairly he would lose all his goods. This Battista went on board and delivered his message. The captain consulted with his men and agreed to go on shore with the present. He put two cases of pepper, a carpet, and some dates in the boat and got in himself, and shoved off; then he repented of this step and said "It is late for me to "come ashore with the present, but go you to the officer and tell "him that to-morrow morning I will come to pay my respects to "him and will bring his present with me." That was on the evening of the 20th of December, a Monday. That same night the English ship the Darling (?) (*Darlina*) arrived. She had on board Sig. Francesco Mondino. The ships saluted each other with a salvo of artillery and lay alongside each other. I do not know what communications passed between them during the night, but in the morning the Turkish official was still awaiting the visit of the captain with the present, and seeing no signs of him, Battista was again sent for the present, and took orders that the captain was to come ashore. The captain consigned the present to Battista, but said that he had no wish to come on shore. Just then Signor Francesco Mondino landed, and told me that during the night he had endeavoured to come to terms with the buccaneer that he should restore half the booty free and sell the other half as he was doing to the Turks. As for the ship the buccaneer refused to part with her on any terms; to which the captain had answered that he would reply in the morning. Mondino said he had now come to ask my opinion. I said he had better go back and make the best terms he could, for there was nothing else to be done, only the Englishman must not know anything of my presence. Signor Mondino replied to this that the buccaneer knew all about it already. He went away back to the ships to conclude the business and returned again in the afternoon with news that the Englishman refused to give back any of the goods for nothing, but said he was willing to sell though he asked a great deal more than he was taking from the Turks. And so upon this Signor Mondino set sail and went off. That was on the 21st. After Mondino sailed away the Turkish officer sent to me to say that as everything was discovered

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he had but little hope of success, but that I had better make up my mind what I wanted done so as to lose no time. I replied that if Battista could induce the captain to come ashore on some pretext, that would suit our purpose; accordingly we sent Battista on board with orders to say to the captain that the officer knew that the English ship had come for him; that he was to have no fears on any score; that he was to send another small present to the officer who had to leave, being summoned to meet his sovereign, and that when that was received the captain might freely come ashore to sell, because orders would be issued for his good treatment. Battista returned from the ship with two other cases of pepper and a message that the captain intended to put to sea for two or three days till the officer had left, and then he would return and continue his sale, and meantime he begged for satisfactory instructions on his behalf. Next morning, the 22nd, the ship sailed away. Then the officer summoned the commander and the judge of the city and secretly gave orders that if the Englishman returned he was to be detained with all his crew and information sent at once to himself. I said, "We ought to carry off with us the three English sailors," but he answered, "Well, one has escaped, and the other two have been consigned to the commander, to act as interpreters and tempt the others ashore, should the ship come back; but if the ship does not come back I will get the Bey to send for them at once." I could only consent, but I said that he ought to provide for the goods already sold so that they should not leave the city but should be placed in deposit till the affair is settled. The governor declared that the people of the place had bought nothing, everything had been sold to strangers who had carried it all off. The officer said, "This is a long business, and I have no time to spare here, but if you will get an order from Constantinople addressed to my Bey we will see that all proper steps are taken; only don't loose time over it." I said, "Well, if your Lordship can not stay here to take the proper steps at least give orders to the authorities here to do so;" but upon this the commander declared that he would not be mixed up in the affair. That same day we set out and next night we were at Navarino. There one overtook me and told me that bull and buffalo hides were hidden away in Modon to the number of about one thousand one hundred, which had been bought by the forementioned Battista; part of them he had on board a brigantine and part stored away with certain Turks who are lying in harbour with a small vessel. I at once informed the Turkish officer but he said, "We can do nothing now that we are embarked on our journey, but as soon as we get to Gastuni the elder Sanjak will issue orders about the matter." Next day we left and reached Gastuni on the 27th. I obtained the order and sent an officer with it to Modon, commanding the governor to seize, stamp, and impound the said hides till further orders. The Sanjak's lieutenant has written the letter I enclose, and on the evening of the 28th he started to meet his master and I left to return to Zante.

[*Italian.*]

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1603.
Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

1125. REPORT by FRANCESCO MONDINO.

I was ordered to embark on one of the three English ships here, the "Darling," Captain Thomas Cox (*Icox*), the "Cherubim" (*Cerebina*), Captain Abraham Claves, the "*Sacra*," Captain Thomas Cruder, and to sail to recover the captured ship the "Veniera." I embarked on the "Darling," on December 15th, and sailed for Modon or Sapienza. Captain Cox suggested that if we fell in with the English pirate we might induce him to take back the ship he had given to the Consul da Mosto in place of the "Veniera." On the 10th we came to Prodano. The captain of the "*Sacra*" and two other merchants came on board and we dined together. During dinner I said I had good hopes of succeeding, to which one of the merchants, called Benjamin Loch, replied that for his part as the wind was fair he would like to continue his journey straight to Chios. I said they ought not to break their promise like that; but both of them replied that they had no intention of fighting the Englishman for fear of trouble in England. They went back to their ship. Next morning, the 17th, we saw that she had deserted us and we were left alone with the ship exchanged for the "Veniera." We lay becalmed for four days off Prodano. A north wind then carried us into the channel of Modon and there we dropped anchor off Sapienza close to the "Veniera." She hailed us through a trumpet and asked our name; our captain replied by word of mouth that we were the English ship "Darling." The pirates then saluted with one salvo of loaded guns, we replied with blank shots. Their skiff then came aboard us. We asked what the other ship was. They replied that she was a Venetian which they had captured. Captain Cox and I went on board and began to bargain for the recovery of the ship and the goods. We were told that it was useless to speak of the ship, but as to the goods he was willing to sell them to us for ready money if we could agree on the price. While we were arguing, news was received from the Jews of Zante that five ships were coming to recover the booty and that the pirates would be arrested if they landed, and so they warned them to keep aboard their own ship with a good guard. While talking, the table was laid and we were invited to dine. The captain of the privateers during dinner said to Captain Cox "We are afraid of no one," and then he asked where the Venetian fleet lay. Towards evening came a boat with a message for me that Messer Giorgio Sumachi wished to speak to me. I found him with the Sanjak's lieutenant and we all went to see the governor. I complained of this shelter given to pirates. They replied that they were ignorant that this merchandise was stolen property. They told me the English pirate had married a Turkish wife; he had given her fifty sequins and silk dresses, and other fifty sequins to her father. They said there was nothing for it but to fight the Englishman. I went back on board my ship, but found that the captain declined to fight. In agreement with Sumachi, next day I went on board the corsair, offered to buy all the merchandize, but could conclude nothing owing to their extravagant demands. I told him that this

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was a very serious matter, as he had affronted a representative of your Serenity, and sooner or later he would have to pay the price, and that the Queen his mistress would take steps about it. He said, "I'll be punished for little just the same as for much. Get about your business; I won't give you anything, for money or without money." Captain Cox said to him that he had ruined the Levant trade and earned a halter. That the Queen would punish him—for everyone was calling out. He simply said "I may as well lose my life for a lot as for a little; and I would have done more if I could." I was afraid from his angry countenance that he might seize me; so I cleared out as fast as possible and went back to my ship, where Sumachi was waiting me. I told him all, and advised him to take away with him the three English he had seized in Modon. While I was dining with the Englishman a certain Battista of Chios came on board from the lieutenant to ask for a present. He was given a big table cloth, and a sack of pepper. The corsair's name is William Piers. His ship carries twenty guns and seventy to eighty men.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 15. Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

1126. DEPOSITION of the MASTER and SUPERCARGO of the ship "VENIERA."

Examined in the Chancery; a man of great height, clad in black camelot, with a greenish cloth waistcoat, a brown beard, and showing apparently thirty-five years of age. Asked his Christian and surnames, who his father was, what his country and profession, he replied, "I am called Zan Battista Cigrigne, son of the late Messer Nicolò of Venice. My business is that of supercargo. Lately I was serving on board the ship "Veniera and Company." Asked where the "Veniera" now was and from what port she had sailed, he replied, "We left Alexandria on November the twenty-ninth, new style, and the ship was captured by an Englishman." Asked who was in command and who were the passengers, he said that the master was called Dandolo da Milo, and the passengers were the illustrious Zuan da Mosto, lately Consul in Alexandria, Ottavian da Mosto, his nephew, a Dominican father with some of his catechumens, and a certain merchant named Alessandro Coglioni, who lived in Venice. Asked as to the way in which the ship was captured, where and by whom, he answered "While on our way from Alexandria and when off Cape Matapan, close by Cerigo, on the 14th of December last, we fell in with an Englishman having on board a crew of about ninety hands, all armed everyone of them with muskets. She came alongside and ordered us to shorten sail. We did so, thinking they were friends. They lowered a boat, some of them got in and came aboard of us. They asked what ship we were and whence we hailed, and we answered, 'Venetian from Alexandria, with the Consul da Mosto on board.' They asked where were the merchants, and Signor Alessandro Coglioni replied, 'Here I am.' They then asked me for the bill of lading and took me and it and Signor Alessandro aboard their own vessel to their captain. In the captain's cabin the captain asked what vessel

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we were, if we had Spanish goods or Spaniards aboard; I replied that we had neither. After a bit he took the bill of lading and examined it for an hour with great care; then he handed it me back. This he did two or three times. At length evening came on and he kept me and the bill of lading on board all night Next day they brought two more of our crew on board the stevedore (*penese*) whose name I do not remember, and the ship's carpenter, called, I believe, Anastasi of Candia. Thus we lay three days during which another vessel hove in sight and the English gave chase, but could not catch her. After that they carried us into a harbour, below Sapienza, on the top of the tide. Then they began to unlade some senna and cassia, the property of Coglioni, deck cargo, which they thought of no value, and part they threw into the sea. When they had landed what they wanted they came on board us again and forced open all the chests and took what they chose. After plundering the ship they had our own chests brought on board their vessel, and their captain told the illustrious da Mosto that his men wanted to kill us all, and showed him a bloody dagger with which he said he had stabbed his own men to prevent them doing us an injury. He then took his leave from his own vessel, and carried off all the artillery and armour, leaving behind only the sails and four pieces, three small and one broken. His ship was a rotten old hulk, and in her we reached this port on the twenty-second of last month." Asked why he had not made deposition before, he said that they were immediately sent off again in this vessel and in company of two Englishmen by the Proveditore and the Bailo Nani to endeavour to recover our and their property if possible, as it was reported to be at Modon. "We went upon compulsion. Signor Mondino was on board, a gentleman of Zante, and the chief of the artillery. One of our escorts left us and never appeared again; the other, after being two days out of sight was sighted again, though in the offing. On the morning of December 30th, another Englishman with a crew of forty-six came down on us and plundered us again of what little remained, and took our vessel also, as it was bigger than his. He put us on board his after taking everything out of her. He sent us off the next day when we were hard by Sapienza, after keeping two of our crew, the carpenter and the steward; of whom we have had no news. That was a Tuesday. On Wednesday and Thursday it blew a gale and we split our foresail and the ship heeled over, so that we gave ourselves up for lost. On Friday it fell calm and on Saturday evening we made Sapienza and entered the channel, hoping to find our consort; we beat up for Modon, but the wind was ahead and as we had no sails, nor drinking water, and three feet of water in the hold, we put about for Coron, where we fell in with a ship belonging to some Patinoti which succoured us by lashing us up to their own ship. We disembarked and left the vessel there, selling her for one hundred sequins with which we paid our journey back to Zante by way of Castel Tornese." Asked how many they were, he said eighteen. Asked what cargo there was on the first ship he said that it was all noted on the

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bills of lading and included silver plate and money belonging to the Consul da Mosto. Asked if any one received bodily injury, he said, "No, except one of the two sailors, who were carried off, he received cuffs." Asked if the Englishman fell in with them by chance or on information; he said they fell in by chance for they had been at sea all the time.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

1127. DEPOSITION of the MASTER of the "VENIERA."

A man of ordinary height, with a white beard and a jacket of purple cloth, lined with fur; above forty years of age called Dandolo da Millo, son of the late Messer Costantin Chiriaco, by profession a sailor; at present, master on board the ship "Veniera and Company"; sailed from Alexandria with a full cargo belonging to various owners, and with the illustrious Zuanne da Mosto the Consul, his nephew, a friar, and another gentleman; sailed on the 29th of November for Venice. When off Matapan fell in with an English brig, manned by one hundred hands, all armed, with eighty muskets and eighteen pieces of artillery. She boarded us as a friend, and carried the supercargo on board their own ship. Kept us lying there four days, and then took us to within four miles of Modon. There they sacked the ship, helping themselves to what they liked, from clothes upwards. What they did not want they put on board their own vessel, which was in very bad condition and leaky. They cleared our ship of a certain amount of senna and cassia, and other things which we brought on here. On arriving here we were sent off again against our will by the Proveditore and the Bailo Nani, in company of two English vessels, on board one of which was Francesco Mondino. We lost the two Englishmen in consequence of bad weather; but one was soon met again two days later. I begged it to stand by us as we had neither powder nor arms, nor food. The master promised supplies in the morning; but by morning she was between ten and fifteen miles off. A brigantine bore down on us; she was about sixty tons burden and had fifty men on board, well armed, but she looked as if she would go to the bottom, so leaky was she. She lay by us a day and a half, and then after taking all that remained to us and our ship as well, we were put on board her with only a small anchor and cable of four lire the fathom; she was in a bad way, without provisions, without water, with only a few biscuits. They sent us off after keeping the steward and the carpenter. The first vessel had also taken two of our crew. In dirty weather we made for Cerigo; then came on a gale which split our foresail and made the ship heel. We were two hundred and thirty miles from Zante, and the wind due north, so we made for Sapienza to seek our consort, but could not find her. We passed out of the channel by its other mouth, so as not to be wind bound. Off Cape Gallo we sighted the first ship that had plundered us. A gale sprang up from the south-west, and as we had from three to four feet of water in the hold and pumps going day and night, we held a council of twelve and decided to strand her.

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We ran under Coron and got out the little anchor as well as we could, then all escaped ashore. The vessel touched a shoal first of all, and then the swell carried her on shore. A Patinote vessel helped us that night, preventing her from breaking up, and the next day we agreed to sell her. We came on in eighteen or nineteen days to Castel Tornese, and there embarked in two boats which brought us all to Zante. Asked if he or any of his men had suffered bodily harm, he replied, "No, sir, except the four men who were carried off. I believe the first ship fell in with us by chance, but the others said they were waiting for us as they were told of our coming before we left Zante; but I cannot imagine by whom."

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 17. Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

1128. DEPOSITION of a SAILOR.

A man of medium height, in a pale blue cloth jacket, roan coloured breeches, pale blue waistcoat; with a scanty beard and moustaches; about twenty-eight years old. His name is Zuanne Faciolo, son of the late Bernardin, from this side of the Po di Goro in the Ferrarese, but he has always lived in Venice, where he was taken at five years of age. He has his wife and mother-in-law living in Venice, at San Gregorio, in the Corte del Navaro, and is a sailor by profession. He arrived in Zante to-day from Patras, and before that he had been in Candia, after taking a cargo of wood to Siracuse. They sailed for Corfu and thence to Candia. On the return journey, being heavily laden with wine, cheese, and carubian beans, when twenty miles off Cerigo, they fell in with an English ship. The English ran alongside and said they were friends, and that the master was to come aboard. The English fired a round of musketry, and our captain, in a panic, let himself down by the stern into the boat and escaped, for it was dark, and the English lay on our bow; with him went all the crew and four soldiers, and I was left alone at the helm, in company with five Greek peasants, who were going to Venice about some law suits. The master and his crew made for the shore. Ten of the English came aboard the ship and slept there. Next morning they plundered the ship, taking the ten pieces of artillery that we had, and sixteen casks of Muscat wine, four sacks of nuts, twenty-two of bread—we had more than two hundred—some barrels of oil, bales, powder, and the sailors' clothes. I begged them to leave me my belongings, and they left me all I asked. They kept me with them four days on board the ship, and then let me go along with the five Greek peasants, and I put about for Barbary, and then for Candia. When I was off Gozzo I fell in with another Englishman that had plundered a French brigantine laden with linseed. These English robbed me of all that the others had left. They carried me into Patras, where they sold their booty. The master of the Frenchman was called Olivier, and I am told he came here to Zante; I have letters from him for his Consul. The first Englishman that attacked us had no more than three pieces of artillery and twenty-four men, whereas we had ten pieces and a crew of twenty-five. The master would not fight. Indeed he said during that journey that the ship was fully insured, and that he did

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not intend to take her to Venice, as she was insured for seven thousand ducats. On being asked if there was wood from the forest of San Marco on board the ship on her first voyage, he replied "No." He added, "we cruised about for four days, and let the Venetian ship drift; then one morning we saw her founder, for she had been making water. We ran into Patras on board the Englishman, and there I stayed eight or nine days. I asked the English to give me something to help me to get away for I had nothing, to which they answered, 'bad for you, good for me,' but the last day they gave me ten lire, with which I set out. I came here in three days. I don't know the names of the English, except that I heard one called Bernardin."

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1129. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador has had an audience in which he spoke in favour of the Duke de Bouillon, but knowing that the subject was distasteful he did so with great reserve. He was answered that the Queen was not well informed of what the Marshal had done. The Ambassador said it was hard to believe that the Duke could have acted as was alleged; but the Queen of England never intended her affection towards the Duke to condone any bad conduct towards his Sovereign.

The Ambassador proposed a league of England and France against Spain. The Queen promised to land thirty thousand men in Spain if the King would also invade it from Navarre with the same number. The Queen was moved to make this proposal not so much out of hatred to Spain as from a desire to lighten the burden of war. The King's reply showed no inclination to such a league.

Paris, 20th January 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1130. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The person intrusted with the negotiations to facilitate a peace between the Archduke and the States is the same Cœmans who was employed in England on a similar mission. Although the Queen is not expressly named they can do nothing without her knowledge and consent.

Paris, 3rd February 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

Feb. 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1131. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I reached Calais on the last of January so early in the day that I might have embarked for England as two ships were to sail the same night for that island which is only seven leagues, or twenty-five Italian miles distant. I would have done so had not Signor

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Duke of Aerschot has a sumptuous palace in that district; and in Mons, where he is residing as Governor of Hainault, he was told that they would put it to fire and sword unless he sent them twelve thousand florins, which he did without delay. This Duke of Œrschot, who is the son of the one who died in Venice, is likely to succeed to the command of the Flanders cavalry, if the Admiral of Aragon is relieved of the post, and so the hopes of Don Giovanni de' Medici are dying away. The object of Federico Spinola's sally from Sluis was to plant a fort on the island of Tragusa (?) in Zealand, which would be a serious menace to Flushing, a fortress belonging to the States, and held by the Queen of England as security for a debt; Spinola's design was thwarted and he returned to Sluis, where he has nearly rebuilt the whole of his flag ship. Spinola has not succeeded in keeping his proposal made to the King of Spain, to maintain these galleys out of the booty they acquired, and so the King will either have to pay up the arrears or to see the squadron disbanded.

These coasts of Picardy, Normandy, and Brittany, on as far as Gascony, the ocean shores of the kingdom of France, are exposed to extraordinary molestation by the English corsairs, in their local trade. The Governor who uses all courtesy towards me as servant of your Serenity, told me that it was impossible that things should remain in their present state, for every day fresh complaints were being sent to the King, and all of these are forwarded to his Majesty's Ambassador resident in London; and so as matters are on such a footing it is possible that this may be of use to me in that particular article of my mission to the Queen, explained to me by the Illustrious Sig. Nicolo Tron, and other representatives of the interested parties, namely, the assent to free trade from Lisbon to Venice, if not without examination, (to which the French King has consented), at least without vexation. I shall not fail to attend to this point, but at the right moment when I know whether or not the whole or a part of the goods stolen by English pirates will be restored.

Calais, 4th February 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1132. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I arrived in London on the seventh, and found that the Queen had gone eight days ago to Richmond, a palace suited to the season, and ten miles out of the city. To save time, while preparing to give formal notice of my arrival, I sent to Court to inform Secretary Robert Cecil that I was here. Through his hands pass all the affairs of the Government, and to him I made fitting representations for obtaining an audience of her Majesty. He showed that he was already aware of my arrival which had been reported to the Queen by the Governor of Dover the very hour of my landing in that port. He gave me welcome and informed me that her Majesty would see me gladly and that my messenger was to come again when he would receive a definite answer about the audience. As

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yet I have visited secretly the Treasurer and the Grand Chancellor,* who are here. They are the heads of the Privy Council which will deal with my business. Although these gentlemen live not like Ministers, but like so many Kings, they made use of most honourable expressions and words, displaying the high esteem in which they held the Serene Republic, and made many offers of their service to your Serenity.

My audience was fixed for yesterday, for us the first day of Lent, for the English, old style, the feast of the Purification, the day on which all the festivities which are celebrated from Christmas to Candlemas are brought to a solemn close. When I was on the point of getting into my carriage to reach Richmond at two o'clock in the afternoon, according to instructions received from the Lord Chamberlain, a gentleman-in-waiting on the Queen arrived post haste to say that urgent business, which had unexpectedly arisen, compelled her Majesty to postpone my audience till next Sunday. I am told by the Italians who were with me at the moment that it is almost the invariable custom to act so here for no other reason than haughtiness, and that her Majesty had sometimes treated the French Ambassador in this fashion, and quite recently the Duke of Bracciano, and the Duke of Nevers, when they were over here. I made a very modest answer to the gentleman-in-waiting, which seemed to please him, and I will now adapt myself to the times and the circumstances.

The Queen, who is in her seventy-first year, is in excellent health, as I hear on all sides, and in perfect possession of all her senses; as she neither eats nor sleeps except at the call of nature, everyone hopes and believes that her life is much further from its close than is reported elsewhere. The safety of her realm is based on secure foundations, and she lives light-heartedly though all negotiations for peace with her enemies are broken off.

In Ireland, a province of this kingdom, some disturbances directed against the Queen and initiated by the King of Spain, are still on foot. And for no less than two months the King of France has been urging the Queen to restore to her favour the Earl of Tyrone, head of the revolution, who under this protection is supplicating pardon. The Queen refuses, some say because she is burning for vengeance, but those who study the matter more closely declare that the Queen knows that to pardon their leader would not quiet the insurgents, who, relying on the Catholic Faith, do not demand pardon nor fear attack in those dense forests. It is also supposed that the Queen desires to secure the advantage of time in the matter. Meanwhile as she always keeps her eye on naval affairs, she has equipped eight new galleons of war, to be sent out this year, not in the name of the English nation but as the Queen's private ships; these, when added to four others of the same sort, and to the squadron furnished by the guild of merchants, which are now cruising in various directions towards the Indies and the coast of Spain, will form a total of sixty vessels.

* Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, and Egerton, the Lord Keeper.

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In Scotland the King has discovered two conspiracies against his person on the part of his own subjects. The prudence with which he conducts his affairs and holds them balanced between all the Powers of Christendom is the subject of general admiration. It is a matter of serious consideration that the Queen who is so cautious tacitly permits the Ambassador of the French King, who was lately sent to Scotland to reside in Edinburgh; and the conclusion is that her Majesty desires to see the King of Scotland supported in his claims to the English succession by France rather than by Spain.

London, 13th February 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 15
Original Minute of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

1133. To the QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Great damage is being done and large booty made by the English who infest these seas. The English illtreat and plunder all alike. More especially, a short time ago near the isle of Zante, the galleon "Veniera" was seized by a ship under the command of William Piers, of Plymouth. The "Veniera's" cargo was entirely the property of Venetians, and was destined for this city, and on board her was a Venetian nobleman, a public servant, on his way back from his consulate in Alexandria.

This and the other acts of piracy committed on the high seas, tend to destroy the ancient trade between our respective countries. To meet this mischief it is necessary that both parties should concur, your Majesty with prudence and justice, ourselves by a similar response, for the common good.

For this purpose we have expressly charged Secretary Scaramelli to negotiate with you for compensation for the losses suffered; and we beg you to yield to our Secretary the same credence as you would give to ourselves; and we pray God to preserve your Majesty in wealth and all happiness.

+ 130.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 15.
Original Minute of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

1134. To the SECRETARY in England.

The ship "Veniera" with the Consul da Mosto on board, and laden with goods belonging to various nobles of this city, has been captured by ships belonging to the English, from whom, in view of our excellent treatment of them, we would never have looked for injury.

This unexpected news has greatly annoyed us. We are certain from other indications that such misdeeds must be abhorrent to her Majesty, and so we have resolved to address to her the enclosed letter, which you are to present, and at the same time to make representations in the sense of our intention; that is, you are in suitable and weighty words to draw attention to this grave excess, to our just resentment and the need for punishing in every way these villains, who are unworthy to live under the glorious standard of her Majesty. The suitable means for such punishment would be not only to publish a severe sentence against them and to confiscate

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all their property in England, but to give express orders to the Captains of all vessels that if they fall in with William Piers, of Plymouth, or others who commit such villanous deeds, they are to punish them. Enclosed you will find letters from the Consul da Mosto and from the Governor of Zante, with all particulars, letters from the Queen to us, and our orders to the Commander-in-Chief. All this information will enable you to make such representations as we confidently look to from your prudence.

And to put an end to such misdeeds it would be very advisable that the Queen should exact from all those who sail away from England, caution money against any damage they may inflict on our possessions. But this you will advance only after you are satisfied of the Queen's good will and intention to punish the crimes already committed.

You will not omit to take all vigorous action with the Ministers in order to attain your object in so important a matter as this.

Further motion made to summon the chief English merchants here resident to appear before the Cabinet, where his Serenity with grave and suitable words shall point out that the news of these excesses has caused extreme displeasure; for while the English are so well treated in every part of our dominions we receive such a poor return. And he will advise them to use all their influence to secure the cessation of these misdeeds.

+ 130.

Feb. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1135. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen and Council being fully informed both by Paul Pinder*, an intimate of Secretary Cecil, and by me of the deliberations taken by your Serenity, and of the causes for my visit to England, my audience of the Queen was fixed for Sunday, the sixteenth of this month. On Saturday evening one of the Queen's fifty pensioners came to me and informed me that by her Majesty's commands he was to fetch and escort me to her presence the following day at two o'clock in the afternoon.

When the hour for starting came, which the pensioner and I had awaited all Sunday morning, I went to Richmond in spite of the bad weather. I was received at the foot of the stairs by several gentlemen who made use of courteous expressions out of regard for your Serenity. At the top of the stairs the Lord Chamberlain awaited me and introduced me into the room they call the Presence Chamber, and immediately after that into the room where her Majesty was.

The Queen was clad in taffety of silver and white, trimmed with gold; her dress was somewhat open in front and showed her throat encircled with pearls and rubies down to her breast. Her skirts were much fuller and began lower down than is the fashion in

* Paul Pinder; apprentice in 1594–5 of Henry and Jacob Parvis, currant merchants in Venice. Cf. also Calendar of State Papers. Domestic, 1601–1608, p. 166.

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France. Her hair was of a light colour never made by nature, and she wore great pearls like pears round the forehead; she had a coif arched round her head and an Imperial crown, and displayed a vast quantity of gems and pearls upon her person; even under her stomacher she was covered with golden jewelled girdles and single gems, carbuncles, balas-rubies, diamonds; round her wrists in place of bracelets she wore double rows of pearls of more than medium size. Her Majesty was seated on a chair placed on a small square platform with two steps, and round about on the floor and uncovered were the Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitan of England, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord High Admiral, the Secretary of State and all the Privy Council; the remainder of the Chamber was all full of ladies and gentlemen and the musicians who had been playing dance music up to that moment.

At my entry the Queen rose, and I advanced with reverences made in due order, and reaching her was in act to kneel down upon the first step and to kiss her robe, but her Majesty would not allow it, and with both hands almost raised me up and extended her right hand, which I kissed with effusion, and at the same moment she said, "Welcome to England, Mr. Secretary. It was high time that the Republic sent to visit a Queen who has always honoured it on every possible occasion." I withdrew a step or two, and suiting my discourse to her lead, I replied, in substance, that a variety of circumstances had for many years prevented her Majesty from hearing from the lips of an Envoy, especially accredited by the Serene Republic of Venice, any new attestations of the great affection and reverence which the Republic has always felt to the person of Her Majesty and of the high esteem in which her wide and noble kingdom is held in Venice. But that, although much time had lapsed, and with it many of us, the Republic, which remains the same for ever, had never lost her ardent desire to please her Majesty, and to display that fullness of affection with which she has always honoured and reverenced her Majesty, and has continually desired her long life and happiness. That if Her Majesty honoured the Republic on every occasion, the reason was because she knew that the Republic had always preserved an affection for her; and seeing that your Serenity fully responded in all frankness to her sentiments, I only wished that I were adequate to express the sense of obligation and of gratitude; but that I was bringing her an occasion to prove, by present acts of justice, what she had already assured me in most gracious words to be the tenour of her sentiments.

Then before entering on the first point of my commission, I, in the name of your Serenity, congratulated her on the excellent health in which, by the grace of God, I found her, and I assured her that the entire Serene Republic wished her every prosperity and satisfaction.

As her Majesty made no reply, although at this point of my address I made a full stop, I embarked upon my business, and after presenting my credentials, I briefly recalled the excellent treatment which her Majesty's subjects enjoyed in the States of your Serenity, and on the other hand, the gravity of the excesses committed by

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the English corsairs, and the serious nature of the damage inflicted on Venetian subjects for some years past; also how much your Serenity had it at heart that her Majesty should speedily cause the restoration of the booty, and finally touching on the reciprocal importance that the world should see the result of the mission of one of your Serenity's Secretaries to this kingdom for so just a request.

The Queen, who held your Serenity's letter in her hand, passed it to the Secretary who opened it and gave it back to her, her Majesty took it, sat down, and read it all through. Then rising to her feet again, she handed it back to the Secretary; her countenance, which had hitherto been placid and almost smiling, assumed a graver aspect, and she said "I cannot help feeling that the Republic of Venice, during the forty-four years of my reign, has never made herself heard by me except to ask for something, nor for the rest, prosperous or adverse as my affairs may have been, never has she given a sign of holding me or my kingdom in that esteem which other princes and other potentates have not refused. Nor am I aware that my sex has brought me this demerit, for my sex cannot diminish my prestige nor offend those who treat me as other Princes are treated, to whom the Signory of Venice sends its Ambassadors. But I am well aware, and so far I excuse the Republic, that in the many discussions on this subject she has not been able to obtain leave from certain Sovereigns. But for all this I would not be discourteous to her, though I would have you know that this kingdom is not so short of men that some bad ruffians may not be found among them. As the question touches my subjects, however, I will appoint Commissioners who shall confer with you and report to me, and I will do all that in me lies to give satisfaction to the Serene Republic, for I would not be discourteous"; with that she again sat down to listen to me. I replied, "Madame, it is with pleasure that I learn that your Majesty has reigned, and worthily, for forty-four years over your ample dominions, for this makes it certain that your Majesty is no novice in the affairs of this world, and will therefore know that Princes must govern according to circumstances. I will therefore say nothing as to the first point, except that the Republic of Venice, a great Sovereign, and free thanks be to God, although she proceeds with every consideration towards those who merit it, has never adopted the principle of consulting any Prince in the world as to her decisions, be he secular or ecclesiastic, and in this attitude she will, by God's grace, ever remain." Her Majesty was persuaded of the truth of this answer and then, almost always smiling, she stood on foot till the close of my audience. Before I took my leave I added, that as she desired, for her better information, to appoint Commissioners, I begged her to do so at once, reminding her that services are the more graceful the more readily and at first hand they are granted. To which the Queen replied "Yes, I mean to do so, and I will let you know about it. But I do not know if I have spoken Italian well, still I think so, for I learnt it when a child, and I believe I have not forgotten it."

She then graciously gave me her hand once more to kiss, which I did yet again, and she said these very words "I will not

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detain your Lordship any longer." With that I took my leave and returned to London that same evening.

This morning her Majesty sent to say that she had named the Lord High Admiral, the Secretary of State, and the Privy Councillor, Edward Wotton, to hear my requests and to report them to her; and they almost immediately afterwards sent to inform me that if convenient, the meeting would be held to-morrow afternoon in the house of the Lord High Admiral. I readily acceded and so it will take place. The representatives of the interested parties shall be duly informed of the issue.

London, 19th February 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1136. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The States are in debt to the Crown of England for upwards of a million of gold; they pay this back at the rate of one hundred thousand ducats a year. Last year they succeeded in obtaining exemption, and they wish for the same this year. They have accordingly submitted to her Majesty an account of all their expenditure on the war with the King of Spain, and show that this year, between garrisons and field forces, they will have three hundred companies of infantry in their service, and thirty-three companies of cavalry, all of these are paid month by month. Besides this, there is the cost of the fortifications, of weapons, of artillery, ammunition, and rations for the forces, including eight full-rigged ships (vascelli da cheba), and smaller vessels to the number of one hundred and fifty. The Queen, however, so far, has made difficulties about postponing payment of the quota, on the ground that she too is in need of money for precisely the same reasons, and as a matter of fact her income is small, her expenditure great, and she can hardly be said to have any treasure at all except the jewels I have spoken of, which are held to be as valuable as they are reputed. But, as her Majesty is deeply interested in the fate of Ostend, and does not wish ever to fail to feed the flame of war in Flanders, the Envoy of the States who is here tells me that he is not without hopes of obtaining what he so earnestly seeks. The Queen's ships are being manned, but not without using the violence of the press-gang in seizing men in the streets of London to send them on board, whether they like it or no; and they say that the agreement was that the squadron should be ready next month at latest to join twenty ships belonging to the States to assist Ostend, and to block the harbour of Dunquerque, with the Archduke's ships inside. But the eight ships cannot take the sea so soon, and consequently cannot effect a junction with the Dutch.

A large English ship called "The Royal Exchange," arrived here three days ago from Syria. Her cargo is worth, they say, three hundred thousand ducats, between indigo, silk, spices, drugs, bombazine (*filadi*), and other goods. All this in other days would have been discharged at Venice.

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On the 17th instant a wretched master of a French ship presented himself to the French Ambassador. His whole cargo had been plundered by English corsairs. It was shipped for Spain, and was worth forty thousand ducats. Twenty of the crew were slain, and the English abandoned the hull, stripped of everything down to the tackle.

On the eighteenth the Ambassador lodged a serious complaint with the Queen.

London, 19th February 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

Feb. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1137. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Venetian Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A Genoese named Giovanni Battista Valle entered the port of Chieri in this island on the 6th of last month. He had sailed a few days before from Zante with two Flemish ships which he had chartered in Venice for a voyage to Chios, Milo, and Volo. He reported that off Sapienza he fell in with two English corsairs who bore down upon him with flags flying and decks cleared for action. He too cleared for action, and the English after cruising off and on for a bit, sailed away.

Zante, 19th February 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1138. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Venetian Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

What I feared has happened. The English have plundered the caramusale "Sicuro" in the port of Metala. I had sent her for grain. They took all the money intended for the purchase of the grain, and two pieces of artillery. No one knows what has become of nine men of the crew. The inhabitants of this island are in despair at the destruction of their hopes.

Zante, 19th February 1603.

[*Italian.*]

1139. DEPOSITION of ANTONIO LASE, supercargo on board the "Sicuro."

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

When outside Cephalonia we sighted an English ship to south She drew up to us and fired six rounds, three with ball and three blank. We lowered sail and went on board to ask what they wanted and to tell them who we were. They enquired whether we could give them provisions, water and a pilot. Signor Sicuro sent them a barrel of wine, some bread and a man called Battista Corsari of Zante. We eventually made the harbour of Petala. The Englishman followed us all the way, and in the morning we sent to recover our man; while the two Signori Sicuro went on shore with all their money. They bought some fish and returned on board at dinner time, still with the money on them. Our boat was not back yet from the Englishman, so Signor Sicuro sent the jolly boat

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to fetch him and to carry a big fish to the English. We went to dinner and soon after we saw a boat leave the English and come towards us. She had about twenty English in her and one of our men. We consulted as to whether we should fire, but as the boat came on we recognised our man, and let her draw up. They came on board and we got ready our weapons; but they went swaggering about, and one of them gave a sword cut to an old sailor who was standing by. Then Signor Girolamo Sicuro jumped into the ship's boat, and the rest either into the sea or into the boat. Signor Alessandro Sicuro, myself and three others were left alone on board. I drew my sword to defend myself, but the others did nothing. While fighting with one Englishman another wounded me in the neck with a pike, and also another sailor and a boy. Then they bound us all with cords and proceeded to plunder the ship. They took all the money and the clothes which they found, unhinged the rudder, and seized two guns. They then went back to their ship. Two of them were wounded; the captain by me, and another by Nicolo Romano. I never saw the men we sent on board the Englishman again. Asked if he knew any of these English, he replied that he knew two or three whom he had seen on other occasions in Zante.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1140. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Venetian Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English are becoming absolute masters of these waters; for apart from rapine and robbery perpetrated daily on all sorts of vessels, and more especially upon those of your Serenity's subjects, they are utterly supplanting your subjects in the carrying trade, weakening your customs and ruining the merchant service, as your Excellencies must be well aware. The English are not satisfied with having absorbed Venetian trade in the West entirely, but are devoting themselves to a similar object in the Levant. They trade in their own ships to the ports of Alexandria, Alexandretta, and Smyrna and other Turkish cities in Asia Minor, and in the Archipelago, where our ships only used to trade, to the great benefit of the State and of private individuals. All this merchandize they carry to these ports and make bargains for return cargoes without paying any customs dues above the ordinary, which is very light. In my opinion were they rendered liable to the new tariff, of which I shall speak further on, one of two things would happen, either they would abandon the trade on account of its burdens, as our merchants have been forced to do in England, or else your Serenity's customs would be enriched, and then the loss inflicted by the English competition would be diminished, until such time as your wisdom shall discover the true remedy.

Your Serenity is at present defrauded of a large part of the benefit of the new tariff by the English, for out of the various merchandize which they bring from the West they only pay on four articles, wool, kerseys (*carisee*), broad cloth, and tin. They cover

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themselves by a quibbling interpretation of the law of January 26th, 1580, wherein, as a matter of fact, no articles except these four are specified, and the tariff fixed for each one; but the law contains these further words, "and other goods," which cover all the kinds of merchandize they carry; although I am informed that they never have paid, and do not now pay on any goods except the four specified; and yet they bring lead in bars, salted fish, cheese, caviare, sail cloth, rope, hats, socks, powder and other goods in such great quantities that very often their ships have no other cargo, upon which they only pay the ordinary duty, a mere trifle. I consider this a serious damage to the Treasury by defrauding your Serenity of these dues quite against your intention, and against the spirit of the order upon the new tariff, and I am deeply pained to see it. It is my duty as a faithful servant, jealous for your interests, to inform you upon the matter, and to wait the orders you may be pleased to issue.

Zante, 22nd February 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1141. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Venetian Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As soon as I had news of the sacking of the "Sicuro," I sent for all the English merchants, and told them that such intolerable conduct could not be endured, and that I intended to exact compensation from them. They replied that the men who committed these acts were outlaws, for whom they could not be held responsible, and that they could not for their part find compensation. I said that it was their duty to put down these pirates with their own ships. They made no satisfactory reply, and I ordered them to be locked up in the Castle. Next day they offered security to appear when summoned, and I then set them free. On the first news I had all their property sealed up; it will now be inventoried to see if there are any stolen goods among it.

Zante, 22nd February 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1142. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A Greek Bishop arrived in London the day before yesterday. He came by sea from Milo to Marseilles, and thence to Calais by the post. He is accompanied by a certain Lorenzino Madero, an outlaw of Canea, who has for long been in the service of the Grand Duke. The Bishop earnestly demands to be allowed to present letters to the Queen. As yet no one knows their purport.

Last week we heard, and this week we are assured that news had reached Venice that two English ships had seized the galleon "Veniera," with all her cargo, and had illused the Illustrious Signor da Mosto who was returning from his consulate in Egypt. This news has caused general displeasure and more especially to the Court.

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It is held that this misdeed has been committed by Thomas Sherley (*Thomaso Ciarles*) an English corsair in the pay of the Grand Duke; one of his brothers was recently in Venice, and another in Persia.* The Lord High Admiral assured me yesterday that if this be really so, and the said Thomas Sherley comes to England, your Serenity will receive the fullest satisfaction you can possibly desire of the Queen; and should he not come to England, her Majesty, to prove how she abhors such wickedness, will declare and publish him a rebel. He thinks that if the booty is taken into Leghorn, his Highness the Grand Duke will order it to be restored in full, or its value, if the pirate should have taken it first to Barbary for sale; others, however, think that the corsair having had the hardihood to commit such an unpardonable crime, will not appear again either in Leghorn or in England, but will sail with this prize, which must be a fine ship, to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence to Persia to join his brother. The father of these two Sherleys, a gentleman of quality, and a knight, lives here in London, though extremely poor. For in order to meet the excessive expenditure of his sons he undertook to furnish the royal contributions to the Low countries for the war, and so remained a vast debtor to the Queen, who put him in prison quite lately. He has obtained a grace to leave it for a certain time, on the assignment of all his property.

Count Aremberg (*Ramberg*), Admiral in Flanders, has written from Ghent to the Lord High Admiral on the subject of the exchange of prisoners; he urges the Lord High Admiral to act as mediator for the conclusion of a sound peace between the Archduke and the Queen of England. The High Admiral has shown the letters to various people, among others to myself, and he declares that it is quite impossible to reopen these negotiations, however desirable the peace may be for the trade and the interests of both parties. The impossibility lies in this, that the Queen will never abandon the protection of the States, which the Archduke demands as the first clause. He at the same time confirmed what I hear on all hands, that Count Maurice will undertake some considerable enterprise this year, and that eighteen ships belonging to the States, and the eight galleons belonging to the Queen, will effect a junction within fifteen days at the Downs (*Dune*) between Calais and Dover.

The Ambassador of France has presented to the Queen in the name of the Duke of Savoy a justification, from which it would appear that the King of France had designs to surprise Geneva. Here the justification is considered worse than the act itself, and his Highness is greatly blamed for the whole affair of Geneva, not so much on the score of religion, as of sound government.

As regards the Venetian merchants who have suffered from depredations, I send special information to their representatives that so far I have recovered the cargo of the ship "Speranza," to the value of fifty thousand ducats. Further, the Queen has been graciously pleased, out of regard for your Serenity, to consign to me a parcel of sugar belonging to Signor Hieronimo Stella, confiscated on the

* *See* "The Sherley Brothers," Roxburgh Club publications.

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ground that he is a knight of a Spanish Order, a famous captain of the King of Spain, citizen of Lisbon, where he has built a palace, and has a wife and family, and has sometimes furnished warships which have done damage in England. The Queen has also ordered that out of the merchandize and booty belonging to Portuguese, the missing goods belonging to Venetians are to be replaced; also that out of the prize money belonging to her as owner of the ships which made the prize, part of the expenses incurred by Venetian merchants shall be paid; but that the whole of this concession shall be recognised as of her Majesty's grace. The sentence already promulgated has been altered to the amount of ten thousand ducats. This much upon the first of the missions imposed on me.

London, 27th February 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1143. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The change which has been made by increasing the guard on the person of Lady Arabella Stuart, on account of a suspicion entertained by the Queen lest she should fly, gives me occasion to explain to your Serenity all that I hear with any certainty about the claimants to this throne, and the opinions regarding them; but as this is a subject which it is absolutely forbidden to discuss under pain of *læsa Majestas*, it is very difficult to arrive at any certain conclusions. I may omit the lines descended from earlier Kings, as not of moment in this case, and will begin from Henry VIII., who, having separated himself from the Roman Church, had seven wives after his own fashion. This King, who died in 1547, begot on Catherine of Austria, a daughter Mary, wife of Philip the Second, King of Spain, and on Anne Boleyn, who was beheaded, Elizabeth, who is at present reigning. Jane Seymour bore him Edward the Sixth. Anne of Cleves, divorced, and Catherine Howard, beheaded, bore him no children. Elizabeth Blunt (*Polontia*) bore him Henry, Duke of Somerset (*Somer*), and his seventh wife, Catherine Parr, who survived her husband, had no offspring.

Edward the Sixth died in 1553, and Mary in 1559, and the present Queen Elizabeth legitimately succeeded to the throne. As she has no descendants, and as Henry the Eighth's two brothers, Edmund and Arthur, predeceased him, the succession lies between the descendants of Henry's two sisters, Margaret, married first to James V., King of Scotland, and secondly to Archibald, Earl of Angus; and Mary, married first to Lewis XII., King of France, and then to Charles, Duke of Suffolk. Mary bore Eleanor and Frances. Eleanor bore Margaret; and Margaret bore Frances and William Stanley. Frances bore Catherine, and Catherine, Thomas and Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford (?) (*Arbic*). These lines of Suffolk and Seymour, which are on the same level, are neither of them of great account because of a doubt as to legitimacy; for Catherine was secretly married to Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford; but the descent of the elder sister, Margaret, is

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of great importance. Of her first marriage was born James the Fifth, King of Scotland; of the second, the Angus marriage, another Margaret. James the Fifth had a daughter, Mary Queen of Scots, put to death by Elizabeth; and Margaret and Matthew Stuart had first Henry, married to Mary Stuart, and then Charles. Charles Stuart and Elizabeth Cavendish (*Candisci*) had a daughter Arabella. Henry and Mary Stuart had a son, James the Sixth, King of Scotland. James and Arabella are the real claimants to the crown of England, descendants in equal degree from Margaret, elder sister of Henry the Eighth. For although there is another branch descending from a brother of Henry the Seventh, in six generations from 1509 to this day, all in the male line down to Francis Hastings, it seems that it has not so good a foundation in right, nor so lively a support among men, as this of James and Arabella, the cousins germane whom I have mentioned. King James the Sixth of Scotland is thirty-four years of age, prudent, melancholy, literary, more lavish than his revenue will support, although, thanks to having an open trade to France, Spain, and all the northern countries, the national income has increased to four hundred thousand crowns a year, and his people is greatly enriched. He follows the religion of Calvin, but allows everyone in his kingdom to follow their own sect; the Roman religion alone is forbidden. It is held for certain, however, that if he succeeds to the English throne he will permit the rights of the Roman Catholic Church, though he himself would continue a Calvinist, at least for some time; for the majority many times over in these kingdoms of England, Scotland, and part of Ireland are absolutely alienated from allegiance to the Supreme Pontiff. All the same, there are many, chiefly among the nobility and the women, who have the true religion in their hearts.

King James aspired to the English crown from his youth, and they say that his ambition helps him to swallow the shedding of his mother's blood, and has caused him to avoid irritating the Queen of England by displaying the greatest regard and subservience towards her. The objections to his succession are two, first, that he was not born in the kingdom and is therefore ineligible for the crown; and the second, that his mother, after her execution was declared a rebel by Parliament, and incapable of succession, and this incapacitates her son. But as he has ever aspired to the crown of England he has bound upwards of thirty thousand of his subjects, the flower of his kingdom, to arm and follow him at his slightest request, for six weeks; during which period, after the death of Elizabeth, he would cross the rivers Solway and Tweed (*Solveo et Tuedo*) and the mountains which divide Scotland from England, and march on London, a distance of two hundred miles, where he would find his own party ready to do homage to him; while the Scottish fleet, supported by the King of Denmark, father of King James's wife, would be able to counterbalance the part of the English fleet which might reject him. Besides this he would most certainly find encouragement and, perhaps, actual support, though always on condition that he accepted the terms they are at present proposing, namely, that if he ascends the English

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throne, he is to leave one of his three sons as King of Scotland; for the King of France would not willingly see the kingdoms of England and Scotland united under one sovereign if he can help it; and he calculates that although the new King of Scotland be a son of the King of England, yet, with time, his state, his dominion, his power will all be disunited, if not from his father at least from his brother.

Arabella, born in England, is now a woman of twenty-eight years of age; of great beauty, and remarkable qualities, being gifted with many accomplishments, among them the knowledge of Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian, besides her native English. She has very exalted ideas, having been brought up in the firm belief that she would succeed to the Crown. She has always lived in poverty, far from London, in the charge of a Puritan governor and governess, and she, too, is of that persuasion. Fourteen years ago she was brought to Court by the Queen, who made her one of her ladies-in-waiting; she was then quite young, and displayed such haughtiness that she soon began to claim the first place; and one day on going into chapel she herself took precedence of all the Princesses who were in her Majesty's suite; nor would she retire, though repeatedly told to do so by the Master of the Ceremonies, for she said that by God's will that was the very lowest place that could possibly be given her. At this the Queen, in indignation, ordered her back to her private existence without so much as seeing her before she took her leave, or indeed ever afterwards.

All these personages then, descendants from Richard, Duke of York, are those who always have and still do bear the sign of the White Rose.

There is the other branch of the Red Rose. It started from Edmund of Lancaster, Earl of Richmond, and passed through the family of Pole, to which the Cardinal Reginald Pole belonged, and now after seven male successions, covering a period of one hundred years and upwards, it is concentrated in the sole person of Francis Hastings (*Haistinghe*), Earl of Huntingdon. He has only one son, and he keeps his hold on the favour of the nobility, among whom he numbers many relations, and as far as he can in the love of the people, especially in London. Some think that he will be the first to attempt the royal throne, but to no purpose.

At present the Queen has conceived some fear less Arabella should escape from the Castle where she is confined, as there are rumours that she is being sought in marriage. People say, if indeed it is true, that she has an inclination towards Thomas Seymour, the son, as I have already clearly set forth, of Catherine of Suffolk, and Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford. Thomas and Arabella are of like age, and of most favourable conditions of mind and body. In such a delicate matter the Queen either does not wish to act with rigour upon a mere suspicion—for Seymour shows himself far from ready—which would rouse comment among the populace; or for some other reason; she has, therefore, very quietly increased the guards round the Castle, fifty miles out of London, where the unhappy lady has lived so many years buried, as one may say, not perforce but of her own will. The Ministers are anxious

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on the subject. But even if the King of Spain had a hand in this matter they think that there is no more danger from him, except in the case of rebellion, for those who have most money will have most support, is the common opinion. In any other eventuality, since the Spanish abandoned Ireland, any subsequent schemes of theirs are held of small importance and far removed. *It is, however, a fixed opinion that the Ministers, being convinced that this Kingdom is strong rather in reputation than in actual forces, are resolved among themselves not to be governed by a woman again, but to give the Crown to the King of Scotland, as they cannot judge the future except by its consequences. It is to be observed that Secretary Cecil, who is omnipotent in all the affairs of State, keeps a brother as governor on the frontiers of Scotland, and is placing people in the confidence of the Scottish King as governors of all the strong places in those parts.**

London 27th February 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 1. Original Minute of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

1144. DESPATCH to the AMBASSADOR in Constantinople.

We are informed by the interested parties that the privateer William Piers, who captured the galleon "Veniera," has left Modon for Barbary, where he intends to dispose of his booty; you are therefore to obtain an order for the restitution of the goods which shall apply to Barbary, and other ports.

[*Italian.*]

March 3. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1145. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have explained to M. de Villeroi the meaning of Secretary Scaramelli's mission to England.

Paris, 3rd March 1603.

[*Italian.*]

March 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1146. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The very day on which I sent my last Despatch I received letters from Zante of the fifth of last month containing news of the annoying incident which has befallen the Consul da Mosto. I resolved before going to the Grand Vizir to approach Cicala and to ask his advice. I complained of the shelter afforded to English buccaneers at Modon; on this point he promised to take the necessary steps; he accused the English of recognising no distinction between foes and allies, and said that their own Ambassador was unable to find any excuse.

The French Ambassador also has news from Zante of the depredations by the English. He insisted that to put an end to this mischief your Serenity ought to expel the English from Venetian waters and give orders to your Ambassador here to

* This and other documents relating to Arabella Stuart have been dealt with in an interesting article in "The Edinburgh Review," October, 1896, pp. 483–513.

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co-operate with him openly to secure the dismissal of the English Ambassador at the Porte, and to close the Levant trade to the English. He told me he was commissioned to say this by his master.

I also found occasion to see the English Ambassador and I made warm representations to him on the subject of these scandalous excesses. When I told him that your Serenity was forced to make reprisals on English merchandize, he shrugged his shoulders, but showed great annoyance at these events and declared most positively that the Queen would make a stern example.

As I am well aware that no ship is allowed to leave England without giving surety that it will not plunder the Queen's allies, I asked him about this point. He confessed that it was so, and added that the father of this buccaneer was very rich, and was surety, he believed, for his son.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 6th March 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1147. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Venetian Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Giovanni Battista Valle, Genoese, who sailed from the Port of Chieri in this island some time ago for the Archipelago with two Flemish vessels to bring back grain, has been plundered and ill-treated by English corsairs who have left him nothing but his bare life, as will be seen from his depositions which I enclose, along with the declarations of a Notary Public of Milo, on the subject of the robbery committed in that Port by English ships in the case of a Venetian merchantman sailing from Crete with a cargo of oil, wine, &c. This ship was cleaned out of cargo and tackling and left empty.

Domenico Zorzi Sumachi of Zante was also sent by the Proveditore of the Fleet into the Archipelago to purchase corn for the fortress of Corfu. I supplied him with funds, drawn on the Exchange here, to make purchases for the needs of this island as well, for we are in extreme want. I am now afraid that it is lost, for he writes from Milo that he has met with a similar mischance, and that he only saved the money by his extreme vigilance and diligence: And indeed, he is a person fully fitted for such a mission, and from whom most excellent service may be expected just now, when these seas are reduced to such a state that no one can venture to cross them without obvious risk of misfortune, and the very inhabitants do not venture to pass from one town to another in their boats for fear of these pirates. One of these buccaneers, an Englishman, has been seized by the inhabitants of Zea who took him to Negropont, because he had done so much damage thereabouts, as your Serenity will gather from the enclosed letter written from the Morea to Francesco Heredi,* a citizen of Zante, and fresh mischief is always being reported about these assassins. Here in the channel towards Cephalonia we often see suspicious sails which we take to be

* He was French Consul in Zante.

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privateers and I have sent out several frigates to reconnoitre from a distance, but contrary winds have always hindered them. I kept back the "Colombo," with a rich cargo, for several days so that she might not fall in with these buccaneers. A day or two ago I allowed her to sail with an escort of three vessels and in most favourable weather, as a fresh scirocco was blowing in, which will certainly take them in one day and a night into safety at Corfu, and I gave them orders to keep together for security. I do all I possibly can to assist these unfortunate seamen, your Serenity's subjects, but for want of forces I can do no more. I have written again to the Proveditore of the Fleet and to the Commander of the great galleys at Corfu to come into these waters for public service and honour. But I can hope nothing from the Proveditore who is lying seriously ill in bed at Corfu. The captain of the galleys writes that he is waiting till his consort is ready, and that then he will come into these waters.

Once more I humbly submit to your Serenity that as long as these privateers find shelter in the harbours of the Turk all these seas will continue to be infested. There is no other way to secure our navigation except by depriving the corsairs of this convenience and by bringing your Serenity's galleys into these waters, in which circumstances the pirates will be obliged to move elsewhere. In this sense I have written to the new Sanjak of the Morea that he may forbid all trade with pirates within his government, though I know not what to look for from this step, for the orders ought to come from the Porte.

Zante, 6th March 1603.

The small vessel which was escorting Sumachi is called the "Blessing of God," Captain Stephen Infold, of Plymouth. I send this name, as I shall in all other cases when they are certain, so that if these men touch at any port belonging to your Serenity they may be recognised and punished; I also inform all English captains who trade at this port.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 10. Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

1148. COPY of a LETTER addressed to D. FRANCESCO DE HEREDI in Zante; translated from Greek into Italian.

After compliments. I took my cargo on board at Zea. An English privateer arrived. The captain landed his men to go and seize the Cadi because he would not give them bread. A riot ensued, and two of the inhabitants were killed. Three Englishmen were captured, the commander being one of them; * they say he is a great personage, and is called Tomaso Seler (Sherley). They wrote to their Consuls in Zante to come here. As we command in the island we took him to the lieutenant of the Pasha at Negropont. If they want to come let them come as soon as possible, before the Turks find out that he is a great personage, so that they may ransom him at a reasonable price. They had better come straight to us. As for money, they will find as much as they want here, to be repaid

* That is Thomas Sherely.

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in Zante. Speak you to them so that we may have an answer as soon as possible.

Dimitrio Taractà and Michalachi Taractà write this and salute your Lordship.

Feb. 22. Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

1149. Depositions of Bortolo Penso, Master of the "Bersatona."

The "Bersatona" was driven by a strong wind, west by south, into the harbour of Milo, being unable to weather Cerigo. She had a cargo of oil, wine, lemons, lemon-juice, and small lemons (*lemoncini*). Two English ships were lying in harbour, one called the "Dragon," the other commanded by Piers. The "Dragon" immediately sent her ships boats fully armed aboard, after first firing her guns, and captured the "Bersatona" and plundered her. The Venetian Consul in this island (Milo), Messer Zanulo Piperi cited the said Bortolo before Signor Girolamo Paulucci, Secretary to his Excellency the General, and ordered him to specify the quality of the goods stolen by the Englishman the "Dragon," and by the other English ship, which had acted as consort to Messer Zorzi Sumachi.

Feb. 27. Enclosed in Despatch from Zante, March 6th.

1150. Copy of a letter from Signor Zorzi Sumachi, addressed to Signor Ludovico his brother in Milo.

My dearest brother, I salute you. My previous letter from Navarino gave you necessary particulars, and now in this letter I wish to give you a further account of this blessed journey of mine as far as it has gone, and I pray the good God to lead me safe home. On the 12th of February we left Navarino with our English consort to continue my journey, although I knew that an English ship of eight hundred tons and two hundred men was lying in Modon. She is named the "Dragon," had touched at Leghorn and taken on board thirty men of the Grand Duke, and declared that she had put to sea for no other purpose than to plunder the Turks. So I was assured, and I believed it; for there was a captain, a certain Rimondo Franco, who had been with the soldiers of the Grand Duke, and an Englishman of my consort went to see him, and he told us to fear nothing. But he cheated me. As soon as we moved towards the English ship, outside Sapienza, she too weighed anchor. That was about two hours before sundown; and so we sailed along. When I saw that she was drawing up to us, I made up to my consort to see what he would say. I asked if he had the pluck to fight, but he replied "If you can, you had better fly, for I have no wish to engage." Accordingly, putting my trust in God, I went about for the land at Coron, and night coming on I escaped and came under Coron, and the Englishman, seeing this, lay up to my consort. During the night I altered my course as best I could so as to avoid them, and in the morning I found myself off Cerigo, sailing on our way with all needful precautions, between Cerigo and Milo. The Englishman had taken in sail and lay to, my thief of a consort having told him whither we were bound; but when he sighted us, about four or five miles off, he too made sail again. For brevity's sake I cannot go into details, which would fill two quires of paper; enough that he gave us chase from

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Vespers to Ave Maria and had come within range, for the wind failed us. But as the sun went down the wind freshened again and we escaped. We saw that the Englishman altered his course and stood out to sea. As we opened the Gulf of Milo and were sailing in we sighted two vessels; and I thought that one must be the vessel captured with the Consul da Mosto on board, and her consort, as in fact one was. I put the money in the ship's boat, and landed at an unusual landing place, and so escaped into the town of Milo. I had hardly got ashore when the ship's boat of da Mosto's ship came alongside my ship with orders to the captain to take me on board. The commander knew I was there because the second ship which was lying in harbour was my consort, which had reached Milo before me. When he found that I had gone ashore with the money he did all he could to take my ship and burn her, but I wrought so well with him that I made him, the captain, (William Piers), my best friend, and I saved the ship, though she lay there useless, for I could not depart; and for all that the captain was my good friend, his men were very devils. As we were lying there in discomfort we saw the "Dragon" putting in with her prize the "Caldiera." Her captain, as soon as she had cast anchor, sent and took our master on board and said to him, "I want the money and the merchant or I will sink you." The master said, "Merchant and money are both ashore, and you may do as you please." Whereupon he carried off all the sailors and their clothes and left the ship empty. After two days the master wrote me a letter asking for a sum of money to ransom his ship, otherwise she would be lost. I replied that I could give him nothing. The English then began to take out her artillery; which, when I saw it, I won over the first English captain, named Piers, by help of presents, so that he did me great service, and came to this with the "Dragon," that if they did not leave me alone he would fight them, for he would never suffer me to be injured after he had passed his word. He wrought so well that they left me my ship and gave me back my artillery, and I recovered both my ship and its master. While things were at this point a ship called the "Bersatona" from Canea, master, Bortolo Penson, with a cargo of oil, wine, and cheese, arrived. No sooner did the "Dragon" sight her than she sent her ship's boat and seized and plundered the "Bersatona" of her cargo, the other Englishman also helped himself to some oil for his table and other things he wanted; so did our consort, so as not to be behind hand as plucky fellows and gentlemen; they also took the captain's log and kept it for their own use. Yesterday the "Dragon" weighed anchor, but in doing so she lost it, and sent on board of us and took the best we had, and sailed away to the devil. I believe she is bound for Zea, for her commander had been captured there. I am told he is a gentleman who will never rob Christians; but that three of his crew had mutinied and made themselves masters of his ships, and are plundering wherever they can find anything. I say nothing to you of two other English buccaneers and other two Spaniards, who are also cruising as corsairs, so that I am in straits and don't

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know what course to steer, for neither course is open. There are plenty of traders here with small boats from Milo who are bringing me corn. I offered fifty-five aspers the Chilo and will go to sixty-six and seventy if I must. But I tell you to go to the Proveditore and tell him all so that he may write to the Senate; and you will also write to the Proveditore of the Fleet at Corfu, telling him all that has happened; tell him too, that if he approves, I will pay eighty for the corn, but that he had better come here himself, for in the midst of so many pirates I have small hope of escaping. Blessed would the hour have been had we sailed here in company with his galleons, for beyond doubt these two English ships would have fallen into his hands, and covered him with glory; and if he should come even now towards Cerigo he could not fail to do just what he liked. You see the English have read the letters they found on board the "Bersatona," and know that the galley "Balbi" and other ships are coming, and they are going to lie in wait for them between Cape Malea and Crete; they won't move far from this; so he must come as soon as he can to save these ships, otherwise I see no chance of getting out of this. I am writing also to the Proveditore with full information. Besides the English and Spanish there are other pirates who work havoc with the shipping and fill the Archipelago with a panic.

No more just now. Pray God to send me safely out of this, and the Lord keep you.

Milo, 27th February 1602.

Your loving brother,
ZORZI SUMACHI.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

1151. DEPOSITION of ZAN BATTISTE VALLE, supercargo of the "Salvatore," Master JACOMO VIC, lately sent into the Archipelago for grain.

I left on the 24th of last month to go to the Archipelago for grain. On the 28th, a Wednesday, while in company with the ship "Caldiera," master, Nicolò de Zuanne, when forty miles off Milo, we sighted an English ship, the "Dragon," which had sailed from Leghorn about a month ago, and had a crew of about two hundred men, among them twenty-five or thirty who said they had embarked at Leghorn by order of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. They were partly Greek, partly Venetian, partly Florentine, and wore the Grand Duke's uniform. They said they embarked under orders to molest none but Turks and Jews, but not to touch Christians. When this ship drew up to us we saw that she was flying the English flag. We took them for friends, and struck our topsails. The "Dragon" sailed round us, and then fell off to the other ship which was the smaller (the "Caldiera"), and when they were near her they ran up at the stern a flag of crimson silk, and then we saw that they were pirates. The "Dragon" sent her boat with fourteen or sixteen men, armed with harquebus and musket, alongside of the "Caldiera." They boarded and sacked her; taking all there was on board. Then both vessels bore down on us shouting to us to shorten

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sail, but we would not, and offered fight, and fired our four pieces. They replied with a sharp harquebus and musketry fire. The battle lasted about half an hour. We were seriously injured low down, and began to make water; so we were forced to take in sail and surrender. They at once came on board, made themselves masters of the ship They bound my arms behind my back, and my feet, and put me to the torture of the cord, holding me up six arms length from the deck, and telling me to confess where the money was. I was forced by the torture in which they kept me for some time, to show them where the money lay; it was stored in four boxes containing ten thousand reals of seven lire each. This they took, as well as eighteen pieces of cloth, two bales of damask and satin, much gold and silver in specie of three lire; twelve parcels of sugar, copper, and all my clothes, of which they left me stripped; and they treated the master and mariners in the same way, and the passengers also. All this they took into Milo, after letting the "Caldiera" go; they took two men out of her, however. We don't know what has become of her. At Milo they lay for six days, and then the "Bersatona" arrived. They seized her and put some English on board; after taking out of her all her cargo, artillery, and tackle. They kept us there till Saturday the 26th, when they sailed away; and we left the following day along with the "Caldiera." We arrived here off the island of Zante yesterday, where I was landed at the place called San Zorzi di Grevani, along with seven passengers, and came on here to report. I must add that in Milo are two other English ships, one big and one small; the big one is the ship which the pirates took from the Consul of Alexandria. I recognised her, and her master begged me if I went to Venice to kiss the Consul's hand on his behalf. The English sold the stolen goods cheap in Milo; and sailed away to lie in wait for the ships which are coming from Crete. The English boasted that they cared nought for the galleys of the Republic, big or little. They also declare that they have just plundered a large Venetian ship, which I fear must be the "Martinenga."

March 6. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1152. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

French complaints about the pillage of French shipping and of violence committed by the English continue; and this in spite of the league between the two Crowns. The French clearly prove that in the last twenty years they have been robbed of twelve millions worth of merchandize. On the part of the English they endeavour to pass over the old complaints on the plea of the lapse of time; for the more recent, they allege that the King of France made peace with Spain when it suited his own convenience, quite forgetting that the Queen of England had been to the affairs of the King of Navarre as the food to the life; and they decline to accept it as essentially true that the King of France, after arranging his own business, had invited her to join the peace and left her means for doing so; he intended that England should owe her safety to none other than himself, and so the English declare that they too must look after their own interests.

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The Scandinavian trade in the Baltic is very much hampered by the King of Denmark who is able so easily to close the Belt. The Queen has sent to Copenhagen her Ambassadors, so have Dantzig, Prussia, seventeen of the Free Cities, seventy-two German towns, and there is a representative of the Emperor. They were to negotiate for free trade and freedom of religion. But the English Ambassadors report that they consider the conference all but broken up without arriving at any conclusion. As the closing of this sea would mean for the English the loss of a trade equal to that of the West Indies, Guiana, and Brazil, and larger than that of Venice, Ragusa, Lepanto, Constantinople, and Syria, the private merchants have offered to arm four galleons to force the passage this year and so to prevent a break in this important traffic. We will see what decision they arrive at on so vital a matter; for this English race in all matters of marine, not only does not esteem but actually despises every other nation in the world.

The Queen's eight galleons are all ready; they have five hundred sailors a piece, besides other troops on board. They have a large number of guns not of iron like the privateers, but of bronze, exquisitely finished. These ships are upwards of one thousand tons a-piece, and some of them which are lying in this great river Thames look very fine indeed. And had not the fleet of the Dutch been ice bound for a long time this winter it would now be here to form a junction. It is anxiously awaited, and they expect to do great damage wherever they go. The English say that they count on the enemy's panic as much as on their own valour.

The Greek Bishop, who has been keeping everyone's curiosity alive, has not yet had audience. The Ministers insist that he shall first of all hand over the letters which he brings for the Queen, who will decide thereupon whether she will receive him or not, though they promise him as favourable a reception as can be.

In the house of Arabella Stuart they have found the body of her chaplain and tutor* with his throat cut. He was the most intimate of all those about her. Rumour says that he killed himself because he was conscious of his own intrigues. It seems that her Majesty will take no steps at present, although she has in her hands intercepted letters of Arabella which are of high importance.

In Scotland the quarrels between the nobles continue, and last week one, who was a prisoner in Edinburgh, flung himself from a high tower†; he was accused of conspiracy against the King's life. This desperate death has deprived his Majesty of the possibility of unravelling the innermost secrets of the plot. He has doubled the guards, and lives in great suspicion, and this event has caused much sorrow to the Queen who has been fully informed in all confidence by the Queen of Scotland.

An English ship called the "Phœnix," laden with currants in Venice has reached England, a distance of four thousand miles, in less than two months.

London, 6th March 1603.

[*Italian.*]

* John Starkie: Chamberlain writing to Dudley Carleton reports this suicide. Cal. S. P. Dom. 1601–1603, p. 290.

† Mowbray: cf. Cal. S. P. Dom. *loc. cit.*

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March 12. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1153. MAFFIO MICHIEL, Venetian Governor in Zante, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In addition to my previous report upon the damage done by English corsairs, I have to add that three days ago Zuanne Cordes, a Venetian, arrived here from Constantinople. He affirms that certain Maltese vessels have captured three Caramusali in the port of Skyro, laden with corn and bound for Zante; and that they had made many other prizes, as your Excellencies will gather from the depositions enclosed. The "Dragon," which recently plundered the "Bersatona" in the gulf of Milo, is commanded by an English gentleman named Thomas Sherley, a person of importance, as the English merchants here resident inform me. He is brother of the Englishman who came to Europe some years ago with the Ambassadors of the King of Persia, and travelled about under the title of Ambassador himself, and who is now, they say, in Persia. These brothers are near relations of the Earl of Essex, lately beheaded by the Queen of England, and they espoused his cause. For this reason, seing that they too had fallen into disgrace with the Queen, they have absented themselves from the kingdom. This gentleman, who is the younger of the two, lately equipped two ships in the port of Southampton, one called the "Dragon," the other the "George" (*Zorzio*), and took the title of commander-in chief, as he now calls himself. He embarked one hundred men and provisions for two months, but very little tackle, only one cable. Sailing along the coast of Spain he fought a Flemish ship and lost fifty of his men in the encounter without succeeding in capturing her. Then he passed the straits of Gibraltar and came to Leghorn, where he offered the Grand Duke to sail against the infidels. After leaving Leghorn he parted company with his consort,* and came into the Archipelago. At Zea† he was captured and taken to Negropont by the inhabitants, where he had to pay four thousand sequins ransom. Subsequently he plundered the Venetian ship and the Genoese, as your Serenity will have gathered from my previous enclosures. His consort the "George," commanded by Captain Sherley (*sic* ? Piers), captured the Venetian "Veniera"‡ with the Consul da Mosto on board, and now both are united and are cruising in the Archipelago. This gentleman (Sherley) has written to a friend of his in Florence, an Englishman, to make his excuses to the Grand Duke for these outrages, throwing all the blame on his men, who have mutinied and ruined him. He promises next season to serve the Grand Duke in better manner.

Thomas Gardiner, captain of the English ship the "Angel," lately come to this port, declares that he left in the port of Tunis, whence he has just come, twelve English ships, all privateers. The men were all exiles from England, in disgrace with the Queen, and being driven to desperation they are resolved to plunder all and sundry whom they may fall in with, even those of their own nation.

* The "George."

† *See* "The Sherley brothers," Roxburgh Club, pp. 42, 43. Thomas Sherley was taken prisoner January $\frac{1}{11}$, 1603.

‡ Alias "Fox."

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They have already come to blows among themselves over the division of the spoil. These men may prove a source of danger to trade, no less than the others.

I imagine this news will reach you earlier from Florence and elsewhere, but I think it right to send it.

Zante, 12th March 1603.

[*Italian.*]

March 13. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1154. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen is anxious to preserve the English trade at Leghorn Venice, Ragusa, Constantinople, and Syria, and after the capture of the "Veniera" she has determined to renew her prohibition made two years ago, by which all English vessels were forbidden to go privateering inside Gibraltar, but were bound to confine themselves to purely English waters, and the seas outside the Straits. She will accordingly give authority and warrant to all her merchantmen who pass the Straits to capture and to proclaim as rebels all who disobey this order. The ship "Royal Merchant," which I have chartered to convey to Venice the merchandise I have recovered, Captain George Chinch (? King), is the first to take one of these patents. She will sail on the 20th instant. To push forward the recovery of the two other ships I am to have an audience of the Queen one of these days. I will report the result. The people of Geneva have written to the Queen commending themselves to her protection, and in particular begging her to write to the Protestant Princes of Germany urging them not to withhold their support and favour. But the Queen will not comply; perhaps will not even answer.

Her Majesty at length has signed the pardon for the Earl of Tyrone, leader of the Irish rebellion. She was induced to do so by her own most pressing needs, though she pretends to have taken the step on the earnest prayers and persuasions of the French, who are extremely anxious that Spain should not find the smallest support in Ireland, which lies so near to Britain. It is thought that if the Queen will make up her mind to permit the use of the Catholic religion in private, at least in the province of Ulster, where is the miraculous grotto of St. Patrick,* she will be able to cut down many of her military expenses, leaving only the garrison of Dublin, the capital and metropolis of Ireland, and may save the money which she has been supplying with such difficulty for this war throughout nine consecutive years, and which during these last two years, when the Spanish had landed there, amounted to upwards of eight hundred thousand crowns per annum.

The States have applied to the Queen to make a levy of six thousand English troops, to be landed at Flushing in May, found in clothes and arms only, but not in pay for all the period of their service beyond the seas. They insist on their demand, and make promises that this year as far as can be seen at present, they will be able not merely to seize some fortress, but even to conquer any province of Flanders that may suit them. Her Majesty keeps

* Loch Derg. St. Patrick's Purgatory.

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silence on the subject of exacting this year the hundred thousand crowns of annual rate, though she has not settled whether it is to remain due; but for the levy she seems little disposed to satisfy the States, declaring that it will be as much as she can do if she orders the raising of two thousand men, for she wishes, for very deep reasons, though it is hard to understand why, that Flanders should not fall completely, nor indeed alter very much from the state it is at present in. She admits that she is the flame of Flanders, and, with her lively wit, she adds that when the fire finds nothing more to consume, it must consume itself.

The marriage of Lady Arabella is discussed every day with greater freedom, and especially are the minds of the Kings of France and Spain well disposed towards her, for neither one nor the other would willingly see a single sovereign in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The King of Scotland, as a male and senior to Arabella, has the popular favour, but he lives surrounded by conspiracies, which threaten his death; he has sons however. On the other hand Arabella in second grade, and the Earl of Hertford in third grade of claim, have no taint of rebellion nor aught but schemes for the future against them, and so it would be impossible in the ordinary course to prosecute them. All the same, as the situation is growing more serious, and the Queen's anger is mounting, many people fear that, just as Mary Stuart's first crime was her secret betrothal to the Duke of Norfolk, so the joy of Arabella's ill-matched and unconsummated marriage may be changed into a bloody tragedy.

London, 13th March 1603.

[*Italian.*]

March 15. Original Minutes of the Senate, Venetian Archives.

1155. To SECRETARY SCARAMELLI in England.

We are pleased to hear of your arrival; and we promise ourselves fruit from your diligence.

We desire to buy saltpetre. You are to inquire if it can be had there. We authorise you to purchase not merely at the old price of one hundred and twenty ducats the ton (*migliaro*), but to go even to one hundred and thirty ducats for refined saltpetre, consigned in the Arsenal at Venice.

+173.—5.—4.

[*Italian.*]

March 16. Enclosed in Despatch of March 17, from Corfu. Venetian Archives.

1156. DEPOSITION of NICOLO ZUAN CALDIER, Master and part Owner of the ship "Caldiera" of Amsterdam.

Arrived in port to-day. Left Venice two months ago to bring a cargo of grain from the Archipelago on behalf of Signor Dominico Valle and Bon Leon, solid merchants of Venice; off Cape Malea fell in with an English ship of six hundred tons, very well armed with twenty-four pieces of artillery, called "The Dragon," of London in England, fully rigged, with the royal arms in gilt on her stern. The captain is an English gentleman, who has a brother in Venice well known to all English merchants there,* although Zuan Caldier does

* Perhaps Anthony, one of the Sherley Brothers.

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not recall his name. They engaged, but owing to deficiency of men Caldier was forced to surrender; for the Englishman had two hundred fighting men on board, of all nations. The English boarded the "Caldiera" and carried off twenty thousand ducats' worth, between money and goods, intended for the purchase of the cargo of corn, four pieces of artillery of twelve, pikes, harquebuses, powder, and every kind of ammunition. They also made prisoner the ship's carpenter, a Fleming called Petro Ralanz. They then made for the port of Milo, where they found another English ship called the "Fox,"* which was originally conveying the Consul da Mosto from Alexandria to Venice, and is now engaged in buccaneering. On board the "Fox" they put the four pieces of artillery taken from the "Caldiera." In Milo the crew of the "Fox" took all that remained on board the "Caldiera," and did much more damage than the "Dragon" had done.

In Milo, the English have houses, are settled there, are popular, and enjoy full liberty of traffic with the inhabitants of the place. Caldier could not find out who was in command of the "Fox." † It is seven days since he left Milo, nor has he touched anywhere, nor sighted any other ship. The "Dragon" plundered a Venetian ship,‡ name unknown, in the harbour of Milo, which had a cargo of oil, and other goods from Canea

[*Italian.*]

March 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1157. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Landgrave of Hesse has proposed a league between France, England, Denmark, and the Protestant Princes against the House of Austria. The Queen is very eager for it. The Secretary to the French Embassy has left in haste. The Ambassador himself could not go.

Paris, 17th March 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1158. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The people of Geneva have applied to the Queen of England for help; they have obtained a fair answer.

Yesterday evening I received the despatches of the twenty-first, covering a despatch for Scaramelli in England. I sent it on at once.

Paris, 17th March 1603.

[*Italian.*]

March 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1159. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I sought an audience of the Queen in order to conclude the business entrusted to me so that I might return to the feet of your Serenity. Her Majesty caused answer to be made that she desired to discuss pleasant topics only with me, and so, if I were seeking audience on the subject of my mission, she begged me to wait till

* Alias "Veniera." † It was William Piers. ‡ The "Bersatona."

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the Commissioners appointed by her had reported; that this report would soon be presented on the advice of the Privy Council and by her own orders, and if the answer were to my satisfaction there would be no need for further discussion, if not, then I might address any further remarks I might have to make to her in person, for she would listen willingly, in the desire to give every gratification to your Serenity. The cause of the delay in the meeting of the Commissioners is the death last week of the Lord High Admiral's* wife. Apart from her husband's exalted rank she herself was a lady of high consideration and one of the Queen's principal ladies of the bed-chamber. This rank is reckoned so lofty here that they say her funeral is to cost forty thousand crowns. I might also add that the Carnival, which according to the English calendar continued down to the day before yesterday, has delayed the meeting, only here in Court it has not been observed with the usual accompaniment of dances and comedies, for the Queen for many days has never left her chamber. And although they say that the reason for this is her sorrow for the death of the Countess, nevertheless the truer cause is that the business of Lady Arabella has reached such a pitch that the son of the Earl of Hertford, to whom they affirm she is betrothed, has suddenly disappeared and is nowhere to be found, and Arabella for this reason has been removed from the custody of the Countess of Shrewsbury, and taken to the same castle where Queen Mary of England kept her sister, the present Queen, a prisoner,† opposing her right to the succession on the ground of her illegitimacy, and her Calvinism; disabilities subsequently removed by Act of Parliament, upon which Queen Mary, to please Philip II., declared her sister capable of succeeding to the throne.

It is well known that this unexpected event has greatly disturbed the Queen, for she has suddenly withdrawn into herself, she who was wont to live so gaily—specially in these last years of her life, when, as far as health was concerned, her days seemed numerous indeed but not burdensome—and to force herself to throw off all care but that of enjoying life; now she allows grief to overcome her strength, and so anxious is she that rumours of this beginning of troubles should not spread beyond the kingdom, that she forbade either persons or letters to leave any of the ports, although, perceiving that this provision came late and was too violent to secure silence, she subsequently abandoned it. All minds are anxious *and the partizans of the King of Scotland, the most powerful party, in order to destroy public sympathy for Arabella, are spreading reports prejudicial to her character as an honest woman both in the past and in the present. (Et li partiali del Rè di Scotia, che sono i più potenti, per levar nell' universale la compassione di Arabella, spargono voci pregiudiciali fino all' honestà sua passata et presente).*

I shall, however, do all I can to prevent these public affairs from interfering with the despatch of my particular business, as I have no desire to be a witness of what may shortly happen here.

* The Earl of Nottingham.

† Arabella was removed from Hardwick to Woodstock. Dr. Lingard says to Sheriff Hatton.

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The Lords of the Council have informed me that they wish that your Serenity should order the payment of Pinder's account, all the more that only five hundred ducats remain to settle it. I the more readily promised to inform your Serenity in order to put an end to certain proposals of sequestration here.

A prize has been brought into Ireland. It consists of two ships bringing gold from Havana. They say the value amounts to a million, and even were it far less, it would be of great service at this juncture; and although this capture has been made by English privateers, the Queen has sent to place all in safe keeping.

The agent of the States of Holland continues to insist on his demand for six thousand infantry, and declares that without this assistance the opportunity offered just now will be lost, and it is such an opportunity as has not presented itself during the last thirty years Some of the Council propose that if Tyrone comes to Court and the expenses of the army in Ireland are reduced, two thousand veterans should be sent from Ireland to Zealand. But the present condition of England will not admit of either design being carried out. Nay the royal galleons and pinnaces (*pinazze*) which were under sail, and ready to join the Dutch fleet, have received orders not to weigh anchor till further instructions.

London, 20th March 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 20. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1160. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Some months ago English ships captured a vessel bound from Morocco to Lisbon with a very rich cargo. It was chartered by a Spaniard who has been living in Morocco for many years, not as a foreigner, but as a well-known subject of the King. When the news reached Morocco, the King, instead of making any remonstrance or complaint to the Queen of England, without more ado seized all the goods belonging to English subjects in the kingdom of Morocco, which amounts to a very large sum, and adjudicated it all to himself after deducting the indemnification to the Spaniard, his intimate. When this was known in England the complaints and tears of a large number of English, interested in the matter, brought it about that the Spaniard's goods were all collected and embarked on board a ship chartered on purpose to take them back to Morocco with apologies, and at the entire charges of the Queen, and the commander is ordered to pay the damages if they are demanded.

A short time ago the King of Denmark did much the same, or a little less, when some of his vessels on their way to Spain with hemp and cord, the chief product of his poor kingdom, were captured by the English and their cargoes confiscated as munitions of war, intended for the Spaniards, England's foes; the King sent to demand that the Queen should either restore the goods or buy them if she wished to prevent them reaching the Spanish, and offered to sell her the whole yearly crop grown in Denmark; the Queen refused either to pay or to restore, and the King laid an embargo on all the shipping that passed between England and Dantzig, and

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seized the merchandise on a legal pretext that the customs had been violated, and he advanced the same plea as the Queen had made use of before, namely that in a suit already decided in the law courts he could not interfere to the damage of the customs officers and other Danish subjects to whom the goods had been adjudicated. This ended in the mission of the English Ambassadors to the conference of Copenhagen, capital of Denmark, about which I have already informed your Serenity.

That conference broke up without coming to any conclusion. On the side of the English force could not succeed as a remedy. The question is urgent; for both the public and private revenues derive great profit from the export of woollens, tin, lead, &c., from England to Poland and Prussia; and it is obvious that if the English are excluded the Dantzigers will step into this trade, to the serious loss of this nation.

While on this topic I must not omit to say that the English through their rapacity and cruelty have become odious to all nations. With Spain they are at open war and are already plundering her and upsetting the India trade; they are continually robbing with violence the French, whom they encounter on the long stretches of the open sea. They cannot sail at present to Polaud and Prussia, because the Danish Straits are blocked against them. In Germany, at Hamburg, Lubeck, and other ports, for example, they are detested; because the German merchants still claim their ancient privileges of their exchange house in London, of which they were deprived by the Queen a few years ago, merely with the view to foster English and restrict foreign commerce. The Venetians have suffered in the same way. With the Flemish they have little accord on account of the Spanish war, but also for natural reasons; for the Flemish trade in the Levant has grown to such proportions that the English trade is considerably diminished; and the same has taken place between the Flemish and the Venetians; for they are working away to ruin the German Exchange in Venice by opening another route for the import not only of spices but of cotton into Germany; and although the English exaggerate this topic out of rivalry with the Flemish, I nevertheless feel bound to represent these considerations to your Serenity, on account of their great importance. Then inside the Straits of Gibraltar, how can the English be endured, seeing that under the guise of merchants they plunder in the very vitals of foreign dominions all the shipping they find? On this I need not enlarge further, except to say that in despatches of December last the English Ambassador at Constantinople enclosed a decree passed by the Turks, drawn up by the Mufti on religious grounds at the instance of the French Ambassador, that English vessels shall always render an account of all goods brought and sold in Barbary and elsewhere within Turkish dominions; and the English Ambassador is charged to see the order carried out. This information is extremely disliked.

Hence both those who command, and those who execute here in England, see quite clearly how great, how universal, and how just is the hatred which all nations, nay all peoples we might say, bear to the English, for they are the disturbers of the whole world. And

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yet with all this they not only do not take any steps to remedy the mischief, but in a certain sense they glory that the English name should become formidable just in this way. For whereas the Kings of England, down to Henry VII. and Henry VIII., were wont to keep up a fleet of one hundred ships in full pay as a defence, now the Queen's ships do not amount to more than fifteen or sixteen, as her revenue cannot support a greater charge; and so the whole of the strength and repute of the nation rests on the vast number of small privateers, which are supported and increase to that dangerous extent which everyone recognises; and to ensure this support, the privateers make the ministers partners in the profits, without the risk of a penny in the fitting out, but only a share in the prizes, which are adjudged by judges placed there by the ministers themselves. *To such a state has this unhappy Kingdom come that from a lofty religion has fallen into the abyss of infidelity.*

London, 20th March 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 21. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1161. FRANCESCO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Ambassador, desiring to show his regret for the excesses committed against the vessel of Consul da Mosto, has declared that he will send his Majordomo direct to England to explain all to the Queen. The captain of an English vessel which has arrived here reports that he reprimanded the buccaneer for these depredations upon which the corsair replied that he would be plundered too if he did not take care. When warned that such actions must be paid for some day, he answered that the Queen was old and must die, if not to-day then to-morrow, and he intended to heap up riches without any fear of consequences.

The real reason for the despatch of the Majordomo is that the Ambassador has heard that more English buccaneers have passed the Straits, and he is afraid if they do some damage to the Turks, as may easily happen, that he will be exposed to some risk in his honour or his life; and so he is asking leave to retire.

Dalle Vigne di Pera, 21st March 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1162. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I was right when in my last despatch I said that her Majesty's mind was overwhelmed by a grief greater than she could bear. It reached such a pitch that she passed three days and three nights without sleep and with scarcely any food. Her attention was fixed not only on the affairs of Lady Arabella, who now is, or feigns herself to be, half mad, but also on the pardon which she has given at last to the Earl of Tyrone, leader of the Catholic rebels in Ireland. She fell to considering that the Earl of Essex, who used to be her dear intimate, might have been quite innocent after all; for when he was her general in Ireland he had a meeting with Tyrone, each on horseback on different sides of a river, and he concluded an agreement with Tyrone that was both

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more advantageous for the kingdom and more honourable for the Queen than the present one. But the Council, condemning the conduct of Essex in coming to England in person to explain his action without leave given, persuaded the Queen to put him in the Tower, whence followed all those events which led to his decapitation on the first day of Lent 1601. *So deeply does her Majesty feel this, that on the first day of Lent this year, which in the English calendar was the nineteenth of this month, she recalled the anniversary of so piteous a spectacle and burst into tears and dolorous lamentation, as though for some deadly sin she had committed, and then fell ill of a sickness which the doctors instantly judged to be mortal. The Privy Council was convened in perpetual session at Richmond; the Peers were summoned to Court with all speed, especially the Catholics; and the guards were doubled at the Royal Palace, and the pensioners armed. The town council of London met and took certain steps for the safety of the city, which, as every one knows, is extremely rich, and incredibly unprotected by walls. This perturbation of a population, composed of various religions, and reckoned but little inferior to Paris in numbers, causes an universal dread of dangerous risings; and, although in a single night not less than five hundred vagrants were seized in the taverns and elsewhere, under pretext of sending them to serve the Dutch, and are still kept as a precaution under lock and key on that pretence, and though the same is done every market day, for it is the custom here to press all those who do not pay taxes, and, therefore, have neither property nor profession,—still, the idea that the leaders of factions and of the malcontents may rise, more especially as not a single Catholic has, as yet, obeyed the order to come to Court, a belief that many of the ministers are hated by the people, and above all the question of religion, are considerations to make most men blench.*

The Queen's illness is want of sleep, want of appetite, labour of the lungs and heart, cessation of the natural motions, irresponsiveness to remedies. There is but little fever but also little strength; nor are there any good symptoms except that a slight swelling of the glands under the jaw burst of itself, with a discharge of a small amount of matter.

There are rumours of amendment, but the truth hangs in doubt, nor is anything certain save this, that the Queen is seventy-one years old, and this is the first serious illness which she has had in the whole course of her life.

The church called here Puritan, that is Calvinist, the church of the schismatic nations, such as the Waloons, the French, the Flemish, the Low Countries held by the States, and so on, have all received letters from Geneva, to which they are related as daughters to a mother; the English Puritans have petitioned the Queen to assist the people of Geneva; but as all affairs are suspended here, they are making a collection among themselves towards this object, it does not amount in all to six thousand crowns, once for all.

The King of France has been informed by his Ambassador here resident of my audience of the Queen, and of the nature of my

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mission. His Majesty has instructed his Ambassador to take occasion to say to her Majesty, in his name, that she should not lose any opportunity to give satisfaction to your Serenity, nor give me my leave with my mission unfulfilled. The Ambassador himself told me that he would take a favourable occasion to give effect to these instructions.

Yesterday, through the Ambassador Cavalli, I received with all due reverence your Serenity's despatch of the fifteenth of last month, containing all the instructions you have thought proper to give me, and also your letters to the Queen. Although her Majesty's condition prevents me from executing your orders at present, still, having seen from the reports of Mondino that the commanders of the English ships sent from Zante to follow up the scoundrel William Piers hold it a crime to use force against him, though the matter is so serious and so disliked here, I will take care that, at the first meeting of the Council, which is more sovereign than the Queen herself in such affairs, the most ample patent shall be granted ordering all vessels which touch at your Serenity's ports, to pursue the said Piers as an enemy of her Majesty, and to so deal with all English vessels which shall have inflicted damage on the subjects of the Serene Republic. I will also secure similar orders to all vessels sailing for the Levant in addition to those already issued against those who go privateering inside the Straits of Gibraltar.

I have made inquiries about this Piers, also called Piershal, and about those who are sailing with him. I find he is a young man of twenty or twenty-two years old, not married in England. He is not well off, but his father, who lives near Plymouth, is very rich. His lieutenant is called William Lancester, a man of evil fame and little or no substance. The owners are Thomas Dombel, of Plymouth, an unmarried man of great estate, and Richard Fishborne, also of Plymouth, but not rich. As in these cases the owners are responsible for good or bad results I will do what I can to secure execution against the estates of these persons I have named.

London, 27th March 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

March 27. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1163. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The agent of the King of Scotland here resident is living very quietly. His sole object is to conciliate the ministers and other personages towards his master by maintaining the balance between them, so that the favour of the one should not rouse the suspicions of the other. He is now endeavouring to procure that the Council, after the announcement of Lady Arabella's betrothal and the charges against her modesty and the Earl of Hertford's legitimacy, should give leave to carry out the marriage, although contrary to the law of England, which forbids any one of royal blood to contract a marriage, without the royal consent, upon pain of death.

The agent has been to visit me, but with great secrecy; looking carefully round about him so as not to be noticed. He told me

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that, being fully aware that his master was most favourably disposed towards the Serene Republic, calling it the Splendour of the World, he had come to tell me that his Majesty would be much pleased if by my means your Serenity could be informed that he studies and follows your methods of good government, and is ready to serve you upon all occasions; that he prays God to give him the power to do so, as he hopes that in his needs he may count upon your Serenity's favour and protection.

I returned the compliment in suitable terms, and assured him that your Serenity desired for his Majesty all increase in glory and prosperity, and I said that as far as in you lay your Serenity would always display your hearty affection for the King. I went on with my conversation in order to draw him out. He said, "the Republic of Venice by her protection has made the King of Navarre the King of France, and this favour she has shown to an ungrateful sovereign, who would not take up arms to help the Republic at her need, or if he did, would do so to the desolation of Italy, and God only knows with what gain to the Republic. Very certain it is that the Republic must have favoured him and wisely, in order that the King of Spain should not outweigh him in the balance of Christendom; but neither then nor till now was any other power of account. The time has come, however, to recognise that my master will be, by the grace of God, so powerful that he will form a third among the great princes of the world. He therefore invites the support of the Republic, who may be assured that he will always favour her interests. Nor should the distance between England and Venice be taken into consideration, for powerful princes by the mere indication of their intentions can help a friend; and I am not referring merely to Christendom, but also to the Turk should the Republic ever again be exposed to danger from that quarter."

I replied in such a manner as to lead him on to further explanations, but could get nothing more out of him, except that he pressed me to say how long I intended to stay here. I told him that if the Queen got better I hope to finish my business in two audiences; that would occupy April and a few days of May. He said, "that is a long time; you may hear great news before that, and, may be, my master will send some one here to communicate a great secret to you." As regards the object of my mission he professed a profound hatred of the English, and declared that when it came to his master's turn he would put a stop to this general buccaneering. He spoke quite openly and with absolute confidence of his master's succession to the throne, and went the length of saying that there was not a family of any importance wherein, by promises and hopes, he had not won over father, brother, or son. He implored me with tears in his eyes not to let this be known in France, or Spain, or England; I gave him a solemn promise and he took his leave.

From the whole of this conversation, which was not short, I do not think I can recover more than that which I have set forth, except that the King of Scotland is extremely anxious, holding that

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the King of France would not willingly see him King of these three United Kingdoms if he could prevent it; nor should I have gathered so much had not the French Ambassador in discussing this subject frequently remarked that the King of Scotland is young and has sons, and at the very least might acquire the direction of the states of Holland, after his accession to the English throne. He added that France had never had a better way of annoying England than through Scotland, and if the crowns were united that would disappear.

London, 27th March 1603.

[*Italian; deciphered.*]

March 30. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1164. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This day week a courier from England passed through Paris on his way to Metz, where the King is. He brought despatches from M. de Beaumont announcing the serious illness of the Queen. She has had a stroke of apoplexy which deprived her of speech for some time. Other letters confirm the news. No one dares speak of it. After the 19th we have no further news, either because she has recovered, or because no news is allowed to leave the kingdom.

The English Ambassador here has no information. He suspects that it is a rumour issued for a purpose, to induce the King of Spain to send out the five thousand infantry on board the twelve ships which he destined for a landing in Scotland or Ireland. On board that fleet are *Sig di Bove*(?), and Lord (*Conte di*) Sempill, who are exiles, one for conspiracy, the other for reasons of state. It is hoped through their influence to effect a rising, although the Queen has a large fleet out. A Jesuit Father has been arrested in England; also the personage with whom he lodged. A priest has been executed* for disobeying the recent order for expulsion.

Lennox, the Ambassador of the King of Scots, and a member of the House of Stuart, told me when he was here that England was so great a kingdom that he feared if the Queen named his master as King the neighbouring Kings would oppose his succession, all the same both here and in England the King of Scotland is universally recognised as heir to the throne. The Queen would not acknowledge him as such in the last Parliament, but steps have been taken so that should she die, the Council can meet in less than three hours and proclaim her successor. She cannot live long, for during the last six months she has been suffering from a catarrh in her chest, and this in addition to her great weakness and her advanced age will not allow her to linger for any length of time.

Paris, 30th March 1603.

[*Italian; the part in italics deciphered.*]

* William Richardson, executed at Tyburn, 16th February, Cf. Calendar of State Papers. Domestic. 1601–1603, pp. 292, 300, 301, 302.

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March 30.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1165. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

No further news from England; the ports are closed. So we shall hear at one and the same time the death of the Queen and the succession of the new King, who will most certainly be the King of Scotland. All this may delay the King of France on his journey to Lyons.

Paris, 30th March 1603.

[*Italian.*]

April 3.
Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1166. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I wrote to your Serenity, *vid* Antwerp, on the twenty-seventh of last month, giving an account of the Queen's malady, and of all the steps which had been taken to meet the dangers which are threatening. But as I learn that the ports are closed, and consequently no letters can pass, I venture to send this brief despatch by many different routes, in the hope that one copy may reach you.

Her Majesty's life is absolutely despaired of, even if she be not already dead. For the last six days she has become quite silly, and indeed idiotic. The Council have issued orders for the quiet and safety of the kingdom, but it is doubtful if they will be obeyed. London is all in arms for fear of the Catholics. Although they number forty thousand they have no leaders as yet, are disunited, and one may say scattered throughout the country. Only four Jesuits, dressed as private gentlemen, are in London making some secret propaganda, and others are said to be about the kingdom in larger numbers.

The Council desires the King of Scotland to succeed to the throne, and has placed Lady Arabella under close custody, as her conduct is thought to have killed the Queen (*riputata con le sue attioni homicida della Regina*). The King of Scotland has the Catholics against him; they openly call him a schismatic. The heretics partly desire him, and say that for the safety of the kingdom he will never permit two religions, but partly they reject him as a stranger, and threaten death to all strangers. All the same he will be proclaimed King; and it is rumoured that he has pacified the factions of Scotland by a general pardon, and that the nobles of both factions join with the people to follow him. The English, however, insist that he shall enter this country unarmed. The Queen's jewels and silver are already locked away with the crown jewels in the Tower of London. Many private individuals are doing the same with their jewels, and some even with their persons; for every house and everybody is in movement and alarm.

The Spanish have no following here, nor are they even mentioned; their name is hated. The French are but little liked, and not quite safe. I am living in good hopes, and about my commission, which I have personally advanced with the Council, I will write on another occasion, if it please God.

London, 3rd April 1603.

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Postscript.—Last night Sir Robert Carey (*Baron Cree*) left for Scotland to convey to the King the news of the Queen's death, which took place last evening, and this evening the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Cumberland and others will leave to welcome the King into England. The proclamation of His Majesty's succession is hourly expected. They are placing under arms four thousand infantry in London, at the public charges, and their head-quarters are in the churches.

Copies of this despatch have been sent through Holland, Amsterdam and Middleburg, by small boats which sailed from the *porti Selvatici* (? the Cinque Ports); and this goes *viâ* Antwerp and Cologne, whence the letters are carried express day and night to Venice, by an excellent service.

[*Italian.*]

April 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1167. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England's illness is inflammation and a swelling in the throat, contracted by sitting late at council. On retiring she felt the beginnings of the mischief, which at once caused the entire loss of appetite the first day, and the second deprived her of sleep; and for two days she went without nourishment, nor would she ever submit to take medicine. She saw some rose water on her table and some currants, and she took a fancy for some. After her forehead was bathed she fell asleep. When she woke the gathering in her throat burst, and the attendants were alarmed lest the blood should suffocate her, or cause her to break a blood vessel. She has a little fever. This is all the news up to the twenty-second or twenty-third.

The Council at which the Queen assisted was held to discuss Spanish affairs; the Council endeavour to persuade her to pardon Tyrone; she is very unwilling. Two of her councillors ventured to propose to her that she should pardon the Earl, to which she assented, and that she should name her successor; she exhorted them to be loyal and said that she had received the kingdom from her kin, and to her kin she would leave it. This was taken as meaning the King of Scotland, and the nobility is all ready to set out to meet him.

Paris, 4th April 1603.

[*Italian.*]

April 4. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1168. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English Parliament took two deliberations, one that any who had schemed for the succession while the Queen was still alive was absolutely excluded; and that all who say that the Parliament has not authority to make such an order shall be treated as rebels. These were both intended to modify the pretensions of the King of Scotland.

The King can be in England eight days after his succession; but the English will admit him and his suite only, no troops. The

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fleet will be kept back till things have settled down under the new King. The States of Holland will give all their support to the King, both because they are interested in the preservation of England, and because they have already taken every step to secure the King's favour.

The uproar, which has happened in England recently, about Arabella, fell out thus. She was under very strict custody of her grandmother, Lady Shrewsbury (*Rosciosberi*); and was never allowed to be alone or in any way mistress of her actions. At thirty years old, which she now is, this irritated her; and she resolved to write to the Earl of Hertford, who was living on his estates, two hundred miles from London, complaining of her fate, asking him to free her, and promising to marry his son, Lord Bescen (Beauchamp), who, however was married fifteen years ago, and has a wife still alive. When the Earl heard that the letter came from Arabella he would not receive it, but summoning his family to him he sent the letter straight to the Council; in suspicion that the Earl had on other occasions tampered with Arabella, he was summoned to London, where on examination he denied all. The letter was shown to Arabella, who went down on her knees and implored pardon; declaring that she had taken this step in order to induce the Queen to change her prison, for she knew that any other must be much milder than the one she was in; that is the story as the Queen's principal ministers tell it.

Paris, 4th April 1603.

[*Italian.*]

April 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1169. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen, towards the close of her illness and of her life, after some few hours' sleep, returned to the full possession of her senses. On April the first she recognised that she was dying, and caused the Lords of the Council to be summoned to her presence. With tears and sighs she said that she saw herself so weak and ill that her life could last little or rather no longer. She exhorted and commanded them to have due care for the peace of the realm, and to see that the Crown came to the most deserving, whom she in her secret thought had always held to be the King of Scotland, both in right of birth and because he excelled her in merit, having been born a King, while she was but a private person. He ought to be all the more acceptable to them in that he brought with him a whole Kingdom while she had brought nothing but herself, a woman. As for the most important amount of her own private property, accumulated through a reign of forty-five years, (which is calculated to pass four and a half millions in gold), she declared that she would make no other provision about it but that it was to follow the succession.

The same day she spoke of certain things which weighed upon her conscience, and recalled to mind the death of the Earl of Essex. Then rising to topics of religion, she said that she had been at war with Pontiffs and princes, and touched upon two principal points of variance from the Church of Rome, the use of the vernacular in prayers, and the question of the Sacrament, upon which I will not

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enlarge; enough that from her remarks and from her prayers that God would not reckon against her in the next life the blood of priests shed by her, there are some Catholics about court who think that in her inner sentiments her Majesty was not far from reconciliation with the true Catholic faith. This view is confirmed, because it was observed that in her private chapel she preserved the altar with images, the organs, the vestments which belong to the Latin rite, and certain ceremonies which are loathed by other heretics; also because upon her death-bed she held the hand of the Archbishop of Canterbury until she had breathed her last, while it is quite certain that he had a disposition towards Catholicism, as he showed by certain external signs, such as his abstention from matrimony, and his use of unleavened bread when administering the sacrament. All this stabs the heretics to the heart, and they would fain silence the report, though all agree that the Queen died as she had lived.

Be that as it may, she died a Queen who had lived for long, both gloriously and happily in this world. With her dies the family of Tudor, originally of Welsh extraction. As to her personal appearance, she leaves the fame of past though never quite lost beauty. As to her mental qualities, they quote ever so many instances of prudence, not emanating from the Council, but in many important cases the result of her sole deliberation. She possessed nine languages so thoroughly that each appeared to be her native tongue; five of these were the languages of peoples governed by her, English, Welsh, Cornish, Scottish, for that part of her possessions where they are still savage, and Irish. All of them are so different, that it is impossible for those who speak the one to understand any of the others. Besides this, she spoke perfectly Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian extremely well. The Kingdom is naturally strong in the tides which wash its shores, and vary as much as six and more fathoms of water. For defence of the Kingdom the Queen leaves behind her thirty-eight ships between great and small. One of these she kept as a trophy on shore; it was the ship in which Drake made his circumnavigation of the globe.* Only fifteen of these thirty-eight are fitted out, just now, with munitions of war. There are munitions sufficient in store to arm upwards of two hundred ships. And she can raise forty thousand men, besides the sixty thousand already entered on the parish registers for the protection of the shore; add to these ships the Scottish fleet, whatever size it may be, and one may almost say that the new King can make a bridge of ships across the sea. The Queen leaves a quantity of jewels, both belonging to the Crown and her own private property, but not more than half a million in money. The ordinary revenue amounts to a million, and the extraordinary to another million. The extraordinary includes two subsidies of five hundred thousand crowns, payable every six months during the next two years. This revenue will be all the more serviceable for the new King as the expenses of garrisoning the Scottish frontier will now cease. Besides, they will cut down the two hundred and fifty thousand crowns a year, which the Queen devoted to the personal

* "The Pelican" alias "The Golden Hind," lying in Deptford Dock.

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expenses of the Court, or if they resolve to maintain such luxury, the expenses of the Scottish Court will be saved, and they say that owing to the Queen of Scotland these were very great.

As the Queen's illness came from nothing but rage, and as her habit was sober and clean, some, forgetting her age, think that she may have been assisted to death. They even name the person, and say that actions of this magnitude begin in danger and end in reward.

No sooner was the Queen's death known, which was the very hour it took place, at two o'clock on the morning of the third of this month (*a* 2 *venendo* 3, *del corrente*), than the Council, in view of the great doubts and anxiety manifest among the nobility and people lest some rising should happen, gave orders for the solemn proclamation of the new King, this took place on the fourth. James the Sixth of Scotland and First of England, was duly proclaimed in the terms your Serenity will read in the enclosure. This ceremony, though carried out with all pomp, fell so flat that there was evidently neither sorrow for the death of the Queen, nor joy for the succession of the King.

In the great tumult of arms in the hands of the heretics alone, for the head of every house in London was armed, the Catholics gave up all hope for the present; and as sixty of their more prominent members were imprisoned, the rest had not the courage to say a word for themselves; while silence and alarm reigned on both sides.

The adherents of Lady Arabella, of the Earl of Hertford, and the Earl of Huntingdon, not knowing what thread to hold on by, are all keeping quiet, although no one of them has signed the proclamation. In fact the whole affair passed off in a hurly-burly it is true but, contrary to general expectation, quite peaceably. The Lords of the Council, vaunted that the accession of the King would mean peace for the realm, seeing that he has sought it on all hands, and would therefore preserve it, but it is soon seen not to be so, for yesterday and to-day comes news that the Earl of Hertford, who was not to be found, is now in the west and raising foot and horse, with the intention of proclaiming himself King in his own right and more so in that of Arabella.

London, 7th April 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in preceding Despatch.

1170. A translation of the PROCLAMATION of JAMES as KING of ENGLAND.*

April 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1171. GIOVANNI CARLO SCARAMELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

While the Queen was still alive, but ill, the Council met every day at Richmond, and, with the assistance of some Lords especially summoned, it discussed the question whether by ancient Act of Parliament the supreme authority of this Kingdom did not reside in the Council, and those specially invited to bring the number up to

* Calendar of State Papers. Domestic. 1603–1610, p. 1.

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twenty-four at least. The decision was negative. While this was going on I sent a note to the Secretary, who is also a member of the Council, telling him how much I regretted the Queen's illness, which must delay all business, but said that I had instructions from your Serenity upon pressing matters, and begged him to see whether a part or the whole Council would not hear my most just petition; I pleaded the urgency of the business as an excuse for my importunity. I was answered that although the Council was occupied with many most important matters, yet in its desire to satisfy your Serenity, it would hear me the next day in the afternoon.

I accordingly went down to Richmond, although it was Easter Day, and found all the Palace, outside and in, full of an extraordinary crowd almost in uproar, and on the tip-toe of expectation. I was immediately introduced into the Council Chamber. There I found sitting on long benches, on each side of a table, the Lord Chancellor, the Treasurer, the High Admiral, the Equerry (*Scudiero*), the Lord Chief Justice of England, the Treasurer and the Controller of the Royal Household, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and others not Peers but Knights. They numbered eleven in all, and no one was missing except the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is Primate of England and President of the Council as well. I was received with every mark of respect for your Serenity, although, as I have already reported, these Lords of the Council behave like so many kings. They compelled me to sit down on a brocaded chair at the head of the table, and listened to me with gracious and friendly mien. After touching slightly on the Queen's illness, I set forth as briefly as I could the instructions given me in your Serenity's despatch of the fifteenth of February, about the ship "Veniera," seized by William Piers, with all its cargo, to the value of a hundred thousand ducats. I dwelt on the insult offered to the person of the Consul da Mosto, the Republic's representative, and through him to your Serenity yourself; and I insisted on the continued mischief wrought by English subjects; and pointed out that unless these grave excesses were vigorously remedied here, serious consequence for the subjects of both nations must inevitably follow. To prove how keenly your Serenity felt on this point, I produced your letter addressed to the Queen, and asked if they would receive it, open it, and reply to it. They answered, "certainly not just now." I then said that if they desired I would leave them a copy, which pleased them greatly, and they caused it to be read. They all shrank at the news and they showed that they were affected by the narrative of this event, although they had heard some indistinct report already. They all with one voice declared that should it please God to send the stolen goods and the thief into their hands, your Serenity would be fully satisfied; but in the meantime they asked me to propose some action for them to take. I begged them to give to me, to be transmitted to your Serenity, Royal Letters Patent, ordering all ships of this kingdom that call at Venetian ports to search for, and pursue as enemies of Her Majesty, William Piers and his companions, and to consign to your Serenity's representatives the ship and all on board it, and to do the same by any vessel which your Serenity's officers may indicate as having been guilty of

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such actions. That William Piers's goods be confiscated and his share in his father's property; also the property of William Lancaster, (*Lenghcastel*) his lieutenant; that proceedings be taken against the property of Thomas Dombel (*Daumbel*), a rich man, and against Richard Fishborne of Plymouth, joint owners of the said privateer, as guarantors for good and evil. And seeing that by law and custom of the Kingdom, no privateers are allowed to sail without guaranteeing that they will not damage the property of allies I demanded that the guarantors should be now compelled to make good the damage done; and I stated that in this case the guarantors are George Robinson (*Robincon*)' of London, Mansar Stambauch, and the said Dombell, for the sole sum of two thousand ducats. My demands, except the one compelling the father of Pierce to pay his son's portion, seemed reasonable to the Lords of the Council. They promised to give the matter every attention and to send their decision to my lodging, and with this they gave me courteous leave.

Two days later the Judge Advocate of the Fleet came to me; he had been present with other inferior ministers at my audience of Council. He asked for some authentic proofs which would allow the Council to pass sentence of confiscation against the culprits. I replied that I had nothing, and nothing more was necessary, except the word of your Serenity, and the fact itself. I finally agreed to draw up a memorandum, and to submit Consul da Mosto's letter, and he agreed to base his pleading on these two documents. I will not fail to secure a favourable issue; but I must spend some money, both here and at Plymouth, for not a single executive officer will move in this country without being first well paid. The Judge Advocate showed me by authentic document that Piers's ship is registered in the High Admiral's books as a privateer of only forty tons, and he said that the Council had shown great surprise that a Venetian ship, with a cargo of he bulk declared, should have let herself be captured by a ship much smaller. The Judge Advocate advances this as an excuse for the fact that the caution money on Piers's ship does not exceed two thousand ducats. He promised that, as the Admiralty is a permanent ministry, he would continue the proceedings against Piers, even if the Queen should die, which in fact she did; so we may hope that sentence, confiscation, and other steps will follow. And as regards the letters patent the Council yesterday informed me that I should have them as soon as the King gave them the seals.

I am sorry to say that my hopes of getting the sentence in the cases of Diego Pires and Christofalo Cornelis revoked in whole or in part, are for the present extinguished, for there is no one now competent to deal with them. And it is doubtful whether the King will revise action not taken during his reign. Meantime the persons to whom the goods were adjudged have taken possession; and even the Admiral and the Secretary, who first of all promised to renounce their share, have now hastily appropriated themand declare that their first offer was sincerely made in view of the Queen's obvious wish to please your Serenity, but that in justice her subjects could not be expected to deprive themselves of what the

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law had awarded them. And had your Serenity delayed a single month to send someone, the concession already made by the Queen would have run great risk of never being effected, owing to her death. But I took care that the ship moved down the river before the Queen died and she is sure to sail with the first fair weather. Captain King (*Chinch*) gave me great satisfaction in this.

In this question of the Spanish ships with Venetian goods, the English rely entirely on a statute, XVIII. Henry VI., that is 1440. Now after one hundred and sixty years they wish to put in force this law of a King who was killed as a tyrant, and argue that it has the weight of a law of nations. The representatives of the interested parties did not raise the question as to whether the ships were really Spanish or no, and so the principal point has not been settled, as between Princes. I have always denied that Venetian merchants can be made amenable to this law, for they are so distant, and are also subjects of an ally. Besides the phrase "on the sea" or "on the coast" can only apply to that sea or that coast where it lies with the English sovereign to grant safe conducts, and not to such distant waters as the straits of Gibraltar, and by consequence the Mediterranean where the seizure took place. I further argue, that although in time of war a safe conduct for these seas may have been necessary, disusure has cancelled the statute. Further, that in fact a general safe conduct has been issued to all ships not carrying contraband of war. These arguments I urged on the Commissioners, on the Judge Advocate, and on Secretary Parkins who came to discuss the matter, and embodied them in a memorandum I intended to present to the Queen.

I think it my duty to send a copy of the statute, which, however, can only have the force of a local law.

I shall wait the King's coming to open the subject to him.

London, 7th April 1603.

[*Italian.*]

Enclosed in Preceding Despatch.

1172. TRANSLATION of Chap. VIII. Statute of XVIII. Henry VI.

Seeing that many of our common subjects, masters, and mariners of ships and vessels of this Kingdom, having captured vessels belonging to the Spanish or other foes, are frequently defrauded of their prize by the petitions of foreign friendly merchants presented to the King in Council or to the Chancellor supported by false bills of lading and false marks, which cause the goods captured to be restored to the petitioners; and seeing that this greatly injures and discourages owners, masters, and mariners, and checks the building of privateers;

Be it decreed that foreign friendly merchants may safely ship goods on board ships provided with a safe conduct from the King in which the name of the vessel and its masters is stated. Any vessel captured by the English on the sea, which has not such a safe conduct shall be entered in the books of the Chancery and shall with all its goods belong to the captors any statute or ordinance notwithstanding. And this statute shall be immediately

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published on the coast of the sea for the information of said foreign merchants.

April 7. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1173. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Governors of Calais and Dieppe have informed the King that as no one has arrived from England for many days they imagine that the ports must be closed. It is thought that the Queen must be dead.

Paris, 7th April 1603.

[*Italian.*]

April 10. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1174. MARIN CAVALLI, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After twenty days' illness the Queen of England died on the third of this month, and immediately afterwards, by common consent, the King of Scotland was proclaimed King, with public rejoicings in London. Some nobles left at once to meet the new King at the border. This news came to his Majesty by express this morning.

Paris, 10th April 1603.

[*Italian.*]

April 17. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1175. SIMON CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have just received news that the Queen of England is dead. The French Ambassador told me. The King of Scotland has succeeded to the throne.

Valladolid, 17th April 1603.

[*Italian.*]

April 19. Original Despatch, Venetian Archives.

1176. FRANCESCO VENDRAMIN, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

All the week there have been rumours, first of the sickness, then of the death of the Queen of England. Now it is confirmed by the news received by the French Ambassador. The King of Scotland has succeeded quietly.

Rome, 19th April 1603.

[*Italian.*]

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CORRIGENDA.

p. 1, l. 20, for *chavasses* read *cavasses.*
p. 41, l. 22, for *Senescey* read *Sansi.*
p. 41, l. 50, del. note.
p. 46, l. 37, for *Senescey* read *Sansi.*
p. 51, l. 31, for *same* read *some.*
p. 61, l. 9, for *Pansanias* read *Pausanias.*
p. 106, l. 24, for *Martelossi* read *Martolossi.*
p. 164, l. 8, for *eight* read *eighty.*
p. 167, l. 36, for *Northumberland* read *Cumberland.*
p. 199, l. 11, for *Northumberland* read *Cumberland.*
p. 312, note, for *Jean* read *Justin.*
p. 367, l. 5, for *Figliula* read *Figliuola.*
p. 395, note, for *Cottimi* read *Cottimo.*
p. 517, l. 47, for *Piers* read *Pierce.*
p. 518, l. 30, for *Piers* read *Pierce.*

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28. CHRONICA MONASTERII S. ALBANI.—1. THOMÆ WALSINGHAM HISTORIA ANGLICANA; Vol. I., 1272-1381: Vol. II., 1381–1422. 2. WILLELMI RISHANGER CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259–1307. 3. JOHANNIS DE TROKELOWE ET HENRICI DE BLANEFORDE CHRONICA ET ANNALES 1259–1296; 1307–1324; 1392–1406. 4. GESTA ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, A THOMA WALSINGHAM, REGNANTE RICARDO SECUNDO, EJUSDEM ECCLESIÆ PRÆCENTORE, COMPILATA; Vol. I., 793–1290: Vol. II., 1290–1349: Vol. III., 1349–1411. 5. JOHANNIS AMUNDESHAM, MONACHI MONASTERII S. ALBANI, UT VIDETUR, ANNALES; Vols. I. and II. 6. REGISTRA QUORUNDAM ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, QUI SÆCULO XV^mo^ FLORUERE; Vol. I., REGISTRUM ABBATIÆ JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, ABBATIS MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, ITERUM SUSCEPTÆ; ROBERTO BLAKENEY, CAPELLANO, QUONDAM ADSCRIPTUM: Vol. II., REGISTRA JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, WILLELMI ALBON, ET WILLELMI WALINGFORDE, ABBATUM MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, CUM APPENDICE, CONTINENTE QUASDAM EPISTOLAS A JOHANNE WHETHAMSTEDE CONSCRIPTAS. 7. YPODIGMA NEUSTRIÆ A THOMA WALSINGHAM, QUONDAM MONACHO MONASTERII S. ALBANI, CONSCRIPTUM. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1876.

In the first two volumes is a History of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of St. Albans.

In the 3rd volume is a Chronicle of English History, attributed to William Rishanger, who lived in the reign of Edward I.: an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol, 1291-1292, also attributed to William Rishanger, but on no sufficient ground: a short Chronicle of English History, 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand: a short Chronicle, Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi, Regis Angliæ, with Annales Regum Angliæ, probably by the same hand: and fragments of three Chronicles of English History, 1285 to 1307.

In the 4th volume is a Chronicle of English History, 1259 to 1296: Annals of Edward II., 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans, and a continuation of Trokelowe's Annals, 1323, 1324, by Henry de Blaneforde: a full Chronicle of English History, 1392 to 1406 and an account of the benefactors of St Albans, written in the early part of the 15th century.

The 5th, 6th, and 7th volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham, with a Continuation.

The 8th and 9th volumes, in continuation of the Annals, contain a Chronicle, probably of John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

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The 10th and 11th volumes relate especially to the
Whethamstede, Albon, and Wallingford.
The 12th volume contains a compendious History of E
and of Normandy in early times, also by Thomas Walsing

29. CHRONICON ABBATIÆ EVESHAMENSIS, AUCT
EVESHAMIÆ ET THOMA DE MARLEBERGE ABBA
1213, UNA CUM CONTINUATIONE AD ANNUM 1
W. D. MACRAY, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of
about 690 to 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography,
the inner daily life of a great abbey. Interspersed are ma
and local history.

30. RICARDI DE CIRENCESTRIA SPECULUM HISTO
ANGLIÆ. Vol. I, 447–871. Vol. II., 872–1
MAYOR, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College,

Richard of Cirencester's history, in four books. ext
many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a ve
miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor,
book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbu
book ii. c. 3.

31. YEAR BOOKS OF THE REIGNS OF EDWARD THI
THIRD. Years 20–21, 21–22, 30–31, 32–33
11–12 Edw. III. *Edited and translated by*
Barrister-at-Law. Years 12–13, 13–14, 14,
III. *Edited and translated by* LUKE OWE
Law. 1863–1896.

The "Year Books" are the earliest of our Law Rep
only of practical utility to lawyers in the present day, bu
branch of history, while for certain philological purpose
unique.

32. NARRATIVES OF THE EXPULSION OF THE ENGI
1450.—Robertus Blondelli de Reductione
ment de Normendie, par Berry, Hérault du
the Ambassadors of France and England.
STEVENSON, M.A. 1863.

33. HISTORIA ET CARTULARIUM MONASTERII S. PE
II., and III. *Edited by* W. H. HART, F.S.A.
la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie.

34. ALEXANDRI NECKAM DE NATURIS RERUM
POEM, DE LAUDIBUS DIVINÆ SAPIENTIÆ.
M.A. 1863.

In the *De Naturis Rerum* are to be found wh
of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignora
in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well
much light upon the manners, customs, and general
twelfth century.

35. LEECHDOMS, WORTCUNNING, AND STARCRAFT
Collection of Documents illustrating the
Country before the Norman Conques
and edited by the Rev. T. OSWALD COCKAY

36. ANNALES MONASTICI. Vol. I.:—Annale
Annales de Theokesberia, 1066–1263; An
Vol. II.:—Annales Monasterii de Wi
Monasterii de Waverleia, 1–1291. Vol.
Dunstaplia, 1–1297. Annales Monaster
1432. Vol. IV.:—Annales Monasterii de O
vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes,
de Wigornia, 1–1377. Vol. V.;—Inde
HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow a
College, and Registrary of the Universit

The present collection embraces chronicles com
during the thirteenth century. These distinct works
period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1

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37. MAGNA VITA S. HUGONIS EPISCOPI LINCOLNIENSIS. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

This work is valuable, not only as a biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs.

38. CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE FIRST. Vol. I.:—ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM ET GESTA REGIS RICARDI. Vol. II.:—EPISTOLÆ CANTUARIENSES; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864–1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London.
The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury.

39. RECUEIL DES CRONIQUES ET ANCHIENNES ISTORIES DE LA GRANT BRETAIGNE A PRESENT NOMME ENGLETERRE, par JEHAN DE WAURIN. Vol. I. Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399–1422. Vol. III., 1422–1431. *Edited by* WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A. 1864–1879. Vol. IV., 1431–1447. Vol. V., 1447–1471. *Edited by* Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A., and EDWARD L. C. P. HARDY, F.S.A. 1884–1891.

40. A COLLECTION OF THE CHRONICLES AND ANCIENT HISTORIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND, by JOHN DE WAURIN. Vol. I., Albina to 668. Vol. II., 1399–1422. Vol. III., 1422–1431. (Translations of the preceding Vols. I., II., and III.) *Edited and translated by* Sir WILLIAM HARDY, F.S.A., and EDWARD L. C. P. HARDY, F.S.A. 1864–1891.

41. POLYCHRONICON RANULPHI HIGDEN, with Trevisa's Translation. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vols. III.–IX. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH RAWSON LUMBY, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Vicar of St. Edward's, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, and late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1865–1886.

This chronicle begins with the creation, and is brought down to the reign of Edward III. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.
The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth.

42. LE LIVERE DE REIS DE BRITTANIE E LE LIVERE DE REIS DE ENGLETERE. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN GLOVER, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.

These two treatises are valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians. Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonised French.

43. CHRONICA MONASTERII DE MELSA AB ANNO 1150 USQUE AD ANNUM 1406, Vols. I.–III. *Edited by* EDWARD AUGUSTUS BOND, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866–1868.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country.

44. MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM, SIVE UT VULGO DICITUR, HISTORIA MINOR. Vols. I., II., and III. 1067–1253. *Edited by* Sir FREDERICK MADDEN, K.H., Keeper of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum. 1866–1869.

45. LIBER MONASTERII DE HYDA: A CHRONICLE AND CHARTULARY OF HYDE ABBEY, WINCHESTER, 455–1023. *Edited by* EDWARD EDWARDS. 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde

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Chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify the s
he adopts.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much info
King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The
specimens of Anglo-Saxon and mediæval English.

46. CHRONICON SCOTORUM; A CHRONICLE OF IRISH
times to 1135; and SUPPLEMENT, containing
1150. *Edited, with Translation, by* WILL
M.R.I.A. 1866.

47. THE CHRONICLE OF PIERRE DE LANGTOFT, IN
EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE DEATH OF EDWARD I
by THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A. 1866-1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of
lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of
chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first, is an a
mouth's "Historia Britonum;" in the second, a history o
kings, to the death of Henry III.; in the third, a history
language is a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire

48. THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GAIL
IRELAND BY THE DANES AND OTHER NORSEME
lation, by the Rev. JAMES HENTHORN TODI
Trinity College, and Regius Professor of He
Dublin. 1867.

The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is
of an ancient original. The story is told after the manner

49. GESTA REGIS HENRICI SECUNDI BENEDICTI AB
REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND RICHARD I., 116
name of BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH. Vols.
REV. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Prof
Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian. 1867.

50. MUNIMENTA ACADEMICA, OR, DOCUMENTS ILL
LIFE AND STUDIES AT OXFORD (in Two Pa
HENRY ANSTEY, M.A., Vicar of St. Wen
Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford.

51. CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOUEDENE.
the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Pr
and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 186

The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1148, appea
made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden ad
very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived
Hoveden appears to have supplied little. From 1170 to
sponds to some extent with the Chronicle known under
borough (*see* No. 49). From 1192 to 1201 may be said to b

52. WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS MONACHI DE GES
LIBRI QUINQUE. *Edited by* N. E. S. A. HAM
of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1870.

53. HISTORIC AND MUNICIPAL DOCUMENTS OF IRI
OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, &c. 1172–1320. *J*
F.S.A., Secretary of the Public Record Offi

54. THE ANNALS OF LOCH CÉ. A CHRONICLE OF I
1590. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with a*
MAUNSELL HENNESSY, M.R.I.A. 1871.

55. MONUMENTA JURIDICA. THE BLACK BOOK
APPENDICES, Vols. I.–IV. *Edited by* SIR TR
1871–1876.

This book contains the ancient ordinances and laws

56. MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VI.;—O
THOMAS BEKYNTON, SECRETARY TO HENRY V
WELLS. *Edited by* the Rev. GEORGE WILL
wood, late Fellow of King's College, Ca
1872.

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57. MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS, MONACHI SANCTI ALBANI, CHRONICA MAJORA Vol I. The Creation to A.D. 1066. Vol. II. A.D. 1067 to A.D. 1216. Vol. III. A.D. 1216 to A.D. 1239. Vol. IV. A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1247. Vol. V. A.D. 1248 to A.D. 1259. Vol. VI. Additamenta. Vol. VII. Index. *Edited by* the Rev. HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Registrary of the University, and Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge. 1872–1884.

58. MEMORIALE FRATRIS WALTERI DE COVENTRIA.—THE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF WALTER OF COVENTRY. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1872–1873.

59. THE ANGLO-LATIN SATIRICAL POETS AND EPIGRAMMATISTS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY. Vols. I. and II. *Collected and edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., Corresponding Member of the National Institute of France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres). 1872.

60. MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VII., FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM CAMPBELL, M.A., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. 1873-1877.

61. HISTORICAL PAPERS AND LETTERS FROM THE NORTHERN REGISTERS. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES RAINE, M.A., Canon of York, and Secretary of the Surtees Society. 1873.

62. REGISTRUM PALATINUM DUNELMENSE. THE REGISTER OF RICHARD DE KELLAWE, LORD PALATINE AND BISHOP OF DURHAM; 1311-1316. Vols. I.–IV. *Edited by* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Records. 1873–1878.

63. MEMORIALS OF SAINT DUNSTAN, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1874.

64. CHRONICON ANGLIÆ, AB ANNO DOMINI 1328 USQUE AD ANNUM 1388, AUCTORE MONACHO QUODAM SANCTI ALBANI. *Edited by* EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON, Barrister-at-Law, Assistant Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. 1874.

65. THÓMAS SAGA ERKIBYSKUPS. A LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP THOMAS BECKET, IN ICELANDIC. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with English Translation, Notes, and Glossary, by* M. EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A., Sub-Librarian of the University Library, Cambridge. 1875–1884.

66. RADULPHI DE COGGESHALL CHRONICON ANGLICANUM. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A. 1875.

67. MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF THOMAS BECKET, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. Vols. I.–VI. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, M.A., Canon of Canterbury. 1875–1883. Vol. VII. *Edited by* JOSEPH BRIGSTOCKE SHEPPARD, LL.D. 1885.

The first volume contains the life of that celebrated man, and the miracles after his death, by William, a monk of Canterbury. The second, the life by Benedict of Peterborough; John of Salisbury; Alan of Tewkesbury; and Edward Grim. The third, the life by William Fitzstephen; and Herbert of Bosham. The fourth, anonymous lives, Quadrilogues, &c. The fifth, sixth, and seventh, the Epistles, and known letters.

68. RADULFI DE DICETO DECANI LUNDONIENSIS OPERA HISTORICA. THE HISTORICAL WORKS OF MASTER RALPH DE DICETO, DEAN OF LONDON. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1876.

The abbreviationes Chronicorum extend to 1147 and the Ymagines Historiarum to 1201.

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69. ROLL OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE KING'S COUNCIL IN IRELAND, FOR A PORTION OF THE 16TH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD II. 1392–93. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES GRAVES, A.B. 1877.

70. HENRICI DE BRACTON DE LEGIBUS ET CONSUETUDINIBUS ANGLIÆ LIBRI QUINQUE IN VARIOS TRACTATUS DISTINCTI. Vols. I.–VI. *Edited by* SIR TRAVERS TWISS, Q.C., D.C.L. 1878–1883.

71. THE HISTORIANS OF THE CHURCH OF YORK, AND ITS ARCHBISHOPS. Vols. I.–III. *Edited by* the REV. JAMES RAINE, M.A., Canon of York, and Secretary of the Surtees Society. 1879-1894.

72. REGISTRUM MALMESBURIENSE. THE REGISTER OF MALMESBURY ABBEY; PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. J. S. BREWER, M.A., Preacher at the Rolls, and Rector of Toppesfield; *and* CHARLES TRICE MARTIN, B.A. 1879–1880.

73. HISTORICAL WORKS OF GERVASE OF CANTERBURY. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, D.D., Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, London; Regius Professor of Modern History and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, &c. 1879, 1880.

74. HENRICI ARCHIDIACONI HUNTENDUNENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM. THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH, BY HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, from A.D. 55 to A.D. 1154, in Eight Books. *Edited by* THOMAS ARNOLD, M.A. 1879.

75. THE HISTORICAL WORKS OF SYMEON OF DURHAM. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS ARNOLD, M.A. 1882–1885.

76. CHRONICLE OF THE REIGNS OF EDWARD I. AND EDWARD II. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, D.D., Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, London; Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, &c. 1882, 1883.

The first volume of these Chronicles contains the *Annales Londonienses* and the *Annales Paulini*: the second, I.—*Commendatio Lamentabilis in Transitu magni Regis Edwardi.* II.—*Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvan Auctore Canonico Bridlingtoniensi.* III.—*Monachi cujusdam Malmesberiensis Vita Edwardi II.* IV.—*Vita et Mors Edward II., conscripta a Thoma de la Moore.*

77. REGISTRUM EPISTOLARUM FRATRIS JOHANNIS PECKHAM, ARCHIEPISCOPI CANTUARIENSIS. Vols. I.–III. *Edited by* CHARLES TRICE MARTIN, B.A., F.S.A., 1882–1886.

78. REGISTER OF S. OSMUND. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. W. H. RICH JONES, M.A., F.S.A., Canon of Salisbury, Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon. 1883, 1884.

This Register derives its name from containing the statutes, rules, and orders made or compiled by S. Osmund, to be observed in the Cathedral and diocese of Salisbury.

79. CHARTULARY OF THE ABBEY OF RAMSEY. Vols. I.–III. *Edited by* WILLIAM HENRY HART, F.S.A., and the Rev. PONSONBY ANNESLEY LYONS. 1884-1893.

80. CHARTULARIES OF ST. MARY'S ABBEY, DUBLIN, WITH THE REGISTER OF ITS HOUSE AT DUNBRODY, COUNTY OF WEXFORD, AND ANNALS OF IRELAND, 1162–1370. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* JOHN THOMAS GILBERT, F.S.A., M.R.I.A. 1884, 1885.

81. EADMERI HISTORIA NOVORUM IN ANGLIA, ET OPUSCULA DUO DE VITA SANCTI ANSELMI ET QUIBUSDAM MIRACULIS EJUS. *Edited by* the Rev. MARTIN RULE, M.A. 1884.

82. CHRONICLES OF THE REIGNS OF STEPHEN, HENRY II., AND RICHARD I. Vols. I.–IV. *Edited by* RICHARD HOWLETT, Barrister-at-Law. 1884–1890.

Vol. I. contains Books I.-IV. of the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* of William of Newburgh. Vol. II. contains Book V. of that work, the continuation of the same to A.D. 1298, and the *Draco Normannicus* of Etienne de Rouen.

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Vol. III. contains the *Gesta Stephani Regis*, the Chronicle of Richard of Hexham, the *Relatio de Standardo* of St. Aelred of Rievaulx, the poem of Jordan Fantosme, and the Chronicle of Richard of Devizes.
Vol. IV. contains the Chronicle of Robert of Torigni.

83. CHRONICLE OF THE ABBEY OF RAMSEY. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM DUNN MACRAY, M.A., F.S.A., Rector of Ducklington, Oxon. 1886.

84. CHRONICA ROGERI DE WENDOVER, SIVE FLORES HISTORIARUM. Vols. I.–III. *Edited by* HENRY GAY HEWLETT, Keeper of the Records of the Land Revenue. 1886–1889.

This edition gives that portion only of Roger of Wendover's Chronicle which can be accounted an original authority.

85. THE LETTER BOOKS OF THE MONASTERY OF CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY. Vols. I.–III. *Edited by* JOSEPH BRIGSTOCKE SHEPPARD, LL.D. 1887–1889.

The Letters printed in these volumes were chiefly written between 1296 and 1333.

86. THE METRICAL CHRONICLE OF ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER. *Edited by* WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT, M.A., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Parts I. and II., 1887.

The date of the composition of this Chronicle is placed about the year 1300. The writer appears to have been an eye witness of many events of which he describes. The language in which it is written was the dialect of Gloucestershire at that time.

87. CHRONICLE OF ROBERT OF BRUNNE. *Edited by* FREDERICK JAMES FURNIVALL, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. Parts I. and II. 1887.

Robert of Brunne, or Bourne, co. Lincoln, was a member of the Gilbertine Order established at Sempringham. His Chronicle is described by its editor as a work of fiction, a contribution not to English history, but to the history of English.

88. ICELANDIC SAGAS AND OTHER HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS relating to the Settlements and Descents of the Northmen on the British Isles. Vol. I. Orkneyinga Saga, and Magnus Saga. Vol. II. Hakonar Saga, and Magnus Saga. *Edited by* GUDBRAND VIGFUSSON, M.A. 1887. Vols. III. and IV. Translations of the above by Sir GEORGE WEBBE DASENT, D.C.L.

89. THE TRIPARTITE LIFE OF ST. PATRICK, with other documents relating to that Saint. *Edited by* WHITLEY STOKES, LL.D., D.C.L., Honorary Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford; and Corresponding Member of the Institute of France. Parts I. and II. 1887.

90. WILLELMI MONACHI MALMESBIRIENSIS DE REGUM GESTIS ANGLORUM LIBRI V.; ET HISTORIÆ NOVELLÆ, LIBRI III. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, D.D., Bishop of Oxford. Vols. I. and II. 1887–1889.

91. LESTORIE DES ENGLES SOLUM GEFFREI GAIMAR. *Edited by* the late Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Records; *continued and translated by* CHARLES TRICE MARTIN, B.A., F.S.A. Vols. I. and II. 1888–1889.

92. CHRONICLE OF HENRY KNIGHTON, Canon of Leicester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH RAWSON LUMBY, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity. 1889–1895.

93. CHRONICLE OF ADAM MURIMUTH, with the CHRONICLE OF ROBERT OF AVESBURY. *Edited by* EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON, LL.D., F.S.A., Principal Librarian and Secretary of the British Museum. 1889.

94. CHARTULARY OF THE ABBEY OF ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR, DUBLIN. *Edited by* JOHN THOMAS GILBERT, F.S.A., M.R.I.A. 1889.

95. FLORES HISTORIARUM. *Edited by* the Rev. H. R. LUARD, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College and Registrary of the University, Cambridge. Vol. I. The Creation to A.D. 1066. Vol. II. A.D. 1067–1264. Vol. III. A.D. 1265–1326. 1890.

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96. MEMORIALS OF ST. EDMUND'S ABBEY. *Edited* Fellow of the Royal University of Ireland.

97. CHARTERS AND DOCUMENTS, ILLUSTRATING THE AND CITY OF SARUM, 1100–1300; forming ar of S. Osmund. *Selected by* the late Rev. F.S.A., *and edited by* the Rev. W. D. MACR Ducklington. 1891.

98. MEMORANDA DE PARLIAMENTO, 25 Edward I MAITLAND, M.A. 1893.

99. THE RED BOOK OF THE EXCHEQUER. *Edited* of the Public Record Office. Parts I.–III

In the Press.

YEAR BOOKS OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD III. LUKE OWEN PIKE, M.A., Barrister-at-Law

RANULF DE GLANVILL; TRACTATUS DE LEGIBUS E &c. *Edited and translated by* Sir TRAVER I. S. LEADAM.

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1896	28	(1.) Report on the Early Plea Rolls, continued from 51 Edward III.	—	—
		(2.) Table showing present Custodies of Parochial Records	[C.8163]	0 5½
1897	29	Copy and Translation of Five Instruments of Record in the Public Record Office of Ireland, written in the Irish Character and Tongue, 1584-1606.	[C.8567]	0 3

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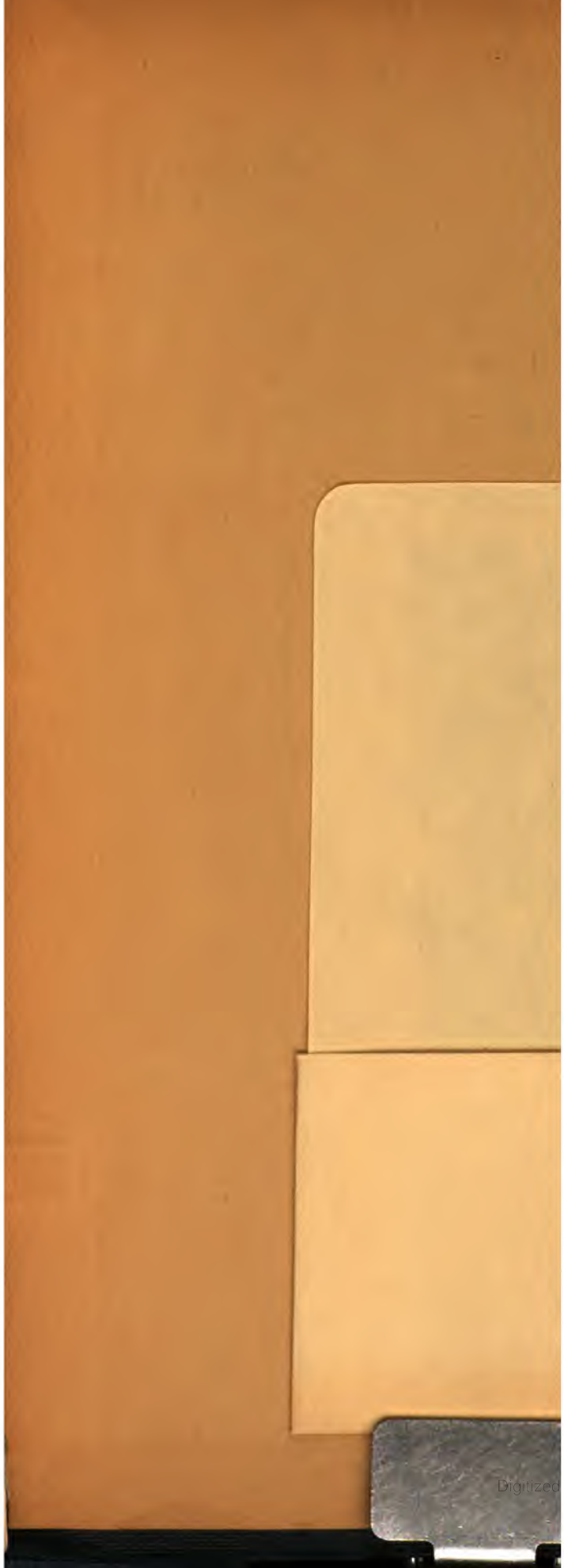
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